Encyclopedia of Imam Ali

A Comprehensive Examination of the Life, History, and Virtues of the Master of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Based on Islam's Authoritative Sources

Abridged Edition

1

Muhammad Muhammadi Rayshahri

Translated by

Zaid AlSalami and Safiyullah Khan

Second only to Muhammad himself, Ali is unarguably the most important figure in Islam after the Prophet. He was the first man to embrace Islam, although he was only ten when God entrusted Prophet Muḥammad with his divine ministry. Ali was unwavering in his support for Muhammad and Islam. On many occasions, in times of crushing tribulations, when most of the senior companions abandoned Muhammad, Ali was there to put his life on the line in support of his cousin, his father-in-law, and his brother-in-faith. In Medina, Muhammad announced Ali to be his soul mate, his brother-in-faith, and gave him his daughter in marriage. As Muhammad was the key figure to introduce Islam, Ali was the key figure to support it and ensure its continuation.

Encyclopedia of Imam Ali is without an exaggeration the most meticulous and comprehensive compendium written to date regarding the exalted and immortal character of Imam Ali. It collects all the reports from the corpus of Islamic tradition and history detailing Imam Ali's life and virtues. The present volume is an abridged edition of this voluminous encyclopedia. An abridged edition was necessary so as to cater to a broader readership and to offer a convenient read to all those who may be interested in learning more about this unique and pivotal figure in the history of Islam.

"I am the city of knowledge, and Ali is its gate; whosoever seeks to enter the city must pass through its gate."

—Prophet Muhammad, Encyclopedia of Imam Ali, Abridged Edition

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

Encyclopedia of Imām ʿAlī

Abridged Edition

Volume I

Muhammad Muhammadi Rayshahri

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Preface

Praise be to Allah who has guided us to this, and we would not have been guided if Allah had not guided us, and blessings of Allah be upon the Seal of prophets and messengers and his immaculate and pure progeny, especially his brother, agent, executor and vicegerent.

Encyclopaedia of Imām ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib introduces a new perspective on the life of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) and the history of the most perfect of people, the most distinguished of believers and the greatest personality in the history of Islam after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). This Encyclopaedia is based on the Qurʾān, the Sunnah and history. It is designed in a modern style, with new analysis, and arranged in an innovative and practical way, presenting most of the teachings of the great personality whom the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) named as the 'gateway to his knowledge and wisdom' as a model for scholars and researchers in the sciences and teachings of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and for everyone who is thirsty for truth and reality. Here are a number of the distinguished features of this encyclopaedia:

A) inclusiveness and selectivity;

B) exstensive referencing from Shīʿa and Sunni sources;

C) dependence on reliable and authentic sources;

D) presenting almost seven thousand pieces of information from history and traditions with analysis when needed.

E) paying attention to the requirements and needs of today's society and the practical aspects of the tradition;

F) innovativeness in writing and presenting the subjects in an explanative way, so that the reader will have a general overview on the topics in the book through a quick look at it;

G) giving notes and necessary explanations regarding personalities, places and maps which have been prepared by the experts.

Considering that general readers may not really benefit from a book that has these features, we have decided to compile a summary of the Encyclopaedia, so it can be accessible to all people interested in knowing about the teachings and the life of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). This would also enable the preparation for translating this book into other languages in order to achieve this ultimate goal at its most.

Furthermore, , selecting particular subjects from a book that has already been written is an intricate work. Allah, the Beneficent, has granted success to the respected scholar Mahdī Ghulāmʿalī to undertake this task, and I show my sincere gratitude to him and congratulate him for this great achievement.

I must mention that the compilation of the Encyclopaedia Imām of ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was accomplished with the collaboration of the respected researchers Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī and Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭabāṭabā'ī Nejād, and they were also a part of the project of compiling this abridged version. I give my thanks to them and to all who have assisted in the summarising of this Encyclopaedia.

Finally, I must thank Sheikh Zaid Alsalami and Sheikh Safiyullah Khan who undertook the difficult task of translating this text into English, and Ḥujjatul-Islam Muḥammad Sharif Mahdavi and Salam Judy for their efforts in editing and reviewing the text along with supervising the project.

I ask Allah, the Almighty, to reward them with His generosity, as He is worthy of, for His is the Benign, the Glorious.

O Allah, we swear to You by the mightiness of the Night of Decree

to accept from us this humble work. Appoint us to be among those who prepare for the universal government that the son of ʿAlī and Fāṭimah (a.s.) will establish, and among the lines of the companions of Imām al-Mahdī (a.s.). Make us die with the love of the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) and resurrect us among their sincere and true followers. Amen, O Lord of the worlds.

Muḥammad Muḥammadī Rayshahrī

Transliteration of Arabic Characters

Consonants						Short Vowels	
ء	ʾ	ش	Sh	ن	N	ـَ	a
ب	b	ص	ṣ	ه	H	ـُ	u
ت	T	ض	ḍ	و	W	ـِ	i
ث	Th	ط	ṭ	ى	y		
ج	J	ظ	ẓ			Long Vowels	
ح	ḥ	ع	ʿ			ا	ā
خ	Kh	غ	Gh			و	ū
د	D	ف	F			ي	ī
ذ	Dh	ق	q				
ر	r	ك	k			Diphthongs	
ز	z	ل	l			ـَو	aw
س	s	م	m			ـَي	ay

ة a; at (construct state)

ال al- (article)

Introduction

Encyclopaedia of Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah is a valuable endeavour in describing the personality and teachings of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). This important work was published after extensive pursuance, appropriate evaluation and beneficial analysis, based on history and the Sunnah, taking eight years of research, commencing from the year named after Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) [1379 hijrl solar year –1999]. This compilation holds a special position among the works related to the personality of this gallant leader, and that which indicates this unique status is that it was warmly received by researchers and scholarly circles. It also won rewards and scholary commendations, one of which is the winner of the second series of the 'Wilāyah Book of the Year'.

An important point to be made here is that the original text of the book was published in seven large volumes. However, there were many parts that were too scientific and technical, so selections from it were prepared in order to bring it out from a scientific framework to be accessible by the general public, making it possible to be published in one volume. In view of this, we took into consideration the following points:

1. All of the main titles and most of the secondary titles have been kept as they are.
2. The traditions chosen are those that are more inclusive and clearer in meaning, having been taken from the most reliable sources.

3. All explanations in the footnotes have been taken away.
4. The first of the sources of the tradition in the footnotes of the original text has been brought here in particular.

Abridged Encyclopaedia of Imām ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib reflects as a mirror the subjects of the original book in the following areas:

Part One: The Family of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

This part speaks about the lineage of the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and the environment he grew up in. It also provides an overview about his life, his parents, his nicknames, his titles, his biography, his physical features, and his wives and children.

Part Two: Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) with the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

This part demonstrates that Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) would follow the footsteps of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from the beginning of the Message to his death. He (a.s.) struggled for the sake of the sovereignty of Islam, and he would always be together with the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in all times and in all difficulties.

Part Three: The Efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to consolidate the Leadership of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

We presented in this part the friendship (wilāyah) of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and his leadership in the field of the efforts of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) to bring happiness to the Islamic Ummah. We have mentioned the rational and transmitted (ʿaqlī – naqlī) arguments to prove this opinion, to the effect that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did not leave the Ummah on its own without a leader, nor did he leave its future without a defined program. Rather, he would clearly draw out the future through extensive preparations, directions, instructions and statements.

Part Four: Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

In this part we have focused on the origins and reasons for the abandonment of the instructions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) in respect of the future of the Ummah and the leadership of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). It also introduces the wise positions of the Imām (a.s.) and their reasons.

Part Five: The Government Policies of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

Here we have spoken about Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) undertaking the Caliphate, and the beginning of the reforms and its foundations and reactions in the society.

Part Six: The Wars of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

This part delves into the reasons for the appearance of dissensions and their conditions. It also speaks about its origins, the path it took and its results. The dissensions of the Nākithīn (the breakers), the Qāsiṭīn (the Unjust) and the Māriqīn (the Deviants) to confront the reforms of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and his fundamental and strict position towards Allah and the rights of people and values are also highlighted.

Part Seven: The Days of Tribulation

This part reviews the rights and dues that have been taken from the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and the echoes of the screams of desolation and loneliness that he suffered. This section shows that the general trend existing in the advent of Islam had disappeared in this era. People would refuse to participate in the battles and or answer to the calls of the Imām (a.s.). His continuous complaints about the people indicate that worldly interests and betrayal have dominated the people of that time.

Part Eight: The Martyrdom of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

We mention in this part the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) foretelling the martyrdom of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), the words of the Imām (a.s.) about his own martyrdom and the events related to it, how he was assassinated, his wise sayings when he was struck up to his martyrdom, and so on.

Part Nine: Views Regarding the Personality of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

We will shed light in this part on the personality of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) from the perspective of the Qur'ān, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), the Imām (a.s.) himself, the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.), the wives of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), the Companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), the companions of the Imām, a number of distinguished poets, and even a number of his opponents and enemies.

Part Ten: The Special Characteristics of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

This part comments on the dimensions of the personality of Imām

ʿAlī (a.s.) and his theological, moral, behavioural, political, social and intellectual teaching.

Part Eleven: Imām ʿAlī's Knowledge

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) is considered to be as the best student of the school of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and the highest of them in status and perfection. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) filled his soul with knowledge, stretched in front of him the horizon of realities and opened for him the doors of knowledge, as can be seen in the historical texts and traditions. In this part, we will come to know a number of the angles of what has been mentioned.

Part Twelve: The Judgments of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

This part makes reference to the station of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) in arbitration and judgement, as he is the justest of the community in judgement. We have quoted examples of his arbitration during the era of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and during his Caliphate.

Part Thirteen: The Miracles of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

We have mentioned in this part examples of the mental and spiritual power of the Imām (a.s.). such as: his authority over creation (wilāyah takwīniyah), the manifestations of divine vicegerency in the leadership of mankind, the answering of his prayers, his informing about unseen things, and so on.

Part Fourteen: Love for Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

The texts presented in this part show that love for ʿAlī (a.s.) is love for Allah, the Almighty, and His Messenger (ṣ.a.w.), and that it is an act of worship and a blessing. It is Allah's firm rope, the best of acts and the highest of the deeds of the believers.

Part Fifteen: Hatred for Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

The traditions narrated by both Schools of Thought indicate that the enemies of ʿAlī (a.s.) are far from the Divine Mercy, and that their doom is inevitable. His hatred is a sign of hypocrisy, corruption and wretchedness.

Part Sixteen: The Companions and Governors of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

This part presents a brief introduction to the life history of a number of the companions and governors of the Commander of the faithful

(a.s.). Without doubt, the attitude Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) had towards his companions and agents and the way he treated should be taken as a lesson and example.

Acknowledgments

We thank Allah, the Almighty, for granting us the success to introduce the character of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), hoping that His Grace and Beneficence will embrace us in both worlds.

I would like to exprees my deep sense of gratitude to the respected author, Āyatullah Muḥammad Rayshahrī, for all his guidance and valuable suggestions that have opened the way through all the stages of the abridgement.

I am also grateful to all the brothers who have assisted in the preparation of this work, in especial Ḥujjat al-Islam ʿAbd al-Hādī Masʿūdī who has helped in forming the primary stages of the abridgement, and Ḥujjat al-Islam Seyyid Maḥmūd Ṭabāṭabā'ī Nejād who has amplified the richness of this work and its value with his editing and corrections.

In conclusion, I must thank the director of the Text Preparation Department of the Dār al-Ḥadīth Institute, Muḥammad Bāqir Najafī, and his respected colleagues. I hope that this work and effort would attain the good pleasure of the Truly Real.

Mahdī Ghulāmʿalī
15 Ramadan 1429
26 Shahrivar 1387
3 September 2008

Part One:
The Family of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

Chapter One: His Birth

Chapter Two: His Upgrowth

Chapter Three: His Marriage

Chapter Four: His Children

Chapter One

His Birth

A. Lineage

The family roots of people indicate their personality, their thought and their culture. Those known by integrity, righteousness, reason and wisdom descend -in most cases- from noble and highborn families. Those of mischief and evil nature are predominantly brought up in unhealthy environments and descend from low origins. The prophets who are of the highest ranks in history are prominent examples of the first category. They represent the most sublime values in honour, self-esteem and virtue; so is the case with their descendants, who are deeply rooted in their noble households. The Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), as the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), descends, back in his deep roots, from a noble and pure lineage, which is the lineage of Abraham (a.s.). Prophet Abraham (a.s.) is the pioneer of monotheism, the desirous for Allah, the Almighty, and the enchanted in love for Him. He is the one who introduced the practice of pilgrimage, which is a symbol of servitude to Allah and is the eradicator of polytheism. To speak about the ancestors of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) is to speak about the ancestors of ʿAlī (a.s.). Furthermore, to speak about the noble descent of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) is to speak about the noble descent of his brother and executor (a.s.). The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said the following about his ancestors:

الفصل الأوّل

الوِلادَة

أ ـ النَّسَبُ

إنّ أُرومة الناس دليل على شخصيّتهم وفكرهم وثقافتهم. فأُولو النزاهة والصلاح والعقل والحكمة ينحدرون في الغالب من أُسَر كريمة طيّبة مهذّبة، وذوو السوء والقبح والشرّ غالباً هم ممّن نشأ في أحضان غير سليمة، وانحدر من أُصول لئيمة. ويتجلّى القسم الأوّل في الأنبياء الذين هم عِلْية وجوه التاريخ، وقمم الشرف والكرامة والعزّة ومَنْ تفرّع من دوحاتهم، ورسخت جذوره في بيوتاتهم الرفيعة.

وكانت لأمير المؤمنين عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام جذور ضاربة في سلالة طاهرة كريمة هي سلالة إبراهيم عليه السلام، فهو كرسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله في ذلك. وإبراهيم عليه السلام هو بطل التوحيد، الراغب إلى اللّه، المغرم بحبّه، وهو الواضع سنّة الحجّ؛ رمز العبودية ومقارعة الشرك. وهكذا فالحديث عن جُدود النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله حديث عن جدود عليّ عليه السلام، والكلام عن سلالته صلى الله عليه وآله هو بعينه الكلام عن سلالة أخيه ووصيّه عليه السلام، قال صلى الله عليه وآله في أسلافه:

> "Allah chose Ishmael from the children of Abraham, chose Banī Kinānah from the children of Ishmael, chose Quraish from Banī Kinānah, and chose Banī Hāshim from Quraysh, and chose me from Banī Hāshim."[1]

Therefore, Banī Hāshim were a group that were chosen from the choicest of families, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and ʿAlī (a.s.) are the choicest of this group. In describing the lineage of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) said:

> "His family is the best of families and his tree the best of trees. It grew in a sanctuary and blossomed in nobility. It has long branches and untouchable fruits."[2]

This commendation is in reality an acclamation of his own lineage, as the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said:

> "Alī and I are from a single tree."[3]

He (ṣ.a.w.) also said:

> "His flesh is my flesh and his blood my blood."[4]

In view of this, the house of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and the house of ʿAlī (a.s.) are the house of prophethood, even as their family roots are those of light and nobility. They are the two chosen ones from the lineage of Abraham and Banī Hāshim, with lofty traits and qualities, including purity, eloquence, kindness, bravery, intelligence, modesty, chastity, forbearance, patience, ect.[5] So is the case with the high position they hold among all the Arab tribes.

1. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "'Alī and I have been created from a single light... Allah, the Sublime and the Exalted, continued to transfer us from pure loins to pure wombs, until He took us to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib."[6]

B. His Father

ʿAbd Manāf ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib known as Abū Ṭālib is one of the ten sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[7] ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was one of the distinguished personalities of Quraish who enjoyed a high prestigious status amongst them. After him came his son Abū Ṭālib who inherited

إنَّ اللّهَ اصطَفى مِن وُلدِ إبراهيمَ إسماعيلَ، وَاصطَفى مِن وُلدِ إسماعيلَ بَني كِنانَةَ، وَاصطَفى مِن بَني كِنانَةَ قُرَيشاً، وَاصطَفى مِن قُرَيشٍ بَني هاشِمٍ، وَاصطَفاني مِن بَني هاشِمٍ.

وهكذا فبنو هاشم هم صفوة اختيرت من بين صفوة الأُسر، ورسول اللّهﷺ وعليّ عليه السلام هما صفوة هذه الصفوة، قال الإمام عليه السلام واصفاً سلالة النبيّ ﷺ:

أُسرَتُهُ خَيرُ الأُسَرِ، وشَجَرَتُهُ خَيرُ الشَّجَرِ؛ نَبَتَت في حَرَمٍ، وبَسَقَت في كَرَمٍ، لَها فُروعٌ طِوالٌ، وثَمَرٌ لا يُنالُ.

وهذا الثناء بحقّ هو ثناء على سلالته عليه السلام أيضاً، حيث قال رسول اللّهﷺ:

أنَا وعَلِيٌّ مِن شَجَرَةٍ واحِدَةٍ.

وقال:

لَحمُهُ لَحمي، ودَمُهُ دَمي.

وعلى هذا يكون بيت رسول اللّهﷺ وبيت عليّ هو بيت النبوّة، وأُرومتهما أُرومة النور والكرامة، وهما المصطفيان من نسل إبراهيم وبني هاشم، مع خصائص ومزايا سامقة؛ كالطهارة، والفصاحة، والسماحة، والشجاعة، والذكاء، والحياء، والعفّة، والحلم، والصبر وأمثالها. ناهيك عن منزلتهما المرموقة العليّة بين قبائل العرب بأجمعها.

ا. رسول اللهﷺ: خُلِقتُ أنَا وعَليٌّ مِن نور واحِد... فَلَم يَزَل يَنقُلُنَا اللّهُ عزّ وجلّ مِن أصلابٍ طاهِرَةٍ إلى أرحامٍ طاهِرَةٍ حَتَّى انتَهى بِنا إلى عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ.

ب ـ الأَبُ

عبد مناف بن عبد المطّلب، المشهور بأبي طالب، أحد العشرة من أولاد عبد المطّلب. وكان عبد المطّلب الوجه المتألّق في قريش، وله منزلته السامقة في أوساطها. ثمّ جاء بعده ولده

this high social status.[8]

The family of Abū Ṭālib was the first family to have two spouses from Banī Hāshim.[9]

Abū Ṭālib undertook to rear the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) after he lost both of his parents in his childhood and then lost his grandfather.[10] When the honest man of Quraish (ṣ.a.w.) became a prophet, Abū Ṭālib spent all his effort in supporting him and gave him all the help he could in the struggle of his difficult journey.

Abū Ṭālib believed in the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) with the deepest of faith,[11] as he openly declared this in his poetry.[12] His high social status within Quraish and people of Mecca and his generous support for the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) were two important factors that protected the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) from the mischief of Quraish.[13]

He accompanied the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) when he was expelled and besieged in the ravine (shiʿb). despite his old age, he endured the problems of the economic boycott and spared no effort to support and console the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).[14]

He had a great right on Islam and Muslims at a time where religion was still strange; after leaving the ravine, he passed away with honour. With his death and the death of Khadījah (a.s.), the Prophet's first wife, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) lost two loyal and sacrificing supporters; thereafter the harm Quraish brought onto the Muslims became severer.[15]

2. **Kamāl al-Dīn, narrating from al-Asbagh ibn Nubātah,** who said: "I heard the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) say: "By Allah, never did my father nor my grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib nor Hāshim nor ʿAbd Manāf worship an idol." When asked: "Then what did they worship?", he said: "They prayed towards the House [the Kaʿbah], following the religion of Abraham (a.s.) and adhering to it."[16]
3. **AL-Kāfī, narrating from Isḥāq ibn Jaʿfar from Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.),** who was told: "It is claimed that Abū Ṭālib was a nonbeliever." He (a.s.) answered: "They are lying. How could he be a nonbeliever when he says:

أبو طالب فورث تلك المكانة الاجتماعيّة العليّة.

وكانت أُسرة أبي طالب أوّل الأُسر التي اجتمع فيها زوجان هاشميّان.

تولّى أبو طالب رعاية النبيّ ﷺ الذي فقد أبو يه في طفولته، ثمّ فقد جدّه. ولمّا بُعث أمين قريش ﷺ لم يدّخر أبو طالب وسعاً في دعمه ومؤازرته على ما هو بسبيله في مسيرته الجهادية الشاقّة.

وآمن به أرسخ الإيمان، وأصحر بذلك في شِعره. وكانت منزلته الاجتماعيّة السامية بين قريش وأهل مكّة، ودعمه السخيّ لرسول اللّه ﷺ، حانلَين أصليّين دون وصول الأذى إليه ﷺ من قريش.

رافقه في حصار الشِّعب، وتحمّل مصائب المقاطعة الاقتصاديّة على كبر سنّه، ولم يتنازل عن معاضدته ومواساته.

وكان له حقّ عظيم على الإسلام والمسلمين في غربة الدين يومئذ. وبعد خروجه من الشعب فارق الحياة حميداً. ففقد النبيّ ﷺ بوفاته ووفاة خديجة عليها السلام عضدَين وفيّين مضحّيين. واشتدّ أذى قريش وتعذيبها للمؤمنين عقب ذلك.

2. **كمال الدين عن الأصبغ بن نباتة:** سَمِعتُ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ ـ صَلَواتُ اللّه عَلَيهِ ـ يَقولُ: وَاللّهِ ما عَبَدَ أبي ولا جَدّي عَبدُ المُطَّلِبِ ولا هاشِمٌ ولا عَبدُ مَنافٍ صَنَماً قَطُّ ! قيلَ لَهُ: فَما كانوا يَعبُدونَ؟ قالَ: كانوا يُصَلّونَ إلَى البَيتِ عَلى دينِ إبراهيمَ عليه السلام، مُتَمَسِّكينَ بِهِ.

3. **الكافي عن إسحاق بن جعفر عن الإمام الصادق** عليه السلام: قيلَ لَهُ: إنَّهُم يَزعُمونَ أنَّ أبا طالِبٍ كانَ كافِراً؟ فَقالَ: كَذَبوا، كَيفَ يَكونُ كافِراً وهُوَ يَقولُ:

"Do you not know that we consider Mohammad,
A prophet like Moses, written in the earliest of books."

In another tradition he (a.s.) said: "How could Abū Ṭālib be a nonbeliever when he says:

"They know that our son is not a liar to us,
Nor does he pay attention to falsehoods.
With his white face, rain is sent down,
A refuge for orphans and a protector of widows."[17]

C. His Mother

Her name was Fāṭimah bint Asad; she was a wise, pious and respectful woman, with a strong faith and a vibrant heart. She undertook the responsibility of raising the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in his childhood,[18] and he would show love to her much, saying:

"She was a mother to me after my mother who gave birth to me."[19]

He would always commend her love and affection for him, saying: "Nobody after Abū Ṭālib was more dutiful to me than she was."[20]

She was the first woman to pledge allegiance to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).[21] She migrated to Medina with ʿAlī and Fāṭimah (a.s.), walking on foot. When this great woman died, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) shrouded her in his own robe.[22] He took part in her funeral, prayed over her and placed her in her grave, after he lay down inside it himself.[23]

ʿAlī (a.s.) was the fourth son of these two shining faces in Islamic history, Abū Ṭālib and Fāṭimah bint Asad, adorning their life, after Ṭālib, ʿAqīl, and Jaʿfar.[24]

4. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "Fāṭimah bint Asad, the mother of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), was the first woman to migrate to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from Mecca to Medina, walking on foot. She was the most dutiful of people to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). She heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say: "People will be resurrected naked on Judgment Day, as they were born." She said: "Oh, what shame!" The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said to her: "I ask Allah to resurrect you fully clothed." She also heard him

أ لَم تَعلَموا أنّا وَجَدنا مُحَمَّداً نَبِيّاً كَموسى خُطَّ في أوّلِ الكُتبِ

وفي حَديث آخَرَ: كَيفَ يَكونُ أبو طالِبٍ كافِراً وهُوَ يَقولُ:

لَقَد عَلِموا أنَّ ابنَنا لا مُكَذَّبٌ لَدَينا ولا يَعبَأُ بِقيلِ الأَباطِلِ

وأبيَضُ يُستَسقَى الغَمامُ بِوَجهِهِ ثِمالُ اليَتامىٰ عِصمَةٌ لِلأَرامِلِ

ج - الأُمُّ

فاطمة بنت أسد، وكانت امرأة لبيبة، صلبة العقيدة، فتيّة القلب، بَرّة، مبجَّلة. احتضنت النبيّ ﷺ في طفولته، فكان يحبّها حبّاً شديداً، حتى قال فيها: «كانَت أُمّي بَعدَ أُمّي الَّتي وَلَدَتني».

وكان يُثني على حنانها وشفقتها عليه قائلاً: «إنَّهُ لَم يَكُن أحَدٌ بَعدَ أبي طالِبٍ أبَرَّ بي مِنها».

وكانت أوّل امرأة بايعت النبيّ ﷺ. وهاجرت إلى المدينة مع عليّ وفاطمة عليها السلام مشياً على الأقدام. ولمّا توفّيت هذه المرأة العظيمة كفّنها رسول اللّه ﷺ بقميصه، وشارك في تشييعها، وصلّى عليها، ثمّ وضعها في قبرها بعدما اضطجع فيه.

وكان عليّ عليه السلام رابع ولد لهذين الوجهين المتألّقين في التاريخ الإسلامي، إذ زيّن حياتهما بهاءً وسناءً بعد طالب وعقيل وجعفر.

4. **الإمام الصادق** عليه السلام: إنَّ فاطِمَةَ بِنتَ أسَد أُمَّ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ كانَت أوَّلَ امرَأةٍ هاجَرَت إلى رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ مِن مَكَّةَ إلَى المَدينَةِ عَلى قَدَمَيها. وكانَت مِن أبَرِّ النّاسِ بِرَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ، فَسَمِعَت رَسولَ اللّهِ وهُوَ يَقولُ: إنَّ النّاسَ يُحشَرونَ يَومَ القِيامَةِ عُراةً كَما وُلِدوا، فَقالَت: وا سَوأتاه! فَقالَ لَها رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ: فَإنّي أسألُ اللّهَ أن يَبعَثَكِ كاسِيَةً. وسَمِعَتهُ يَذكُرُ ضَغطَةَ

mentioning what one will endure in the pressure of the grave. She exclaimed "Oh, my weakness!" The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said to her: "I ask Allah to spare you from that."

One day, she said to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.): "I want to free this servant of mine." He said to her: "If you do, Allah will free for every limb of hers a part of you from Hellfire." When she got ill, she passed her will to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and ordered that her servant be freed. As her tongue was paralysed, she pointed to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), and he accepted her will.

While the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was sitting down one day, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) came to him weeping. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) asked him: "Why are you weeping?" He said: "My mother Fāṭimah has died." The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "By Allah, she is my mother too." He got up in a hurry, went in, saw her and began to weep. He then ordered the women to give her the ritual bath and said to them: "When you finish, do not do anything until you inform me." When they were through, they informed him, and he gave them one of his inner garments and asked them to shroud her with it. He then said to the Muslims: "If you find me doing something I have not done before, then ask me why I did it." When the women finished washing and shrouding her, he (ṣ.a.w.) went in and carried her coffin on his shoulders and continued holding her coffin until he got to her grave. He then put her down, went inside the grave and lay there in it. Then he rose, picked her up, placed her in her grave, and kept whispering to her for a long time...."[25]

D. His Birth

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was born on Friday[26], the thirteenth of Rajab,[27] thirty years after the Year of the Elephant,[28] inside the Holy Kaʿbah.[29]

The scholar, al-ʿAllāmah al-Amīnī, regarding the birth of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and his excellent quality of which there is no equal, says:

"This is a manifest reality, in which both Schools of Thought

القَبرِ، فَقالَت: وَا ضَعفاه! فَقالَ لَها رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ: فَإنّي أسأَلُ اللّهَ أن يَكفِيَكِ ذلِكَ.

وقالَت لِرَسولِ اللّهِﷺ يَوماً: إنّي أُريدُ أن أُعتِقَ جارِيَتي هذِهِ، فَقالَ لَها: إن فَعَلتِ أعتَقَ اللّهُ بِكُلِّ عُضوٍ مِنها عُضواً مِنكِ مِنَ النّارِ.

فَلَمّا مَرِضَت أوصَت إلى رَسولِ اللّهِﷺ، وأمَرَت أن يُعتِقَ خادِمَها، وَاعتَقَلَ لِسانُها، فَجَعَلَت تومي إلى رسولِ اللّهِﷺ إيماءً، فَقَبِلَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ وَصِيَّتَها.

فَبَينَما هُوَ ذاتَ يَومٍ قاعِدٌ إذ أتاهُ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَعليه السلام وهُوَ يَبكي، فَقالَ لَهُ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ: ما يُبكيكَ؟ فَقالَ: ماتَت أُمّي فاطِمَةُ، فَقالَ رَسولُ اللّهِ: وأُمّي وَاللّهِ! وقامَ مُسرِعاً حَتّى دَخَلَ، فَنَظَرَ إلَيها وبَكى. ثُمَّ أمَرَ النِّساءَ أن يُغَسِّلنَها، وقالَﷺ: إذا فَرَغتُنَّ فَلا تُحدِثنَ شَيئاً حَتّى تُعلِمنَني، فَلَمّا فَرَغنَ أعلَمنَهُ بِذلِكَ، فَأعطاهُنَّ أحَدَ قَميصَيهِ الَّذي يَلي جَسَدَهُ وأمَرَهُنَّ أن يُكَفِّنَها فيهِ، وقالَ لِلمُسلِمينَ: إذا رَأيتُموني قَد فَعَلتُ شَيئاً لَم أفعَلهُ قَبلَ ذلِكَ فَسَلوني: لِمَ فَعَلتَهُ؟ فَلَمّا فَرَغنَ مِن غُسلِها وكَفنِها، دَخَلَﷺ فَحَمَلَ جِنازَتَها عَلى عاتِقِهِ، فَلَم يَزَل تَحتَ جِنازَتِها حَتّى أوردَها قَبرَها، ثُمَّ وَضَعَها ودَخَلَ القَبرَ فَاضطَجَعَ فيهِ، ثُمَّ قامَ فَأَخَذَها عَلى يَدَيهِ حَتّى وَضَعَها فِي القَبرِ، ثُمَّ انكَبَّ عَلَيها طَويلاً يُناجيها... .

د ـ المَولِدُ

ولد الإمام عليّعليه السلام في يوم الجمعة الثالث عشر من شهر رجب بعد ثلاثين سنة من عام الفيل في الكعبة المكرّمة.

قال العلّامة الأميني في مولد الإمامعليه السلام وفي فضيلته التي لا بديل لها: «وهذِهِ حَقيقَةٌ ناصِعَةٌ

agree upon, and to which many traditions and books make reference. Therefore, we will not pay attention to those who speak without restraint to deny it, after a good number of scholars from both Schools of Thought have consolidated the recurrent successive transmission of this event."[30]

5. **Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Saḥīḥain:** "There is a unanimous agreement on the report that Fāṭimah bint Asad gave birth to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) inside (the walls of) the Kaʿbah.[31]

E. His Names

When Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was born, his mother chose for him the name 'Ḥaydarah' (lit. lion),[32] in dedication to the name of her father Asad (lit. lion),[33] and then she and her father agreed, by Divine inspiration, to name him "Alī'.

There are other names for him that have been mentioned within the contexts of historical and traditional texts, extensively cited in Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib Encyclopaedia.[34]

6. **Imām al-Sajjād (a.s.) said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was sitting one day with ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.) when said: "By Him who has rightfully sent me as a giver of glad tidings, there is no one on the face of this earth more loved to Allah the Exalted nor more honoured by Him than we. Indeed, Allah the Exalted and the Lofty, derived my name from His name; He is the Maḥmūd (the praiseworthy) and I am Muḥammad; as for you ʿAlī, He derived your name from one of His names; He is the ʿĀlī (the High) and you are ʿAlī..."[35]

F. His Kunyas and Nicknames

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) had many Kunyas and nicknames, the most widely known of them is Abū al-Ḥasan,[36] There are other kunyas and nicknames that have been mentioned such as:

Abū al-Ḥusain, Abū al-Sibṭain,[37], Abū al-Rayḥānatayn and Abū Turāb, even though the correct definition of a kunya[38] does not apply to some of them.

أصفَقَ عَلى إثباتِهَا الفَريقانِ، وتَضافَرَت بِهَا الأَحاديثُ، وطَفَحَت بِها الكُتُبُ، فَلا نَعبَأُ بِجَلَبَةِ رُماةِ القَولِ عَلى عَواهِنِهِ بَعدَ نَصِّ جَمعٍ مِن أعلامِ الفَريقَينِ عَلى تَواتُرِ حَديثِ هذِهِ الأثارَةِ».

5. **المستدرك على الصحيحين**: قَد تَواتَرَتِ الأَخبارُ أنَّ فاطِمَةَ بِنتَ أسَدٍ وَلَدَت أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ عليه السلام في جَوفِ الكَعبَةِ.

هـ. الأَسماءُ

لمّا ولد الإمام عليه السلام، اختارت له أُمّه فاطمة بنت أسد اسم «حيدرة» تيمّناً باسم أبيها «أسد»، ثمّ اتّفقت هي وأبو ه ـ وبإلهام ربّاني ـ على تسميته «عليّاً».

وكانت له أسماء أُخرى أيضاً ذكرت في سياق النصوص التاريخيّة والروائيّة لموسوعة الإمام علي عليه السلام.

6. **الإمام زين العابدين** عليه السلام: كانَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله ذاتَ يَومٍ جالِساً وعِندَهُ عَلِيٌّ وفاطِمَةُ وَالحَسَنُ وَالحُسَينُ عليهم السلام، فَقالَ: وَالَّذي بَعَثَني بِالحَقِّ بَشيراً، ما عَلى وَجهِ الأَرضِ خَلقٌ أحَبَّ إلَى اللّهِ عزَّ وجَلَّ ولا أكرَمَ عَلَيهِ مِنّا. إنَّ اللّهَ تَبارَكَ وتَعالى شَقَّ لِيَ اسماً مِن أسمائِهِ؛ فَهُوَ مَحمودٌ وأنَا مُحَمَّدٌ، وشَقَّ لَكَ يا عَلِيُّ اسماً مِن أسمائِهِ؛ فَهُوَ العَلِيُّ الأَعلى وأنتَ عَلِيٌّ... .

و ـ الكُنى

كانت لأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام كنى عديدة، أشهرها: أبو الحسن، وثمّة كنى أُخرى ذُكرت له عليه السلام، منها: أبو الحسين، وأبو السبطين، وأبو الريحانتين، وأبو تراب، وإن كان التعريف الاصطلاحي للكنية لا ينطبق على بعضها.

Through different traditions it can be seen that the dearest of agnomens to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was Abū Turāb. He was pleased to be called by it for many reasons. One of them was that he found in it a sort of humbleness and humility to Allah, the Exalted. Another reason is that it reminded him of the amiable treatment by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) towards him in the battle of Dhāt al-ʿAshīrah, where he (a.s.) was lying on the ground along with ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir with dust stuck to his skin. This was the reason why he was so specially attached to this kunya.

7. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "During the life of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), Ḥasan would call me Abū al-Ḥusain, and Ḥusain would call me Abū al-Ḥasan, and they would call the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) their father. When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) passed away, they called me their father."[39]
8. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, narrating from Abū Hāzim, who said:** "A man came to Sahl bin Saʿd and said: "Here is someone calling ʿAlī some names on the pulpit –referring to the governor of Medina–." He said: "What is he saying?" He answered: "He is calling him 'Abū Turāb'." Saʿd laughed and said: "By Allah, he was named Abū Turāb by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), and by Allah, no other name was dearer to him than that." I found the conversation of Sahl to be attractive, so I asked: "O Abū ʿAbbās, how is that so?" He said: "'Alī went into the house of Fāṭimah, and then he came out and went to lie down in the mosque. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) asked Fāṭimah: "Where is your cousin?" She said: "In the mosque." He (ṣ.a.w.) went ahead and found his robe fallen off his back, so he brushed the dust off his back and said twice: "Sit up, O Abū Turāb."[40]

G. His Titles

The personality of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) is an ocean whose depth cannot be fathomed. He is an extraordinary person of great dimensions and he is unique in history, with no equal. He (a.s.) had many titles, each of which refers to one of the high dimensions of the knowledge, practice, education, social, spiritual and political aspects of his personality.

ويتراءى من الروايات أنّ كنية «أبو تراب» كانت أحبّ الكنى إليه عليه السلام، وأنّه كان يُسرّ إذا نودي بها؛ لأُمور منها: أنّه كان يجد فيها نوعاً من التواضع والتذلّل للّه سبحانه. ومنها: أنّها كانت تذكّره بملاطفة النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله معه في غزوة ذات العشيرة حيث كان متوسّداً التراب بصحبة عمّار بن ياسر وقد أصابه شيء منه، ولذا كان له عليه السلام انشداد وتعلّق خاصّ بتلك الكنية.

7. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام: كانَ الحَسَنُ في حَياةِ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله يَدعوني اُبَا الحُسَينِ، وكانَ الحُسَينُ يَدعوني اُبَا الحَسَنِ، ويَدعُوانِ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله اباهُما. فَلَمّا تُوُفِّيَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله دَعَواني بِأَبيهِما.

8. **صحيح البخاري عن أبي حازم**: إنَّ رَجُلاً جاءَ إلى سَهلِ بنِ سَعدٍ فَقالَ: هذا فُلانٌ ـ لِأَميرِ المَدينَةِ ـ يَدعو عَلِيّاً عِندَ المِنبَرِ. قالَ: فَيَقولُ ماذا؟ قالَ: يَقولُ لَهُ: أبو تُرابٍ. فَضَحِكَ؛ قالَ: وَاللّهِ ما سَمّاهُ إلّا النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله ! وما كانَ ـ وَاللّهِ ـ لَهُ اسمٌ أحَبَّ إلَيهِ مِنهُ !

فَاستَطعَمتُ الحَديثَ سَهلاً، وقُلتُ: يا أبا عَبّاسٍ، كَيفَ ذلِكَ ؟

قالَ: دَخَلَ عَلِيٌّ عَلى فاطِمَةَ ثُمَّ خَرَجَ، فَاضطَجَعَ فِي المَسجِدِ، فَقالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: أينَ ابنُ عَمِّكِ؟ قالَت: فِي المَسجِدِ، فَخَرَجَ إلَيهِ، فَوَجَدَ رِداءَهُ قَد سَقَطَ عَن ظَهرِهِ، وخَلَصَ التُّرابُ إلى ظَهرِهِ، فَجَعَلَ يَمسَحُ التُّرابَ عَن ظَهرِهِ فَيَقولُ: اِجلِس يا أبا تُرابٍ ـ مَرَّتَينِ ـ .

ز ـ الألقابُ

إنّ شخصيّة عليّ عليه السلام بحر لا يُدرك غوره، فهو ذو شخصيّة فذّة ذات أبعاد عظيمة فريدة في التاريخ لا نظير لها. وكان للإمام عليه السلام ألقاب وأوصاف كثيرة يشير كلٌّ منها إلى بعد من تلك الأبعاد العلميّة والعمليّة والثقافيّة والاجتماعيّة والمعنويّة والسياسيّة الرفيعة لشخصيّته عليه السلام . ويعود جُلّها إلى عصر النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله؛ إذ كان رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله يناديه بها.

Most of these titles date back to the time of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) who would address him thereby. These include: 'the most knowledgeable of the community', 'the most able judge of the community', 'the first to embrace Islam', 'the first to pray', 'the best of mankind', 'the Commander of the Faithful', 'the imam of the god-wary', 'the leader of the unique ones', 'the master of the Muslims', 'the master of the believers', 'the chief of the true believers', 'the pillar of religion', 'the master of martyrs', 'the master of the Arabs', 'the banner of guidance', 'the gate of guidance', 'Ḥaydar', 'al-Murtaḍā', 'the guardian', and 'the executor'.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) used to call Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) by these titles. He (ṣ.a.w.) was in reality preparing the ground for the leadership of Alī (a.s.) and introducing his great status and his significant position in leadership, along with expounding the dimensions of his personality. He would do this to show his concern about the future of the Islamic nation and the great task the Imām (a.s.) would undertake in the foreseeable future. If we look into these titles, we see that the most well-known of them are two: 'The Commander of the Faithful' (amīr al-mu'minīn) and 'The Executor' (al-waṣī).

H. His Features

Historical and traditional texts have not mentioned any details about the physical features of the Imām (a.s.) at the time of his birth or his childhood, so what has been cited in description of his features is based on what has been narrated during the era of his Caliphate. Accordingly, we are able to describe him (a.s.) in the following way:

He was of medium height, rather short and stout, of distinguished appearance people, like a full moon in its beauty. He would smile very much and had a tanned complexion with large, soft, dark eyes. He was bald, and his neck was like a silver urn. He had a thick beard, without any dye on his grey hair, having a wide chest, thick hands, and strong arms and hands. He had a large stomach, heavy arms and strong leg muscles, fine towards the feet, and he would lean forward in his steps.

ومن هذه الألقاب: «أعلم الأُمّة»، «أقضى الأُمّة»، «أوّل من أسلم»، «أوّل من صلّى»، «خير البشر»، «أمير المؤمنين»، «إمام المتّقين»، «قائد الغرّ المحجّلين»، «سيّد المسلمين»، «سيّد المؤمنين»، «يعسوب المؤمنين»، «الأنزع البطين»، «عمود الدين»، «سيّد الشهداء»، «سيّد العرب»، «راية الهدى»، «باب الهدى»، «حيدر»، «المرتضى»، «الوليّ»، «الوصيّ».

وما برح رسول اللّهﷺ يذكر الإمامعليه السلام بهذه الألقاب. وكان في الحقيقة يمهّد بها لقيادته وزعامته، والتعريف بمنزلته العظيمة وموقعه المتميّز في القيادة مع تبيين أبعاد شخصيّتهعليه السلام، وذلك من منطلق اهتمامه بمستقبل الأُمّة الإسلاميّة ومهمّة الإمام العظمى في المستقبل المنظور.

وإذا لاحظنا ألقاب الإمامعليه السلام نجد أنّ أشهرها لقبان هما: «أميرالمؤمنين» و «الوصي».

ح ـ الشَّمائِلُ

لم تحمل إلينا النصوص التاريخيّة والحديثيّة شيئاً عن ملامح الإمامعليه السلام إبّان ولادته وفي صغره، ومن هنا فإنّ ما يأتي في هذا المجال يرتبط بملامحه وهندامه أيّام خلافتهعليه السلام . وفي ضوء ذلك يتسنّى لنا أن نصفهعليه السلام فنقول:

كانعليه السلام رَبْعة من الرجال؛ إلى القِصَر أقرب وإلى السمن، من أحسن الناس وجهاً، وكأنّ وجهه القمر ليلة البدر حسناً، كثير التبسُّم، آدَم اللون يميل إلى السُّمرة، أدْعَج العينين عظيمهما، في عينيه لين، أصلع، كأنّ عنقه إبريق فضّة، كَثّ اللحية، لا يغيّر شيبَه، عريض ما بين المنكبين، شَثْن الكفّين، شديد الساعد واليد، عريض الصدر، ذا بطن، ضخم الكَرادِيس، ضخم عضلة الذراع والساق دقيقَ مُستدَقّها، إذا مشى تكفّأ.

Chapter Two

His Upgrowth

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was close to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from the very early years of his life. When the living conditions became difficult for Abū Ṭālib for some time, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) proposed to the brothers of Abū Ṭālib to help their brother by taking the responsibility of raising some of his sons, taking them to their houses, to make life easier for him.

The will of Allah, the Almighty, was that ʿAlī (a.s.) was to go to the house of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and live there. He (ṣ.a.w.) took charge of raising ʿAlī since his early age.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) loved this young child. He would hold him to his chest, anoint him with his fragrance, feed him by his hand, nurture him minute by minute and oversee him with radiant divine lights.

The Imām (a.s.) was brought up in such an atmosphere and in the arms of Prophethood. He drank from the spring of its pure virtues and spent his days very close to his cousin.

When the first beams of revelation shone, he believed in the Muḥammadī Message with certitude. As his soul was entwined with the soul of the Messenger (ṣ.a.w.), he was the first to believe in him (ṣ.a.w.).

In an eloquent sermon of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) called al-Qāsiʿah,[41] he depicts most beautifully this accompaniment and the role the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) played in bringing him up, preparing him, and showing love for him; so he (a.s.) was enlightened by this accompaniment.

الفصل الثاني

النَّشْأَةُ

رافق عليّ عليه السلام رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله منذ السنين الأُولى من عمره؛ فقد عسرت الحياة على أبي طالب برهة، وضاقت به الأُمور، فاقترح رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله على إخوة أبي طالب أن يأخذوا منه بعض أولاده إلى بيوتهم؛ لتخفيف عبء العيش عن كاهله.

وشاءت إرادة اللّه تعالى أن يكون عليّ عليه السلام في بيت رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله، فتولّى تربيته منذ نعومة أظفاره.

وكان النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله يحبّ هذا الطفل الصغير؛ يضمّه إلى صدره، ويُمِسّه عَرْفَه، ويُلقمه الطعام، ويرعى حياته لحظة لحظة، وينفحه بالأنوار الإلهيّة المشعّة.

وهكذا تربّى الإمام عليه السلام في حجر النبوّة، وارتوى من منهل فضائلها الرائق، وأمضى أيّامه ملازماً لها ملازمة الظلّ لصاحبه.

وحين سطعت القبسات الأُولى للوحي صدّق بالرسالة المحمّديّة موقناً؛ إذ كانت روحه قد تواشجت هي وروح صاحبها. من هنا كان أوّل من صدّقه صلى الله عليه وآله.

ونجد في الخطبة البليغة الرفيعة «القاصعة» أجمل تصوير لهذه الملازمة، ولدور رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله في تربيته وإعداده عليه السلام، وحبّه إيّاه، واستنارة الإمام عليه السلام بهذه الملازمة.

9. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said, in his sermon al-Qāsiʿah:** "Even in my boyhood I had lowered the chest of [the chiefs of] Arabia and broken the horn points [i.e., defeated the lords and mastres] of the tribes of Rabīʿa and Muḍar. You know my position of close kinship and special relationship with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). When I was but a child, he took charge of me. He used to press me to his chest and lay me beside him in his bed, bringing his body close to mine and making me smell his fragrance. He used to chew something and feed me with it. He found no lie in my speaking, no weakness in any act.

Allah had linked a mighty angel to him from the time of his infancy to take him along the path of high character and good behaviour through day and night, while I used to follow him like a young camel following in the footprints of its mother. Every day he would show me, in the form of a banner, some of his high traits and commanded me to follow them. Every year he would go in seclusion to the Cave of Ḥirā', where no one save me could see him. No single house in Islam would then bring together anyone other than the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and Khadījah, and I was the third of them. I used to see the light of divine revelation and the Message and smell the scent of Prophethood."[42]

9. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام في خُطبَتِهِ المُسَمّاةِ بالقاصِعَةِ ـ: أنَا وَضَعتُ فِي الصِّغَرِ بِكَلاكِلِ العَرَبِ، وكَسَرتُ نَواجِمَ قُرونِ رَبيعَةَ ومُضَرَ، وقَد عَلِمتُم مَوضِعي مِن رَسولِ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله بِالقَرابَةِ القَريبَةِ، وَالمَنزِلَةِ الخَصيصَةِ؛ وَضَعَني في حِجرِهِ وأنَا وَلَدٌ يَضُمُّني إلى صَدرِهِ، ويَكنُفُني في فِراشِهِ، ويُمِسُّني جَسَدَهُ، ويُشِمُّني عَرفَهُ، وكان يَمضَغُ الشَّيءَ ثُمَّ يُلقِمُنيهِ، وما وَجَدَ لي كَذبَةً في قَولٍ، ولا خَطلَةً في فِعلٍ.

ولَقَد قَرَنَ اللّهُ بِهِصلى الله عليه وآله مِن لَدُن أن كانَ فَطيماً أعظَمَ مَلَكٍ مِن مَلائِكَتِهِ؛ يَسلُكُ بِهِ طَريقَ المَكارِمِ، ومَحاسِنَ أخلاقِ العالَمِ، لَيلَهُ ونَهارَهُ. ولَقَد كُنتُ أتَّبِعُهُ اتِّباعَ الفَصيلِ أثَرَ أُمِّهِ، يَرفَعُ لي في كُلِّ يَومٍ من أخلاقِهِ عَلَماً، ويأمُرُني بِالاقتِداءِ بِهِ. ولَقَد كانَ يُجاوِرُ في كُلِّ سَنَةٍ بِحِراءَ، فَأَراهُ ولا يَراهُ غَيري. ولَم يَجمَع بَيتٌ واحِدٌ يَومَئِذٍ فِي الإسلامِ غَيرَ رَسولِ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله وخَديجَةَ وأنَا ثالِثُهُما، أرى نورَ الوَحيِ وَالرِّسالَةِ، وأشُمُّ ريحَ النُّبُوَّةِ.

Chapter Three

His Marriage

A) Marriage to Fāṭimah (a.s.), Daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) migrated to Medina after thirteen years of difficulties, hardships, and bitter circumstance, in order to convey the Message, and it was there that he established the foundations of the Islamic state.

ʿAlī (a.s.) was at his side from the first days of the Message. He was twenty four years old to the first year of Hijrah, so it was necessary for him to get married and start his family life. At that time, Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (a.s.) was nine years of age.[43] She was the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.); she had an elevated status, integrating all human virtues and noble divine qualities. Her father would always praise her and call her a part of him (biḍʿah).

The status of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and his leadership of the nation on one side and the personality of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (a.s.) on the other were two factors that encouraged many of the companions to come to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and propose marriage to her, especially those who were thinking about their future interests through this relationship. However, her father would promptly refuse and would sometimes say that he was awaiting the decree of Allah.[44]

A number of loyal companions of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) suggested to him to propose marryiage to her. The heart of the Imām (a.s.) was full of faith and his chest was brimful with the love of Allah, but he was empty handed without any Dinars or Dirhams.

الفصل الثالث

الزَّواجُ

أ ـ تَزويجُهُ فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام بِنتَ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله

هاجر رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله إلى المدينة بعد ثلاث عشرة سنة مليئة بالعناء والمشقّة والمصائب المريرة من أجل تبليغ الرسالة، وأرسى دعائم الحكومة الإسلاميّة هناك.

وكان عليّ عليه السلام معه صلى الله عليه وآله منذ الأيّام الأُولى للرسالة. وكان في السنة الأُولى من الهجرة ابن أربع وعشرين سنة؛ فلابدّ له من الزواج وبدء الحياة المشتركة.

وكانت الزهراء عليها السلام قد بلغت يومئذٍ التاسعة من عمرها. وهي بنت رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله، ولها منزلتها الرفيعة الزاخرة بالفضائل الإنسانيّة، والخصائص الملكوتيّة السامية. وقد أثنى عليها أبو ها مراراً، وسمّاها بضعته.

وكان موقع النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله في زعامة الأُمّة من جهة، وشخصيّة الزهراء عليها السلام من جهة أُخرى، عاملَين مشجّعين لكثير من الصحابة بخاصّة من كان يفكّر منهم بمستقبله عبر هذه الأواصر على التقدّم لخطوبة الزهراء عليها السلام. بيد أنّ أباها كان يرفض رفضاً قاطعاً، ويصرّح أحياناً بأنّه ينتظر فيها قضاء اللّه.

He went to the house of prophecy but the solemnity of prophethood blocked his speech. One moment he would look at the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), full of shyness, and then he would look at the ground. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) encouraged him to talk by giving preparations; when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) got ʿAlī (a.s.) to speak, he asked: "Do you have anything?" The answer was clear!

As for Fāṭimah, would there be any equal to her other than ʿAlī?!

The divine order was actualised, as the great Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) himself desired.[45] The two great personalities started their life in the first year after Hijrah,[46] with a small dowry,[47] a simple ceremony[48] and even simpler furnishings and tools.[49] Thus, the greatest household in history was born and the most radiant shared life started.

A house in the neighbourhood of the house of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was established. It was small, but larger than all history, and it truly became the source of envy to of all the inhabitants of the heavens and earth.

It was source of virtue, honour, love, faith, selflessness, struggle, simplicity, and above all, it would reach the heaven in loftiness and eminence.

The master of this house –the devout man of the night, standing in prayer in its darkness– was the warrior of battles, who would barely have his wounds healed, only to plunge into another battle. He (a.s.) was the bravest of fighters, and the greatest of them in challenging his equals.

The lady of the house was a venerable, solemn and enduring woman, who bore the hardship of life and was content with the least of provisions. She would dress the wounds of her father and husband,[50] so much so that her father described her by the gentlest expression: "She is the mother of her father."[51] The first fruit of this divine marriage was Imām Ḥasan (a.s.), who was born in the third year after Hijrah,[52] and the second fruit was Imām Ḥusain (a.s.) who was born in the fourth year.[53]

After them, Zaynab was born, followed by Um Kulthūm, whereas

واقترح على الإمام عليّ عليه السلام عدد من الصحابة الموالين له أن يتقدّم لخطوبتها عليها السلام. وكان قلب الإمام طافحاً بالإيمان، وصدره مفعماً بحبّ اللّه، لكنّه خالي الوفاض من الدراهم والدنانير.

فتوجّه تلقاء البيت النبويّ، ومنعته الهيبة النبويّة من الكلام، وكان ينظر مرّةً إلى النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله نظرة ملينة بالحياء، وأُخرى إلى الأرض. فأنطقه النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله من خلال بعض التمهيدات، ولمّا تكلّم قال له: أ معك شيء؟ والجواب واضح !

أمّا فاطمة، فهل لها كُفء غير عليّ؟ !

وتحقّق الأمر الإلهيّ، كما أشار إليه النبيّ الأعظم وبدأ هذان العظيمان حياتهما المشتركة في السنة الأُولى من الهجرة بمهرٍ قليل، ومراسم بسيطة، وجهاز أكثر بساطة. وهكذا ولد أعظم بيت في التاريخ، وبدأت أبهى حياة مشتركة.

وتكوّن في جوار بيت النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله بيت صغير هو أكبر من التاريخ كلّه، وكان مغبط أهل السماوات والأرض حقّاً !

وكان منهل الفضائل والمكارم، والعشق، والإيمان، والإيثار، والجهاد، وبساطة العيش، بل كان يناطح السماء علوّاً ورفعة.

أمّا سيّده ـ راهب الليل المتهجِّد في جوفه ـ فقد كان ليث الوغى، لا تكاد تبرأ جراحه بعدُ حتى يخوض حرباً أُخرى. وكان عليه السلام أشجع المقاتلين، وأعظمهم منازلة للأقران.

وأمّا صاحبته فقد كانت السيّدة الرزينة الصبور، حملت عبء الحياة، ورضيت بأقلّ الإمكانات. وكانت تضمّد جراح بعلها وأبيها، حتى عبّر عنها رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله تعبيراً لطيفاً، فقال: «فاطِمَةُ أُمُّ أبيها».

وكانت الثمرة الأُولى لهذا الزواج الإلهي هو الإمام الحسن عليه السلام الذي ولد في السنة الثالثة

the last of them was Muḥsin who was martyred after a miscarriage accident.[54]

10. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "I am but a human like you. I get married amongst you and marry you off, except for Fāṭimah: her marriage has descended from heaven."[55]
11. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "Had not Allah, the Exalted, created the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) for Fāṭimah (a.s), nobody on the face of this earth from Adam onwards would have been equal to her."[56]
12. **Al-Amālī, by al-Ṭūsī, narrating from al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Muzāḥim, who said:** "I heard ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) say: "Abū Bakr and ʿUmar came to me and said: "Why do you not go to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and speak with him regarding Fāṭimah?" He said: "So I went to him; when the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) saw me, he smiled and said: "What is it that has brought you, O Abū al-Ḥasan? And what do you need?" He said: "I mentioned my kinship to him, my precedence in Islam, my support of him, and my struggle, so he said: "O ʿAlī, you are right, and you are even better than what you say." I said: "O Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), would you marry Fāṭimah to me?" He said: "O ʿAlī, many men have proposed before you, and I mentioned them to her and saw dissatisfaction on her face; so, wait, and I will come back to you." He went to her and she stood up to receive him. She took his cloak off him and took off his shoes. She brought some water for him for ablution, washed him with her hands and washed his feet, and sat down. He said to her: "O Fāṭimah." She answered: "I am at your command, what do you request, O Messenger of Allah." He said: "'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib is here, and you know his kinship to us, his virtue and his [precedence in] Islam. I have asked my Lord to marry you to the best of His creatures and the dearest to Him, and he ['Alī] has mentioned you. What do you say?" She kept silent, but did not turn her face away. The Messenger of Allah did not find in it any dissatisfaction, so he got up, saying: "Allah is Greater. Her silence is her acceptance." Then the angel Gabriel (a.s.) descended and said: "O Mohammad,

من الهجرة، والثانية هو الإمام الحسين عليه السلام الذي ولد في السنة الرابعة منها، ثمّ ولدت بعدهما زينب وأمّ كلثوم، وآخرهم هو المحسن الذي أُجهض شهيداً.

10. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** إنَّما أنَا بَشَرٌ مِثلُكُم أتَزَوَّجُ فيكُم وأُزَوِّجُكُم، إلّا فاطِمَةَ فَإنَّ تَزويجَها نَزَلَ مِنَ السَّماءِ.

11. **الإمام الصادق عليه السلام:** لَولا أنَّ اللّهَ تَبارَكَ وتَعالى خَلَقَ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام لِفاطِمَةَ، ما كانَ لَها كُفوٌ عَلى ظَهرِ الأَرضِ مِن آدَمَ ومَن دونَهُ.

12. **الأمالي للطوسي عن الضحّاك بن مزاحم:** سَمِعتُ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ عليه السلام يَقولُ: أتاني أبو بَكرٍ وعُمَرُ فَقالا: لَو أتَيتَ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله فَذَكَرتَ لَهُ فاطِمَةَ. قالَ: فَأَتَيتُهُ، فَلَمّا رَآني رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله ضَحِكَ، ثُمَّ قالَ: ما جاءَ بِكَ يا أبَا الحَسَنِ؟ وما حاجَتُكَ ؟قالَ: فَذَكَرتُ لَهُ قَرابَتي وقِدَمي فِي الإسلامِ ونُصرَتي لَهُ وجِهادي، فَقالَ: يا عَلِيُّ صَدَقتَ، فَأنتَ أفضَلُ مِمّا تَذكُرُ.

فَقُلتُ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، فاطِمَةُ تُزَوِّجُنيها؟ فَقالَ: يا عَلِيُّ، إنَّهُ قَد ذَكَرَها قَبلَكَ رِجالٌ، فَذَكَرتُ ذلِكَ لَها، فَرَأيتُ الكَراهَةَ في وَجهِها، ولكِن عَلى رِسلِكَ حَتّى أخرُجَ إلَيكَ. فَدَخَلَ عَلَيها فَقامَت إلَيهِ، فَأَخَذَت رِداءَهُ ونَزَعَت نَعلَيهِ، وأتَتهُ بِالوَضوءِ، فَوَضَّأَتهُ بِيَدِها وغَسَلَت رِجلَيهِ، ثُمَّ قَعَدَت، فَقالَ لَها: يا فاطِمَةُ، فَقالَت: لَبَّيكَ !حاجَتُكَ يا رَسولَ اللّهِ؟ قالَ: إنَّ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ مَن قَد عَرَفتِ قَرابَتَهُ وفَضلَهُ وإسلامَهُ، وإنّي قَد سَأَلتُ ربّي أن يُزَوِّجَكِ خَيرَ خَلقِهِ وأحَبَّهُم إلَيهِ، وقَد ذَكَرَ مِن أمرِكِ شَيئاً، فَما تَرَينَ؟ فَسَكَتَت ولَم تُوَلِّ وَجهَها، ولَم يرَ فيهِ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله كَراهَةً، فَقامَ وهُوَ يَقولُ: اللّهُ أكبَرُ! سُكوتُها إقرارُها.

marry her to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for Allah has approved him for her and approved her for him."[57]

13. **Sunan Ibn Mājah, narrating from ʿĀ'ishah and Um Salamah, who said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered us to prepare Fāṭimah for her wedding to ʿAlī. We covered the house courtyard with soft sand from the desert side and stuffed two pillows with fibre from a palm tree, which we puffed up with our own hands. We fed dates and raisins, give fresh water to drink; then and we fixed a wooden stick on the side of the house on which to hang dresses and suspend waterskins. We never saw a wedding better than that of Fāṭimah."[58]
14. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said, -regarding his marriage to Fāṭimah (a.s.)-:** "... Then the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) called out to me: "O ʿAlī." I said: "Here I am, O Messenger of Allah." He said: "Go into your house, be gentle with your bride, and be kind to her. Fāṭimah is a part of me. Whatever hurts her hurts me and whatever pleases her pleases me. I leave you with Allah, and to Him I entrust your well-being."[59]

B) His Wives after Fāṭimah (a.s.), daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) lived with Fāṭimah (a.s.) for nine years, and during her lifetime, he did not marry any other woman. After her death, he married a number of women as follows:

1. Umāma bint Abī al-ʿĀṣ.
2. Asmā' bint ʿUmays.
3. Fāṭimah Um al-Banīn.
4. Um Saʿīd bint ʿUrwah ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī.
5. Khawlah bint Jaʿfar ibn Qays.
6. al-Ṣahbā' bint Rabīʿah.
7. Laylā bint Masʿūd.
8. Muḥayyāt bint Imrī' al-Qays.

Besides his wives, he had seventeen bondmaids from some of whom he had children. At the time of his death, he had four wives: Umāmah, Um al-Banīn, Asmā' bint Umays and Laylā bint Masʿūd.[60]

فَأَتاهُ جَبرَئيلُ عليه السلام فَقالَ: يا مُحَمَّدُ، زَوِّجها عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ؛ فَإنَّ اللّهَ قَد رَضِيَها لَهُ ورَضِيَهُ لَها.

13. **سنن ابن ماجة عن عائشة وأمّ سلمة:** أمَرَنا رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله أن نُجَهِّزَ فاطِمَةَ حَتّى نُدخِلَها عَلى عَلِيٍّ. فَعَمَدنا إلَى البَيتِ فَفَرَشناهُ تُراباً لَيِّناً مِن أعراضِ البَطحاءِ، ثُمَّ حَشَونا مِرفَقَتَينِ ليفاً فَنَفَشناهُ بِأيدينا، ثُمَّ أطعَمَنا تَمراً وزَبيباً، وسَقَينا ماءً عَذباً، وعَمَدنا إلى عودٍ فَعَرَضناهُ في جانِبِ البَيتِ لِيُلقى عَلَيهِ الثَّوبُ ويُعَلَّقَ عَلَيهِ السِّقاءُ. فَما رَأَينا عُرساً أحسَنَ مِن عُرسِ فاطِمَةَ.

14. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام في ذِكرِ زَواجِهِ مِن فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام:... ثُمَّ صاحَ بي رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله: يا عَلِيُّ، فَقُلتُ: لَبَّيكَ يا رَسولَ اللّهِ! قالَ: أدخُل بَيتَكَ وَالطُف بِزَوجَتِكَ وَارفَق بِها؛ فَإنَّ فاطِمَةَ بَضعَةٌ مِنّي، يُؤلِمُني ما يُؤلِمُها ويَسُرُّني ما يَسُرُّها، أستَودِعُكُمَا اللّهَ وأستَخلِفُهُ عَلَيكُما.

ب ـ زَوجاتُهُ بَعدَ فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام بِنتِ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله

عاش الإمام عليه السلام تسع سنين مع فاطمة عليها السلام، ولم يتزوّج في حياتها غيرها. وبعد وفاتها عليها السلام تزوّج عدداً من النساء، وفيما يأتي أسماؤهنّ:

1. أُمامَةُ بِنتُ أبي العاصِ.
2. أسماءُ بِنتُ عُمَيسٍ.
3. فاطِمَةُ أُمُّ البَنينَ.
4. أُمُّ سَعيدٍ بِنتُ عُروَةَ بنِ مَسعودٍ الثَّقَفِيِّ.
5. خَوَلَةُ بِنتُ جَعفَرِ بنِ قَيسٍ.
6. الصَّهباءُ بِنتُ رَبيعَةَ.
7. لَيلى بِنتُ مَسعودٍ.
8. مُحَيّاةُ بِنتُ امرِئِ القَيسِ.

وكان له غيرهنّ سبع عشرة سُرِّيّة بعضهنّ أُمّهات ولد.

وكانت أزواجه عند استشهاده أُمامة، وأُمّ البنين، وأسماء بنت عميس، وليلى بنت مسعود.

Chapter Four

His Children

There is no agreement among historians upon the number of children Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) had. Sheikh al-Mufīd says that he had twenty seven[61] males and females; while Ibn Saʿd and al-Mazzi assert that they were thirty-four children[62] or thirty-nine.[63] This difference that can be seen in historical books may be attributed to the confusion between names and agnomens and the repetition of the names. By thorough research we have concluded that there were thirty-four children as follows:

Imām Ḥasan (a.s.)
Imām Ḥusain (a.s.)
Zaynab
Um Kulthūm
al-Muḥassin.[64] [65]

Their mother is Fāṭimah (a.s.), the daughter of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), and Muḥassin was her last son who was killed in a miscarriage after the savage attack on the house of revelation.[66]

ʿAbbās
ʿAbdullah
ʿUthmān
Jaʿfar

الفصل الرابع

الأَوْلاد

لم تتّفق كلمة المؤرّخين على عدد موحّد فيما يخصّ عدد أولاده عليه السلام؛ فقد ذكر الشيخ المفيد أنّ عددهم سبعة وعشرون ولداً ذكراً وأُنثى، فيما ذكر ابن سعد أنّهم يبلغون أربعةً وثلاثين ولداً، وذكر المزّي أنّ عددهم تسعة وثلاثون ولداً.

ويمكن عزْو الاختلاف الموجود في الكتب التاريخيّة حول عدد أولاد الإمام إلى تداخل الأسماء مع الكنى وتكرار البعض منها. وقد تبيّن لنا بعد الفحص والتمحيص أنّ عددهم كان يبلغ أربعةً وثلاثين ولداً، وهم كلّ من:

1. الإمام الحسن عليه السلام .
2. الإمام الحسين عليه السلام .
3. زينب.
4. أُمّ كلثوم.
5. المحسّن .

أُمّهم فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله . ومحسّن ولدها الآخر الذي سقط وقُتل في هجوم الغوغاء على بيت الوحي.

6. العبّاس.
7. عبد الله.
8. عثمان.
9. جعفر.

Their mother is Um al-Banīn bint Ḥizām; all of them were martyred with Imām Ḥusain (a.s.) in Karbala.

Muḥammad ibn al-Hanafiyya. His mother is Khawlah bint Jaʿfar ibn Qays.

Abū Bakr. His mother is Laylā, who is most likely to be the daughter of Masʿūd al-Dāramiyya. He was martyred with Imām Ḥusain (a.s.) in Karbala.[67]

ʿUbaydullah. His mother is Laylā; he was martyred with Imām Ḥusain (a.s.) in Karbala.[68]

Muḥammad al-Aṣghar. His mother is a bandmaid; he was martyred with Imām Ḥusain (a.s.) in Karbala.[69]

Yaḥyā. His mother is Asmāʾ bint ʿUmays; he died during the lifetime of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).[70]

ʿAwn. His mother is Asmāʾ bint Umays.[71]

Muḥammad al-Awsat. His mother is Umāmah.[72]

ʿUmar. His mother is al-Ṣahbāʾ al-Taghlibiyyahʿ Um Ḥabīb.

Ruqayyah. Her mother is al-Ṣahbāʾ al-Taghlibiyyah, Um Ḥabīb, the wife of Muslim ibn ʿAqīl.[73] He had three sons from her,[74] one of whom is ʿAbdullah, who was martyred in Karbala.[75]

Um al-Ḥasan. Her mother is Um Saʿīd.[76] She was the wife of Jaʿdah ibn Hubayra, the nephew of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) [his sister's son] , and then Jaʿfar ibn ʿAqīl married her. Jaʿfar was martyred in the battle of al-Ṭaff,[77] and Um al-Ḥasan was among the women taken as captives in Karbala.[78]

Um Hānī. She was married to ʿAbdullah al-Akbar ibn ʿAqīl,[79] who was killed with Imām Ḥusain (a.s.)[80] in Karbala along with his son Muḥammad.[81]

Fāṭimah. She was married to Muḥammad ibn Abī Saʿīd ibn ʿAqīl,[82] who was killed with Imām Ḥusain (a.s.) in Karbala.[83]

Zaynab al-Ṣughrā.[84] She was married to Muḥammad ibn ʿAqīl.[85]

Maymūna. She was married to ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAqīl. (3).[86]

Nafīsa. She was married to ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAqīl.[87]

Khadīja. She was married to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAqīl.[88]

أُمّهم أُمّ البنين بنت حِزام. وكلّهم قُتلوا مع الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء.

10. محمّد ابن الحنفيّة: أُمّه خولة بنت جعفر بن قيس.

11. أبو بكر: أُمّه ليلى، ولعلّها ابنة مسعود الدارميّة. قُتل مع الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء.

12. عبيد اللّه: أُمّه ليلى. قُتل مع الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء.

13. محمّد الأصغر: أُمّه أُمّ ولد. قُتل مع الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء.

14. يحيى: أُمّه أسماء بنت عميس. مات في حياة الإمام عليه السلام .

15. عون: أُمّه أسماء بنت عميس.

16. محمّد الأوسط: أُمّه أُمامة.

17. عمر: أُمّه الصهباء التغلبيّة؛ أُمّ حبيب.

18. رقيّة: أُمّها الصهباء التغلبيّة؛ أُمّ حبيب. وهي زوجة مسلم بن عقيل، وله منها ثلاثة أولاد، استُشهد منهم عبد اللّه في كربلاء.

19. أُمّ الحسن: أُمّها أُمّ سعيد. كانت زوجة جَعدة بن هُبيرة ـ ابن أُخت الإمام عليه السلام ثمّ تزوّجها جعفر بن عقيل. واستُشهد جعفر في واقعة الطفّ. وكانت أُمّ الحسن في سبايا كربلاء.

20. أُمّ هانئ: تزوّجها عبد اللّه الأكبر ابن عقيل الذي قُتل مع الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء مع ابنه محمّد.

21. فاطمة: تزوّجها محمّد بن أبي سعيد بن عقيل الذي قُتل مع الحسين عليه السلام بكربلاء.

22. زينب الصغرى: تزوّجها محمّد بن عقيل.

23. ميمونة: تزوّجها عبد اللّه بن عقيل.

24. نفيسة: تزوّجها عبد اللّه بن عقيل.

25. خديجة: تزوّجها عبد الرحمن بن عقيل.

Umāmah. She was married to al-Ṣalt ibn ʿAbdullah ibn Nawfal ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al Muṭṭalib.[89] She died during the lifetime of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).[90]

Ramla al-Kubrā. Her mother is Um Saʿīd.[91] She was married to ʿAbdullah ibn Abī Sufyān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[92]

Jumāna.[93] She died during the lifetime of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).[94]

Um Salamah.[95]

Ruqayyah al-Ṣughrā.[96]

Um Kulthūm al-Ṣughrā.[97]

Ramlah al- Ṣughrā.[98]

Um al-Kirām.[99]

Um Jaʿfar.[100]

26. أُمامة: تزوّجها الصلت بن عبد اللّه بن نوفل بن الحارث بن عبد المطّلب. ماتت في حياة الإمام عليه السلام.

27. رَملَة الكبرى: أُمّها أُمّ سعيد. تزوّجها عبد اللّه بن أبي سفيان بن الحارث ابن عبد المطّلب.

28. جُمانة: ماتت في حياة الإمام عليه السلام.

29. أُمّ سلمة.

30. رقيّة الصغرى.

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32. رَملَة الصغرى.

33. أُمّ الكِرام.

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Part Two:

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) with the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

Chapter One: Supporting the Divine Mission

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Chapter Twelve: A Number of Important Delegations

Chapter Thirteen: Supplications of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) for the Imām (a.s.)

Chapter Fourteen: The Ascendsion of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) from the breast of the Executor (a.s.)

Chapter One

Supporting the Divine Mission

The divine mission begun in secret, and then it gradually spread, winning the hearts of a group of people who were devoted to this true mission. ʿAlī (a.s.) was the first of the men to believe in this mission, and to bear witness to the Prophethood of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.), and then others followed him... .

Three years after the commencement of the secret mission, the holy verse was revealed: "*and warn [O Muḥammad] your closest kindred*"[101], thus declaring the start of the public invitation, beginning with the closest kindred of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).

Therefore, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) ordered ʿAlī (a.s.) to prepare food and have a special feast, so the family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib may gather together in order for the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to inform them of his Message. On the first day, he was not able to declare anything, because of the noise and clamour done by Abū Lahab; so they did the same thing the next day, and when they were through with the food, he started his speech by praising Allah, the Almighty; and he then said:

"The pioneer does not lie to his people..."

When he finished his speech, no one except ʿAlī (a.s.) rose to pronounce that he would follow and accompany the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and believe in his Divine Message. ʿAlī (a.s.) stood up and publicly proclaimed his support. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) asked him

الفصل الأوّل

المؤازرة على الدعوة

بدأت الدعوة سرّية، وامتدّت شيئاً فشيئاً فهوت إليها أفئدة ثلّة من الناس، إقبالاً منها على تلك الرسالة الحقّة. وكان عليّ عليه السلام أوّل من آمن بها من الرجال، وشهد بنبوّة محمّد صلى الله عليه وآله، ثمّ تبعه آخرون... .

وبعد ثلاث سنين نزلت الآية الكريمة: (وَ أَنذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الأَقْرَبِينَ) إيذاناً ببدء الدعوة العلنيّة ابتداء بعشيرة النبيّ الأقربين.

فأمر النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله عليّاً عليه السلام بإعداد الطعام وإقامة مأدبة خاصّة؛ ليجتمع آل عبدالمطّلب، فيبلّغهم النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله برسالته، وفي اليوم الأوّل تعذّر عليه ذلك بسبب ضجيج أبي لهب ولغطه، ثمّ أعاده عليهم في غد ذلك اليوم، وبعد فراغهم من الطعام بدأ كلامه بحمدالله تعالى وقال: «إنَّ الرّائِدَ لا يَكذِبُ أهلَهُ و...».

و انتهى كلامه، ولم ينهض معلناً عن متابعته ومرافقته صلى الله عليه وآله والإيمان برسالته الإلهيّة إلّا عليّ عليه السلام؛ حيث قام وصدح بذلك، فأجلسه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وتكرّر هذا الموقف في المرّة الثانية

to sit down; this scene was repeated a second and a third time, so he (ṣ.a.w.) then said to ʿAlī: "Sit down, for you are my brother, my agent, my executor and my vicegerent after me."

He then addressed those present, saying: "This is my brother, my executor and my vicegerent over you, so listen to him and obey him."[102]

However, those who had dark consciences, sick hearts, blind insights and deaf ears did not yield to the voice of the Truth. They met the words of the Prophet with scorn, arrogance and insolence; furthermore they made a mockery of Abū Ṭālib. However, the Truth prevailed, and his words rose above the horizons and beyond those narrow limits. This reality was firmly established as a great merit for Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), alongside all his other merits. This also was evidence of proving his guardianship (wilāyah), in addition to tens of similar agruments. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) declared in practice the unity of Prophethood and Guardianship (wilāyah) in their appreach and direction and their attachment to each other. He informed everyone from the first day of the public announcement of his mission the permanence of leadership, and its continuity after him; of he also entrusted it to the conscience of history. The important issue is to define the position of the statements of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).

He said: "Listen to him, and obey him," when the Quraish ignored him with deaf ears and refused to listen to him. It is clear that this statement was intended for the future and for the coming generations who would accept his Prophethood and believe in the validity of his words.

15. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, narrating from Abū Jaʿfar al-Iskāfī, who said:** "It is narrated in an authentic tradition that at the beginning of the mission and before the appearance of the word of Islam and its spread in Mecca, he (ṣ.a.w.) ordered ʿAlī to prepare food for him and invite the clan of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He made the food and invited them to this banquet. On this day, they attended, but he (ṣ.a.w.) could not warn them of anything, because of certain

والثالثة، فقالﷺ:

اِجلِس؛ فَأَنتَ أخي ووَزيري ووَصِيّي وخَليفَتي مِن بَعدي.

وخاطب الحاضرين بقوله:

إنَّ هذا أخي، ووَصيّي، وخَليفَتي عَلَيكُم؛ فَاسمَعوا لَهُ وأطيعوهُ.

إلّا أنّ ذوي الضمائر السود، والقلوب العليلة، والأبصار العمي، والأسماع الصمّ لم يذعنوا لصوت الحقّ، ولجّوا وكابروا وعتَوا عن الكلام النبويّ، بل إنّهم اتّخذوا أبا طالب سخريّاً. لكنّ الحقّ علا، وطار كلامهﷺ في الآفاق طلقاً من ذلك النطاق الضيّق، ورسخت هذه الحقيقة فضيلةً عظمى إلى جانب فضائلهعليه السلام، وتبلور سند متين لإثبات ولايته إلى جانب عشرات الأسانيد الوثانقيّة، وأعلن النبيّﷺ عمليّاً وحدة النبوّة والولاية في الاتّجاه والمسير وتلازمها، ودلّ الجميع في اليوم الأوّل من الجهر بدعوته استمرار القيادة وامتدادها بعده، وأودع ذلك ذمّة التاريخ، والمهمّ هو تبيان موقع الكلام النبويّ.

و قالﷺ كلمته: «فَاسمَعوا لَهُ وأَطيعوهُ» في وقت كانت قريش قد تصامّت عن سماع كلامه ولم تعره آذانا صاغية، فمن البيّن أنّ هذا الكلام كان للمستقبل وأجياله القادمة ممّن يقرّ بنبوّتهﷺ، ويعتقد بحجّيّة كلامه.

15. **شرح نهج البلاغة عن أبي جعفر الإسكافي:** قَد رُوِيَ فِي الخَبَرِ الصَّحيحِ أنَّهُﷺ كَلَّفَهُعليه السلام في مَبدَإِ الدَّعوَةِ قَبلَ ظُهورِ كَلِمَةِ الإسلامِ وَانتِشارِها بِمَكَّةَ أن يَصنَعَ لَهُ طَعاماً، وأن يَدعُوَ لَهُ بَني عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ، فَصَنَعَ لَهُ الطَّعامَ، ودَعاهُم لَهُ، فَخَرَجوا ذلِكَ اليَومَ، ولَم يُنذِرهُمﷺ؛

utterances by his uncle Abū Lahab. On the next day, he (ṣ.a.w.) ordered ʿAlī to prepare the same food and to invite them a second time. ʿAlī did so, and he invited them, and they ate.

He (ṣ.a.w.) spoke to them, inviting them to the religion [of Islam], and he also invited ʿAlī along with them, because he was from the clan of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He then asserted that whoever would follow him and support him in his words will be his brother in religion, his executor after his death and his vicegerent after him. All refrained from giving a reply, to the exclusion of ʿAlī, alone, who answered him, saying: "I will support you on what you have brought. I will follow you and pledge allegiance to you." When he (ṣ.a.w.) saw their disappointment and ʿAlī's support, their disobedience and his obedience, their refusal and his response, he said to them: "This is my brother, my executor and my vicegerent after me." They stood up and left the session ridiculing and laughing, saying to Abū Ṭālib: "Obey your son, for he [the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)] has appointed him [ʿAlī] in command over you."[103]

لِكَلِمَةٍ قالَها عَمُّهُ أبو لَهَبٍ، فَكَلَّفَهُ فِي اليَومِ الثّاني أن يَصنَعَ مِثلَ ذلِكَ الطَّعامِ، وأن يَدعُوَهُم ثانِيَةً، فَصَنَعَهُ، ودَعاهُم فَأَكَلوا.

ثُمَّ كَلَّمَهُمﷺ فَدَعاهُم إلَى الدّينِ، ودَعاهُ مَعَهُم؛ لِأَنَّهُ مِن بَني عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ، ثُمَّ ضَمِنَ لِمَن يُوازِرُهُ مِنهُم ويَنصُرُهُ عَلى قَولِهِ أن يَجعَلَهُ أخاهُ فِي الدّينِ، ووَصِيَّهُ بَعدَ مَوتِهِ، وخَليفَتَهُ مِن بَعدِهِ، فَأَمسَكوا كُلُّهُم وأجابَهُ هُوَ وَحدَهُ، وقالَ: أنَا أنصُرُكَ عَلى ما جِئتَ بِهِ، وأُوازِرُكَ وأُبايِعُكَ، فَقالَ لَهُم ـ لَمّا رَأى مِنهُمُ الخِذلانَ، ومِنهُ النَّصرَ، وشاهَدَ مِنهُمُ المَعصِيَةَ ومِنهُ الطّاعَةَ، وعايَنَ مِنهُمُ الإباءَ ومِنهُ الإجابَةَ ـ : هذا أخي ووَصِيّي وخَليفَتي مِن بَعدي، فَقاموا يَسخَرونَ ويَضحَكونَ، ويَقولونَ لِأَبي طالِبٍ: أطِعِ ابنَكَ؛ فَقَد أمَّرَهُ عَلَيكَ.

Chapter Two

Breaking the Idols

The Kaʿbah has been regarded as the symbol of monotheism throughout history. When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was sent to guide the ummah, those of the Age of Ignorance had already filled the house of monotheism with many different kinds of idols and graven images, inspired by their ignorance and ideological deviation. They polluted the holy Kaʿbah with polytheism with this foolish practice. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) set out to wipe away all this obscenity and deviation. He took ʿAlī (a.s.) with him to purify the centre of monotheism from these signs of polytheism. ʿAlī (a.s.) mounted on the shoulders of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and threw the big idol of Quraish from the top of the Kaʿbah down to the ground. Another narration suggests that it was the idol of the tribe of Khuzāʿah. ʿAlī was singled out by this great virtue – the destruction of the the idols rising on the shoulders of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)- throughout history.

It is a virtue that has no equal, and no one shares it with him.

16. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "On the night the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered me to sleep in his bed and left to migrate from Mecca, he took me towards the idols and said: "Sit down." I sat close to the Kaʿbah, and then he mounted on my shoulders and said: "Stand up." I stood up holding him, and when he saw that I was not able to carry him, he said: "Sit down." So, I sat down, and he dismounted

الفصل الثاني
كَسْرُ الأَصْنَامِ

كانت الكعبة رمز التوحيد على طول التاريخ. وعند ما بُعث النبيّ ﷺ لهداية الأُمّة، كان الجاهليّون قد ملؤوا بيت التوحيد هذا بأصنام وأوثان شتّى من وحي جهلهم وزيغهم الفكري، فلوّثوه بالشرك عبر هذا العمل السفيه، ولذا اهتمّ النبيّ ﷺ بإزالة كلّ هذا القبح والشذوذ، وأخذ عليّاً عليه السلام معه لتطهير مركز التوحيد من مظاهر الشرك.

فصعد عليه السلام على منكبي رسول اللّه ﷺ، وألقى صنم قريش الكبير وقيل: هو صنم خزاعة من على سطح الكعبة إلى الأرض. وهذه الفضيلة العظيمة المتمثّلة بتحطيم الأصنام صعوداً على منكبي رسول اللّه ﷺ تفرّد بها عليّ عليه السلام دون غيره على امتداد التاريخ.

و هي فضيلة لا نظير لها، وموهبة لا يشاركه فيها أحد.

16. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام**: لَمّا كانَ اللَّيلَةُ الَّتي أمَرَني رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ أن أبيتَ عَلى فِراشِهِ وخَرَجَ مِن مَكَّةَ مُهاجِراً، اِنطَلَقَ بي رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ إلَى الأَصنامِ فَقالَ: اِجلِس، فَجَلَستُ إلى جَنبِ الكَعبَةِ، ثُمَّ صَعِدَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ عَلى مَنكِبي، ثُمَّ قالَ: اِنهَض، فَنَهَضتُ بِهِ فَلَمّا رَأىٰ ضَعفي

off me. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) sat down and said to me: "O ʿAlī, mount on my shoulders." I mounted on his shoulders, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) raised me up. I had a feeling that I could touch the sky if I wanted to. I climbed up onto the top of the Kaʿbah, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) stepped aside. I then grabbed the largest idol, which was made of copper and fixed to the ground by pegs of iron. The Messenger of Allah said to me: "Shake it off." I kept shaking it off, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) continued to say: "Yes, yes." I continued to shake it until I was able to wrench it off its base, so he then said: "Knock it down." So, I knocked it down smashing it, and then I descended."[104]

Note:

Some traditions assert that the event of the breaking of the idols occurred before the Migration (hijrah), at the time where the tension and panic of the polytheists was at its peak. Another group of traditions suggests that it took place after the conquest of Mecca.

It is not unlikely that this event would have occurred two times.

The first time was when the atmosphere was dominated with fear and apprehension, prior to the Migration, so the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) undertook this mighty task in order to uproot polytheism and misguidance. The polytheists then returned the idols to the Kaʿbah, since the Sacred Mosque and the holy Kaʿbah were under their control at that time.

The second time was after the conquering of the holy city of Mecca.

تَحتَهُ قالَ: إجلِس، فَجَلَستُ فَأَنزَلتُهُ عَنّي وجَلَسَ لي رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ، ثُمَّ قالَ لي: يا عَلِيُّ، اِصعَد عَلى مَنكِبي فَصَعِدتُ عَلى مَنكِبَيهِ، ثُمَّ نَهَضَ بي رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ وخُيِّلَ إلَيَّ أ نّي لَو شِئتُ نِلتُ السَّماءَ، وصَعِدتُ إلَى الكَعبَةِ وتَنَحّى رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ فَألقَيتُ صَنَمَهُمُ الأكبَرَ، وكانَ مِن نُحاسٍ مُوَتَّداً بِأَوتادٍ مِن حَديدٍ إلَى الأَرضِ، فَقالَ لي رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ: عالِجهُ فَعالَجتُ فَما زِلتُ أُعالِجُهُ ويَقولُ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ: إيهِ إيهِ، فَلَم أزَل أُعالِجُهُ حَتّى استَمكَنتُ مِنهُ فَقالَ: دُقَّهُ، فَدَقَقتُهُ فَكَسَّرتُهُ ونَزَلتُ.

نكتة

تشير بعض الروايات إلى أنّ حادثة تحطيم الأصنام وقعت قبل الهجرة في ذروة توتّر وهلع المشركين، وتشير طائفة أُخرى من الروايات إلى أنّ حادثة تحطيم الأصنام وقعت عند فتح مكّة.

وليس مستبعداً أن تكون هذه الحادثة قد وقعت مرّتين:

المرة الأُولى: عندما كان يسود جوّ من الخوف والترقّب فترة ما قبل الهجرة، أقدم النبيّ ﷺ والإمام عليّ عليه السلام على هذه الخطوة الجبّارة من أجل قمع الشرك والضلال، فأعاد المشركون الأصنام إلى الكعبة؛ لأنّ المسجد الحرام والكعبة المشرّفة كانتا تحت تصرفهم آنذاك.

والمرّة الثانية: عند فتح مكّة المكرّمة.

Chapter Three

The Magnificent Sacrifice during the Overnight Stay

Allah, the Almighty, said: "*Among the people is he who sells his soul seeking the good pleasure of Allah, and Allah is most kind to [His] servants.*"[105]

The religion of Allah spread gradually through the Arabian Peninsula, and the Muḥammadi call rose high everywhere, echoing throughout all of its parts. The city of Yathrib [Medina] was one of the cities that heard the call of the Truth, where a number of its citizens met the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) in the season of Ḥajj pilgrimage and made a secret covenant with him.[106]

From another side, the polytheists intensified their oppression, injustice, torture and intimidation, and their oppression of people increased more and more, when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) made the order to migrate to Yathrib.

Therefore, the Muslims migrated to Yathrib to escape the oppression and injustice of the polytheists. The polytheists did their best to prevent the migration, but many men left their belongings behind and departed Mecca in a hurry. The polytheists were terrified and believed that if a large number of the people of Yathrib were to unite together, and if Muslims won their support, they would form a great force that would threaten their security, especially their trading caravans. Therefore, they planned a scheme to eradicate the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), who was still in Mecca. They gathered, consulted one

الفصل الثالث

الإيثار الرابع ليلة المبيت

قال اللّه تعالى: ﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْرِى نَفْسَهُ ابْتِغَآءَ مَرْضَاتِ اللّهِ وَاللَّهُ رَءُوفُ بِالْعِبَادِ﴾.

انتشر دين اللّه في شبه الجزيرة العربيّة شيئاً فشيئاً، وعلا الأذان المحمّدي، وانعكس صداه في أرجاء منها، وكانت «يثرب» من المدن التي سمعت نداء الحقّ، وقد التقى عدد من أهلها برسول اللّهﷺ في موسم الحجّ، وعاهدوه سرّاً.

ومن جهة أُخرى زاد المشركون ظلمهم وجورهم، وبلغوا ما بلغوا في تعذيبهم واضطهادهم وإرهابهم للناس، واشتدّ أذاهم للمسلمين، فأمر النبيّﷺ بالهجرة إلى يثرب.

من هنا، هاجر المسلمون إلى يثرب تخلّصاً من جور المشركين واضطهادهم، وقد بذل المشركون قصارى جهدهم للحؤول دون الهجرة، بيد أنّ رجالاً كثيراً تركوا ما عندهم في مكّة وغادروها على عجل، ففزع المشركون لذلك؛ لأ نّهم كانوا يعتقدون أنّه إذا اجتمع خلق غفير من أهل يثرب، وحصل المسلمون على دعم من بعضهم، وخرج النبيّﷺ من مكّة والتحق بهم، فسيشكّلون قوّة عظيمة تهدّد أمنهم وخاصّه قوافلهم التجاريّة. ولذا عزموا على تدبير مكيدة لإنهاء أمر رسول اللّهﷺ الذي كان لا يزال بمكّة.

another, and finally agreed on killing him (ṣ.a.w.), after expelling him was of no avail. He (ṣ.a.w.) was informed of their evil plot by way of revelation, so he was ordered to leave Mecca.[107] Allah, the Almighty, said: "*When the faithless devised against you to take you captive, or to kill or expel you; they devised and Allah devised, and Allah is the best of devisers.*"[108]

The polytheists surrounded his house (ṣ.a.w.), having been determined to kill him and execute that plan. So when he left his house, their swords would be ready to finish him off, once and for all. He (ṣ.a.w.) proposed to ʿAlī (a.s.) to spend that night in his bed. ʿAlī (a.s.) asked him: "O Messenger of Allah, will you be safe?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Yes." The Imām (a.s.) welcomed this proposal, preparing himself for death, thus confronting the polytheists in the morning.[109] He prostrated in thanks to Allah for this great gift.[110] He covered himself with a Yemeni garment that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) would cover himself with when he slept. He slept in the Prophet's bed with complete tranquillity.[111]

The Imām (a.s.) demonstrated the utmost limit of his courage in this stand and manifested it in practice, as he exposed his body to the fatal swords. This kind of bravery was something he was distinguished with alone. This magnificent sacrifice motivated the Archangels to express their approval and appreciation of him. Allah showed pride over His angels by this marvellous scene of selflessness[112] and sent down the holy verse: "Among the people is he who sells his soul seeking the good pleasure of Allah..." to commemorate this outstanding trait and honour this unselfishness and lofty merit in the chronicles of history.

After that night, he (a.s.) would go the cave of Thawr to provide for the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and his companion what they needed.[113] The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered him to give back what people had entrusted to him and then follow him to Medina.[114] He (a.s.) left Mecca after a while for Yathrib, taking with him the Fawāṭim: his mother Fāṭimah bint Asad, Lady Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' and Fāṭimah bint al-Zubayr ibn ʿAbd al- Muṭṭalib. The Quraish came to know about this

فاجتمعوا وتشاوروا، فتصافقوا على قتله ﷺ؛ إذ لم يكن إخراجه أو حبسه مجدياً. واطّلع ﷺ على مؤامرتهم المشؤومة عن طريق الوحي، فكُلِّف بالخروج من مكّة ﴿وَإِذْ يَمْكُرُ بِكَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لِيُثْبِتُوكَ أَوْ يَقْتُلُوكَ أَوْ يُخْرِجُوكَ وَيَمْكُرُونَ وَيَمْكُرُ اللَّهُ وَاللَّهُ خَيْرُ الْمَاكِرِينَ﴾.

وقد قام المشركون بتطويق داره ﷺ، بعد تداولهم في خطّة قتله وكيفيّة التنفيذ، فإذا قَصَد الخروج فستتلقّاه سيوفهم وينتهي أمره إلى الأبد.

فاقترح ﷺ على عليّ عليه السلام أن يبيت في فراشه تلك الليلة، فسأله: أ وَتسلم يا رسول اللّه؟ قال: نعم. فرحّب الإمام عليه السلام بهذا الاقتراح موطّناً نفسه للقتل عند مواجهة المشركين صباحاً، وسجد سجدة الشكر على هذه الموهبة العظيمة. والتحف بالبرد اليمانيّ الأخضر الذي كان يلتحف به النبيّ ﷺ عند نومه، ونام مطمئنّاً في فراشه ﷺ.

لقد عبّر الإمام عليه السلام بهذا الموقف عن غاية شجاعته، وجسّدها وصدع بها عمليّاً؛ إذ عرّض بدنه الأعزل للسيوف المسلولة، وهذا اللون من الشجاعة امتاز به دون غيره.

وقد دفع هذا الإيثار الرائع الملائكة الكروبيّين إلى الاستحسان والإعجاب به.

وباهى اللّه سبحانه ملائكته بهذا المشهد العجيب لنكران الذات، فأنزل الآية الكريمة: ﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَن يَشْرِي نَفْسَهُ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاتِ اللّه...﴾ لتخليد هذه المنقبة، وتكريم هذا الإيثار وهذه الفضيلة الرفيعة في أروقة التاريخ.

و بعد تلك الليلة كان عليه السلام يذهب إلى غار «ثور» ليُوصل ما يحتاج إليه النبيّ ﷺ و رفيقه. فأوصاه رسول اللّه ﷺ بردّ الأمانات، واللحاق به في المدينة.

وبعد مدّة ترك عليه السلام مكّة قاصداً يثرب ومعه الفواطم؛ أُمّه فاطمة بنت أسد، والسيّدة فاطمة الزهراء، وفاطمة بنت الزبير بن عبد المطّلب. فعلمت قريش بذلك، وعزمت على منعه فبعثت

and decided to prevent him, so they sent a number of their horsemen after him; but they were met by his brave and daring stance, so they returned in failure.[115] The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was waiting for him in Qubā; when ʿAlī caught up with him, they headed towards Yathrib.[116]

17. **Tārīkh Dimashq, narrating from Abū Rāfiʿ, who said:** "Alī would supply the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) when he was in the cave and would bring him food. He hired three camels: one for the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), one for Abū Bakr and one for their guide Ibn Urayqiṭ.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) left ʿAlī behind to bring his family [from Mecca]. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) ordered ʿAlī to give back what people had entrusted to him (ṣ.a.w.) and return the money people had deposited with him. He paid back the trust thoroughly.

He (ṣ.a.w.) also ordered ʿAlī to sleep in his bed on the night he left, saying to him: "The Quraish will not look for me as long as they see you." So he laid in the Prophet's bed. The Quraish kept watching the bed of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and saw someone in it, whom they believed to be the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). When morning came, they saw that it was ʿAlī. They said: "If Muḥammad left, then he must have taken ʿAlī with him." Therefore, Allah the Glorious, kept them away from going after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) when they saw ʿAlī, so they thought the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was still there.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) then ordered ʿAlī to catch up with him in Medina. ʿAlī left to follow the Prophet, after bringing along his family. He would travel at night and stay hidden during the day, until he reached Medina. When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was informed of his arrival, he said: "Ask ʿAlī to come to me." They said: "O Messenger of Allah, he cannot walk." The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) came to him, and when he saw him he embraced him and wept out of mercy for him, because of the swelling he saw in his feet, when they were bleeding. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) put some of his saliva in his palms and wiped ʿAlī's feet with it. He (ṣ.a.w.) then prayed for ʿAlī's good health. ʿAlī never complained about them until he was martyred."[117]

ببعض فرسانها خلفه، بيد أنّهم اصطدموا بموقفه الشجاع الجريء ورجعوا خائبين. وكان النبيﷺ ينتظره في «قبا»، حتى إذا لحق به، توجّهوا نحو يثرب.

17. **تاريخ دمشق عن أبي رافع:** إنَّ عَلِيّاً كانَ يُجَهِّزُ النَّبِيَّﷺ حينَ كانَ بِالغارِ ويَأتيهِ بِالطَّعامِ، وَاستَأجَرَ لَهُ ثَلاثَ رَواحِلَ؛ لِلنَّبِيِّﷺ ولِأَبي بَكرٍ و[لـ]دَليلِهِمُ ابنِ أُرَيقِطٍ، وخَلَّفَهُ النَّبِيُّﷺ، لِيُخرِجَ إلَيهِ أهلَهُ، فَأَخرَجَهُم، وأمَرَهُ أن يُؤَدِّيَ عَنهُ أمانَتَهُ ووَصايا مَن كانَ يوصي إلَيهِ، وما كانَ يُؤتَمَنُ عَلَيهِ مِن مال، فَأَدّى أمانَتَهُ كُلَّها.

وأمَرَهُ أن يَضطَجِعَ عَلى فِراشِهِ لَيلَةَ خَرَجَ، وقالَ: إنَّ قُرَيشاً لَن يَفقِدوني ما رَأَوكَ، فَاضطَجَعَ عَلِيٌّ عَلى فِراشِهِ، فَكانَت قُرَيشٌ تَنظُرُ إلى فِراشِ النَّبِيِّﷺ فَيَرَونَ عَلَيهِ رَجُلاً يَظُنّونَهُ النَّبِيَّﷺ، حَتّى إذا أصبَحوا رَأَوا عَلَيهِ عَلِيّاً، فَقالوا: لَو خَرَجَ مُحَمَّدٌ خَرَجَ بِعَلِيٍّ مَعَهُ، فَحَبَسَهُمُ اللّهُ عَزَّوجَلَّ بِذلِكَ عَن طَلَبِ النَّبِيِّﷺ حينَ رَأَوا عَلِيّاً ولَم يَفقِدُوا النَّبِيَّﷺ.

وأمَرَ النَّبِيُّﷺ عَلِيّاً أن يَلحَقَهُ بِالمَدينَةِ، فَخَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ في طَلَبِهِ بَعدَما أخرَجَ إلَيهِ أهلَهُ، يَمشي مِنَ اللَّيلِ ويَكمُنُ مِنَ النَّهارِ حَتّى قَدِمَ المَدينَةَ، فَلَمّا بَلَغَ النَّبِيَّﷺ قُدومُهُ قالَ: اُدعوا لي عَلِيّاً. قيلَ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، لا يَقدِرُ أن يَمشِيَ، فَأَتاهُ النَّبِيُّﷺ، فَلَمّا رَآهُ النَّبِيُّﷺ اعتَنَقَهُ وبَكى رَحمَةً لِما بِقَدَمَيهِ مِنَ الوَرَمِ، وكانَتا تَقطُرانِ دَماً، فَتَفَلَ النَّبِيُّﷺ في يَدَيهِ ثُمَّ مَسَحَ بِهِما رِجلَيهِ، ودَعا لَهُ بِالعافِيَةِ، فَلَم يَشتَكِهِما عَلِيٌّ حَتّى استُشهِدَ.

Chapter Four

The Peak of Chivalry in Two Battles

A) The Battle of Badr

The Battle of Badr is considered to be one of the severest battles fought by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and the greatest of them in respect of the circumstances of its time, the balance of the forces, and the amount of war equipment Muslims had. The main objective of the movement –which was to intercept the caravan of Quraish and take control of it– along with what happened after in an unequal war, is indicatiue of the importance of this battle and its crucial and decisive role. This is why those who fought in the Battle of Badr are distinguished with a special high status in history. Their position in the events of Islamic history –especially after the death of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)– wherever they were, is an indication of their special prestige. The Battle of Badr took place at Badr –a place near Medina– in the holy month of Ramaḍān, in the second year after Hijrah.[118]

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) took part in this battle, which was the first of the battles of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), and it was the first of the heroic encounters of the Imām (a.s.) where he presented himself in a way worthy of observation, commendment, and admiration, for the following reasons:

1. He was the bearer of the triumphant banner of the Islamic army.[119]
2. He was given the responsibility of recognising the force of the enemy, accompanied by a number of companions; this was

الفصل الرابع

غاية القوّة في غزوتين

أ ـ غَزوَةُ بَدرٍ

تُعدّ غزوة بدر من أشدّ الغزوات التي خاضها النبيّ ﷺ وأعظمها من حيث الظروف الزمنيّة، وميزان القوى، ومستوى المعدّات الحربيّة التي كانت عند المسلمين. ذلك أنّ الهدف الأوّل من التحرّك وهو التحرّش بقافلة قريش والسيطرة عليها وما تلاه من حرب غير متكافئة يدلّان على أهميّة المعركة ودورها المصيريّ الحاسم.

من هنا كانت للبدريّين في التاريخ منزلة رفيعة خاصّة، وكان حضورهم في حوادث التاريخ الإسلامي لا سيّما بعد وفاة النبيّ ﷺ حيثما وُجِدوا يُشعر بشأنٍ خاصّ. ووقعت هذه المعركة ببدر ـ منطقة قريبة من المدينة ـ في شهر رمضان من السنة الثانية للهجرة.

وشهد الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام هذه المعركة التي كانت أُولى معارك النبيّ ﷺ، وأُولى المشاهد البطوليّة للإمام عليه السلام الذي ظهر فيها بمظهر حقيق بالمشاهدة، والثناء، والإعجاب، إذ:

1. كان يحمل الراية المظفّرة للجيش الإسلامي.

2. أُنيطت به مهمّة التعرّف على قوّة العدوّ ومعه عدد من الصحابة، وذلك قبل حدوث

before the armies faced one another, in a very sensitive phase of observation and gathering of secret information, and he achieved marvellous results.[120]

3. When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) requested some water in the middle of the dreadful pitch dark before the battle day, he (a.s.) went towards the well of Badr with firm and steady strides and scooped out water from its dark and deep well, bringing back water to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).[121]
4. In the first individual dual, he fed al-Walīd ibn ʿUtbah the cup of death[122] and assisted his companion in the killing of al-Walīd's father ʿUtbah.[123] He (a.s.) described this great battle in one of his letters he wrote to Muʿāwiyah, saying: "I am Abū al-Ḥasan, the killer of your grandfather, your brother, and your uncle, shattering them on the day of Badr. That sword is still with me, and I meet my enemy with that same heart."[124]
5. ʿAlī (a.s.) also threw down al-ʿĀṣ ibn Saʿīd, the strong horseman of Quraish[125], and Nawfal ibn Khuwailad, who was the wicked and malicious enemy of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).[126]
6. When the order for the all-out onslaught was given, the forces engaged each other, and fighting became fierce. He (a.s.) charged on the enemy like a furious lion, shaking its military ranks, and he made a hill out of those he killed. Historians narrate that out of the seventy fighters who were killed from the enemy, thirty-five of them were killed by his sword.[127]
7. He was at the peak of his youthfulness, and he won the eternal medal by virtue of the gallantry and bravery he displayed: "There is no sword but Dhul Fiqār, and there is no chivalrous youth but ʿAlī."[128]

18. **Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥiḥain, narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said:** "On the day of Badr, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) handed the banner to ʿAlī (a.s.), who was only twenty years old."[129]

المواجهة وفي مرحلة حسّاسة من الاستطلاع والاستكشاف والتقصّي الخفيّ، فحقّق نجاحاً باهراً.

3. وحين طلب رسول اللّهﷺ الماء في منتصف ليلة القتال الحالكة المروّعة، قامعليه السلام، وسار نحو بدر بخطىً ثابتة راسخة، ونزح الماء من بئرها العميقة المظلمة، فروّى رسول اللّهﷺ .

4. إنّه وفي أوّل مواجهة فرديّة سقى الوليد بن عُتبة كأس المنون، وأعان رفيقه على قتل أبيه عتبة. وذكر ـ سلام اللّه عليه ـ هذه الملحمة العظيمة في أحد كتبه إلى معاوية، فقال:

«فَأَنَا أبو حَسَنٍ قاتِلُ جَدِّكَ وأخيكَ وخالِكَ شَدخاً يَومَ بَدرٍ، وذلِكَ السَّيفُ مَعِي، وبِذلِكَ القَلبِ ألقى عَدُوّي».

5. وصرعليه السلام العاص بن سعيد فارس قريش المقتدر، ونوفل بن خويلد العدوّ الشرور الحاقد على رسول اللّهﷺ .

6. ولمّا صدر الأمر بالهجوم الشامل، وتشابكت القوى المتحاربة، وحمي وطيس القتال، هجمعليه السلام على العدوّ كالليث الغاضب، وخلخل استعداداته العسكريّة، وصنع من قتلاه تلّاً؛ فقد نقل المؤرّخون أنّ (٣٥) من قتلى المشركين البالغ عددهم (٧٠) قُتلوا بسيفهعليه السلام .

7. وهو الذي كان في عنفوان شبابه يومئذ، ونال الوسام الخالد:

«لا سَيفَ إلّا ذُو الفَقارِ ولا فَتى إلّا عَلِيٌّ» بفضل تلك الشهامة، والشجاعة، والاستبسال الذي أبداه آنذاك.

18. **المستدرك على الصحيحين عن ابن عبّاس:** إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِﷺ دَفَعَ الرايَةَ إلى عَلِيٍّ رضي اللّه عنه يَومَ بَدرٍ وهُوَ ابنُ عِشرينَ سَنَةً.

19. **Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya, by Ibn Hishām, narrating from Ibn Isḥāq, who said** regarding the events of the Battle of Badr: "Then ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah came out [to fight] after him[130], along with his brother Shaybah ibn Rabīʿah and his son al-Walīd ibn ʿUtbah; when he was separated from their ranks, he called for a duel. Three brave youths from the Anṣār answered his call: ʿAwf and Muʿawid, sons of al-Ḥārith, whose mother was Afrāʾ, and another man called ʿAbdullah ibn Rawāḥah. They asked: "Who are you?" They answered: "We are a group from the Anṣār." They said: "We have nothing to do with you." Then their herald called out: "O Muḥammad, send to us our equals from our clan."

    The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "O ʿUbaydah, rise, O Ḥamza, rise, O ʿAlī, rise." When they got up and came close to them, they [the enemies] asked: "Who are you?" ʿUbaydah said: "ʿUbaydah," Ḥamza: "Ḥamza," and ʿAlī: "ʿAlī." They said: "Yes, you are indeed befitting equals." ʿUbaydah, who was their eldest in age fought with ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿah, Ḥamza duelled with Shaybah ibn Rabīʿah, and ʿAlī with al-Walīd ibn ʿUtbah. Ḥamza killed Shaybah in no time, and so did ʿAlī kill al-Walīd. As for ʿUbaydah and ʿUtbah, they exchanged strikes, each one hurting the other; then Ḥamza and ʿAlī charged at ʿUtbah with their swords and finished him off. They then carried their companion and brought him back to their ranks."[131]

20. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "A herald from the sky called Riḍwān called out on the day of Badr: "There is no sword but Dhul Fiqār, and there is no chivalrous youth but ʿAlī."[132]

B) The Battle of ʿUḥud

The defeat of the polytheists at Badr and the killing of their warriors and chieftains on that day incurred the wrath of Quraish and increased their resentment. They were like a wounded snake unable to settle down. On the other hand, having seen the bravery of the Muslims at Badr and their readiness to attain martyrdom, they knew they must plan for revenge. They lobbied with many tribes to send their courageous fighters to fight against Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.). They took charge of financing the battle and to provide for all its requirements,

19. **السيرة النبويّة لإبن هشام عن ابن إسحاق** ـ في ذِكرِ أحداثِ مَعرَكَةِ بَدر ـ : ثُمَّ خَرَجَ بَعدَهُ عُتبَةُ بنُ رَبيعَةَ بَينَ أخيهِ شَيبَةَ بنِ رَبيعَةَ وَابنِهِ الوَليدِ بنِ عُتبَةَ، حَتّى إذا فَصَلَ مِنَ الصَّفِّ دَعا إلَى المُبارَزَةِ، فَخَرَجَ إلَيهِ فِتيَةٌ مِنَ الأنصارِ ثَلاثَةٌ، وهُم: عَوفٌ ومُعَوِّذٌ ابنَا الحارِثِ ـ وأُمُّهُما عَفراءُ ـ ورَجُلٌ آخَرُ، يُقالُ: هُوَ عَبدُ اللّه بنُ رَواحَةَ، فَقالوا: مَن أنتُم؟ فَقالوا: رَهطٌ مِنَ الأنصارِ، قالوا: ما لَنا بِكُم مِن حاجَةٍ، ثُمَّ نادى مُناديهِم: يا مُحَمَّدُ، أخرِج إلَينا أكفاءَنا مِن قَومِنا.

فَقالَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله: قُم يا عُبَيدَةَ بنَ الحارِثِ، وقُم يا حَمزَةُ، وقُم يا عَلِيُّ، فَلَمّا قاموا ودَنَوا مِنهُم، قالوا: مَن أنتُم؟ قالَ عُبَيدَةُ: عُبَيدَةُ، وقالَ حَمزَةُ: حَمزَةُ، وقالَ عَلِيٌّ: عَلِيٌّ، قالوا: نَعَم، أكفاءٌ كِرامٌ، فَبارَزَ عُبَيدَةُ ـ وكانَ أسَنَّ القَومِ ـ عُتبَةَ بنَ رَبيعَةَ، وبارَزَ حَمزَةُ شَيبَةَ بنَ رَبيعَةَ، وبارَزَ عَلِيٌّ الوَليدَ بنَ عُتبَةَ، فَأمّا حَمزَةُ فَلَم يُمهِل شَيبَةَ أن قَتَلَهُ، وأمّا عَلِيٌّ فَلَم يُمهِلِ الوَليدَ أن قَتَلَهُ، وَاختَلَفَ عُبَيدَةُ وعُتبَةُ بَينَهما ضَربَتَينِ، كِلاهُما أثبَتَ صاحِبَهُ، وكَرَّ حَمزَةُ وعَلِيٌّ بِأسيافِهِما عَلى عُتبَةَ فَذَفَّفا عَلَيهِ، وَاحتَمَلا صاحِبَهُما، فَحازاهُ إلى أصحابِهِ.

20. **الإمام الباقر** عليه السلام: نادى مُناد فِي السَّماءِ يَومَ بَدرٍ يُقالُ لَهُ رِضوانُ: لا سَيفَ إلّا ذُو الفَقارِ، ولا فَتى إلّا عَلِيٌّ.

ب ـ غَزوَةُ أُحُدٍ

إنّ هزيمة المشركين في بدر، وقتل صناديدهم ورؤسائهم يومذاك أوقدا غضب قريش وحفيظتها؛ فكانت كالأفعى المطعونة لا يقرّ لها قرار. من جهة أُخرى كانت قريش قد رأت

and then they marched towards Medina in a large army of three thousand fighters, two hundred horses,[133] and three thousand camels.[134]

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) came to know about their movement, so he consulted his companions, and then he made the decision to fight. After Friday prayers, he left Medina, with about one thousand fighters, heading towards Uḥud where the enemy had camped.[135]

The battle started in the morning of the seventh of Shawwāl, in the year 3 AH.[136] At the beginning of the battle, victory was about to be on the Muslims' side, had it not been for the monitors to leave their rearguard posts on the mountain, out of greed for spoils. This allowed the enemy to surprise them, where they found themselves in a weak military situation, facing a fierce hateful enemy, persistent on the achievement of their objectives. As a result the Muslims suffered heavy blows and were badly beaten.[137] Many of them chose to flee rather than to stay, so they left the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) alone in the battlefield. No one stood firm beside him, except for ʿAlī (a.s.) and a small number of his companions. ʿAlī (a.s.) stayed encompassing the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and protecting him like a brave lion against the attacks.

This battle was the most intense of the battles of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), with many examples and lessons to learn and take admonition. The Imām (a.s.) was the unequalled hero in this battle due to the distinguished and unique role he played, for the following reasons:

1. He was the carrier of the main banner in this battle,[138] the banner of the Muhajirūn.[139]
2. With his sword he killed the arrogant Ṭalḥa ibn Abī Ṭalḥa who was the banner carrier of the polytheist enemy.[140]
3. Through his repeated blows, he could kill the other eight people who carried the banner after Ṭalḥa. He finished them off, one after the other; the polytheists had no banner to be raised thereafter.[141]
4. It is unfortunate that many Muslims ran away when their army was shaken by the attack of the enemy, and it was ʿAlī (a.s.) who protected the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from the dangers of

استبسال المسلمين في بدر وعشقهم للشهادة؛ فلابدّ لها إذاً من التخطيط للثأر.

لذا أقبلت على شتّى القبائل لتصطحب مقاتليها وشجعانها لحرب محمّدﷺ، وتولّت مصاريف القتال، وإعداد عدّته وسائر ما يتطلبّه، وتوجّهت صوب المدينة بجيش جرّار بلغ ثلاثة آلاف مقاتل، وفيه مئتا فرس، وثلاثة آلاف بعير.

وعرف النبيّﷺ ذلك، فشاور أصحابه، ثمّ عزم على القتال، وبعد صلاة الجمعة غادر المدينة ومعه قرابة ألف مقاتل صَوب «أُحد» التي كان العدوّ قد عسكر فيها.

بدأ القتال صبيحة السابع من شوّال سنة ٣ هـ، وكاد النصر يكون حليف المسلمين في البداية لولا ترك الرصَد مواضعهم من الجبل طمعاً في الغنائم، فباغتهم العدوّ، وإذا هم بوضعهم العسكريّ المتخلخل، أمام عدوٍّ حاقدٍ موتورٍ متفانٍ في سبيل هدفه ـ ممّا ذكر التاريخ تفاصيله ـ فتلقّوا ضرباب شديدة موجعة، وانكسروا، وآثر كثير منهم الفرار على البقاء، وتركوا رسول اللّهﷺ وحده في الميدان، ولم يثبت معه إلّا الإمام عليّ‌ع ونفر قليل، فكانع يُحيط برسول اللّهﷺ ويدفع عنه الهجمات كالليث الهصور.

لقد كانت أُحد من أشدّ معارك النبيّﷺ وقعاً، وأكثرها دروساً وعِبَراً، وأبلغها تنبيهاً وتذكيراً، وكان الإمامع فيها البطل الذي لا صنو له في دوره البارز المتفرّد؛ إذ:

1. كان رافع لوانها الأصلي؛ وهو لواء المهاجرين.

2. وبسيفه هلك صاحب لواء الشرك المغرور طلحة بن أبي طلحة.

3. وبضرباته المتوالية قتل بعد طلحة ثمانية غيره حملوا اللواء بعده، فأفناهم الواحد تلو الآخر، ولم يُرفع للشرك بعدهم لواء.

4. من المؤسف أنّ كثيراً من المسلمين لاذوا بالفرار بعد تضعضع الجيش، وهجوم العدوّ المباغت، وكان عليّع هو الذي يحمي رسول اللّهﷺ من مخاطر هجمات العدوّ في تلك

the enemy's attacks in those difficult and decisive moments.[142]

5. Ibn Isḥāq narrated that twenty two of the polytheists were slain in this battle,[143] twelve of whom were killed by the Imām (a.s.).[144]
6. Gabriel (a.s.) lauded the gallantry of the Imām (a.s.) and his fighting in this battle; the angelical call resounded all over the horizons: "There is no sword but Dhul Fiqār, and there is no chivalrous youth but ʿAlī."[145]
7. The Imām (a.s.), who was the symbol of bravery and courage–,[146] had more than ninety wounds, and his arm, which used to rescue the oppressed from the hands of the oppressor in this war, was fractured.[147]
8. When the army of the polytheists left the battlefield, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from where he was sheltered sent ʿAlī (a.s.) –despite his wounds and his weakness because of by bleeding– to gather information about the enemy and make sure that they had left the battlefield.[148]

21. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "On the day of Uḥud when people had run away leaving the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) by himself, he went to them personally, confronting them, saying: "I am Muḥammad; I am the Messenger of Allah; I have not been killed nor died....." The enemy was attacking the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) from the right side, and ʿAlī (a.s.) would drive them back; when he drove them back, another regiment would attack the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) from the left. ʿAlī went on fighting and driving them back until his sword broke into three parts, so he went to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and put it in front of him, saying: "Here is my sword, broken into pieces." On that day, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) gave him Dhu al-Fiqār When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) noticed the quivering of his legs because of frequent fighting, he raised his face to the sky weeping and saying: "O my Lord, You promised me to make Your religion prevail, and if You want to, You can." Then ʿAlī (a.s.) came to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I am hearing a buzzing sound saying: "Charge on, Hayzūm"[149] Whenever I propose to strike someone,

اللحظات الصعبة الحاسمة.

5. نقل ابن إسحاق أنّ اثنين وعشرين من المشركين قُتلوا في هذه المعركة، منهم اثنا عشر قتلهم الإمام عليه السلام.

6. أثنى جبرئيل عليه السلام على شهامة الإمام عليه السلام وقتاله في هذه الحرب، ودوّى النداء الملكوتي: «لا سَيفَ إلّا ذُو الفَقارِ ولا فَتى إلّا عَلِيٌّ» في الآفاق.

7. أنافتْ جراح الإمام عليه السلام ـ رمز البطولة والشجاعة ـ على تسعين جرحاً. وانكسرت يده المنقذة للمظلوم القامعة للظالم في هذه الحرب.

8. لمّا ترك جيش الكفر ميدان الحرب، بعث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله من محلّ استخفائه عليّاً عليه السلام ـ مع ما به من جراحات مزّقت بدنه، ومن ضعف بسبب كثرة النزف ـ ليستطلع خبر العدوّ ويتأكّد من تركه الميدان.

21. **الإمام الصادق** عليه السلام: لَمّا انهَزَمَ النّاسُ يَومَ اُحُدٍ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله انصَرَفَ إلَيهِم بِوَجهِهِ وهُوَ يَقولُ: أنَا مُحَمَّدٌ، أنَا رَسولُ اللّهِ، لَم أقتَل ولَم اُمُت... وكانَ النّاسُ يَحمِلونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله المَيمَنَةَ فَيَكشِفُهُم عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام، فَإذا كَشَفَهُم أقبَلَتِ المَيسَرَةُ إلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله، فَلَم يَزَل كَذلِكَ حَتّى تَقَطَّعَ سَيفُهُ بِثَلاثِ قِطَعٍ، فَجاءَ إلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله فَطَرَحَهُ بَينَ يَدَيهِ وقالَ: هذا سَيفي قَد تَقَطَّعَ، فَيَومَئِذٍ أعطاهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله ذَا الفَقارِ، ولَمّا رَأى النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله اختِلاجَ ساقَيهِ مِن كَثرَةِ القِتالِ رَفَعَ رَأسَهُ إلَى السَّماءِ وهُوَ يَبكي وقالَ: يا رَبِّ وَعَدتَني أن تُظهِرَ دينَكَ وإن شِئتَ لَم يُعِيكَ، فَأقبَلَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام إلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله فَقالَ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، أسمَعُ دَوِيّاً شَديداً، وأسمَعُ «أقدِم حَيزومُ» وما أهُمُّ أضرِبُ أحَداً إلّا سَقَطَ مَيِّتاً قَبلَ أن أضرِبَهُ. فَقالَ: هذا جَبرَئيلُ وميكائيلُ وإسرافيلُ

he falls dead before I strike him." The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "This is Gabriel, Michael, and Seraphiel with the angels." Then Gabriel (a.s.) came, stood beside the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and said: "O Muḥammad, this is indeed the consolation." He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "'Alī is of myself, and I am of ʿAlī." Gabriel (a.s.) then said: "And I am of you both." Then the people ran away."[150]

22. **al-Irshād:** When the people ran away on the day of Uḥud leaving the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), and the Commander of the Faithful stood fast, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said to him: "Why do you not go with the people?" To which the Commander of the Faithful said: "O Messenger of Allah, I go and leave you? By Allah, I will not leave until I am killed, or Allah fulfils His promise of help to you." The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said to him: "O ʿAlī, rejoice, for indeed Allah shall fulfil His promise, and they will never inflict the like of this on us again" Then he looked towards a regiment which had advanced towards him. He said to ʿAlī: "O ʿAlī, attack them." The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) attacked them, killing Hishām ibn Umayya al-Makhzūmī who was among them, whereas the rest fled away. Another regiment advanced, and [again] the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) told him: "Attack them." He attacked them, killed ʿAmr ibn ʿAbdullah al-Jumaḥī who was among them, and they also fled." Then another regiment advanced, and the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said to him: "Attack them." He attacked them and killed Bishr ibn Mālik al-ʿĀmirī who was among them, and the troop fled. After that none of them returned.

Those of the Muslims who had fled started to go back to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). The polytheists withdrew towards Mecca and the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) went back to Medina. He was met by Fāṭimah (a.s.), carrying a bowl of water with her. He washed his face with it, and then the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) followed him. Blood covered him from his arm to his shoulder. He had [his sword] Dhu al-Fiqār with him and he gave it to Fāṭimah (a.s.), saying to her: "Take this sword. It has been truthful to me today." He began to recite:

فِي المَلائِكَةِ، ثُمَّ جاءَ جَبرَئيلُ عليه السلام فَوَقَفَ إلى جَنبِ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله فَقالَ: يا مُحَمَّدُ! إنَّ هذِهِ لَهِيَ المُواساةُ، فَقالَ: إنَّ عَلِيّاً مِنّي وأنَا مِنهُ، فَقالَ جَبرَئيلُ: وأنَا مِنكُما. ثُمَّ انهَزَمَ النّاسُ.

22. **الإرشاد:** لَمَّا انهَزَمَ النّاسُ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله في يَومِ أُحُدٍ، وثَبَتَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام قالَ لَهُ: ما لَكَ لا تَذهَبُ مَعَ القَومِ، فَقالَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام: أذهَبُ وأدَعُكَ يا رَسولَ اللّهِ؟! وَاللّهِ لابرِحتُ حَتّى أُقتَلَ أو يُنجِزَ اللّهُ لَكَ ما وَعَدَكَ مِنَ النَّصرِ، فَقالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: أبشِر يا عَلِيُّ؛ فَإنَّ اللّهَ مُنجِزٌ وَعدَهُ، ولَن يَنالوا مِنّا مِثلَها أبَداً.

ثُمَّ نَظَرَ إلى كَتيبَةٍ قد أقبَلَت إلَيهِ، فَقالَ لَهُ: لَو حَمَلتَ عَلى هذِهِ يا عَلِيُّ، فَحَمَلَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، فَقَتَلَ مِنها هِشامَ بنَ أُمَيَّةَ المَخزومِيَّ وَانهَزَمَ القَومُ. ثُمَّ أقبَلَت كَتيبَةٌ أُخرى، فَقالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: اِحمِل عَلى هذِهِ، فَحَمَلَ عَلَيها فَقَتَلَ مِنها عَمرَو بنَ عَبدِ اللّهِ الجُمَحِيَّ، وَانهَزَمَت أيضاً. ثُمَّ أقبَلَت كَتيبَةٌ أُخرى، فَقالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: اِحمِل عَلى هذِهِ، فَحَمَلَ عَلَيها فَقَتَلَ مِنها بِشرَ بنَ مالِكٍ العامِرِيَّ وَانهَزَمَتِ الكَتيبَةُ، فَلَم يَعُد بَعدَها أحَدٌ مِنهُم.

وتَراجَعَ المُنهَزِمونَ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ إلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله وَانصَرَفَ المُشرِكونَ إلى مَكَّةَ وَانصَرَفَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله إلَى المَدينَةِ، فَاستَقبَلَتهُ فاطِمَةُ عليها السلام ومَعَها إناءٌ فيهِ ماءٌ، فَغَسَلَ بِهِ وَجهَهُ، ولَحِقَهُ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام وقَد خَضَبَ الدَّمُ يَدَهُ إلى كَتِفِهِ ومَعَهُ ذُو الفَقارِ، فَناوَلَهُ فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام وقالَ لَها: خُذي هذَا السَّيفَ فَقَد صَدَقَنِي اليَومَ. وأنشَأَ يَقولُ:

أ فاطِمُ هاكِ السَّيفَ غَيرَ ذَميمٍ فَلَستُ بِرِعديدٍ ولا بِمليمِ

ʿO Fāṭimah, this sword is not without honour,
I am no coward, nor am I blameworthy.
By my life, I have been free from blame in my support of Aḥmad,
In obedience to a Lord, All-knowing of [His] creation.
Remove the blood of the people from it since,
It had fed the clan of ʿAbd al-Dār the cup of death.'

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "O Fāṭimah, take it, for your husband has done his duty, and through his sword has God killed the leaders of Quraish."[151]

23. **Usd al-Ghābah, narrating from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, who said:** "On the day of Uḥud, ʿAlī suffered sixteen strikes, each one was enough to put him to the ground, but no one save Gabriel (a.s.) would lift him up."[152]

لَعَمري لَقَد أعذَرتُ في نَصرِ أحمَدَ وطاعَةِ رَبٍّ بِالعِبادِ عَليمِ

أميطي دِماءَ القَومِ عَنهُ فَإِنَّهُ سَقى آلَ عَبدِ الدّارِ كَأسَ حَميمِ

وقالَ رَسولُ اللّهﷺ: خُذيهِ يا فاطِمَةُ، فَقَد أدّى بَعلُكِ ما عَلَيهِ وقَد قَتَلَ اللّهُ بِسَيفِهِ صَناديدَ قُرَيشٍ.

23. **أسد الغابة عن سعيد بن المسيّب:** لَقَد أصابَت عَلِيّاً يَومَ أُحُدٍ سِتَّ عَشرَةَ ضَربَةً، كُلُّ ضَربَةٍ تُلزِمُهُ الأَرضَ، فَما كانَ يَرفَعُهُ إلّا جِبريلُ عليه السلام.

Chapter Five

Forcing the Enemy to Surrender

A) The Battle of Banī al-Naḍīr

Even though the tribe of Banī al-Naḍīr entered in a pact with the Muslims, they then attempted to assassinate the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). He (ṣ.a.w.) had already known of their covert plans following the Battle of Uḥud, so he headed towards their fort to investigate the truth. His apparent intention was to pay the blood-money for two men from the tribe of Banī ʿĀmir.

Banī al-Naḍīr pretended to welcome him (ṣ.a.w.) outside their fort; however, and when he (ṣ.a.w.) and his companions fell asleep outside the walls of the fort, they planned to assassinate him. Yet, when they went on to execute their scheme, he knew about it, and left towards Medina without letting them know.[153] They had broken their alliance and violated their promise, so he (ṣ.a.w.) ordered that they be moved out of their houses and be placed away from their quarters. When they refused and behaved arrogantly, he besieged them on the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the fourth year AH.[154] According to some historical sources, they left their quarters submissively after ten of them were killed.[155]

24. **Al-Irshād:** "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) moved towards the tribe of Banī al-Naḍīr, he put them under siege and pitched his large tent at the far end of the land of Banī Ḥuṭama that was in

الفصل الخامس

إرغام العدو على التسليم

أ ـ غَزوَةُ بَني النَّضيرِ

كان بنو النضير قد عقدوا حلفاً مع المسلمين، ثمّ همّوا بقتل النبيّ ﷺ . وكان ﷺ قد عرف تحرّكاتهم السرّيّة بعد أُحد، فقصد حصنهم لتقصّي الحقيقة، وكان مطلبه الظاهري دفع دية رجلين من قبيلة بني عامر.

تظاهر بنو النضير باستقباله ﷺ في مشارف الحصن، ولمّا نام ﷺ مع أصحابه في ظلّ الحصن، خطّطوا لقتله، لكنّه علم بمكيدتهم حين مهّدوا لتنفيذها فيمّم المدينة على غفلة منهم بعد أن نقضوا حلفهم ونكثوا عهدهم، فأمر بإجلانهم عن بيوتهم، وترحيلهم عن ديارهم، فكابروا ولجّوا، فحاصرهم في ربيع الأوّل سنة (٤) من الهجرة. وفي ضوء بعض المعلومات التاريخيّة نزحوا عن ديارهم أذلّةً صاغرين بعد أن قتل عشرة منهم.

24. **الإرشاد:** لَمّا تَوَجَّهَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ إلى بَنِي النَّضيرِ، عَمِلَ عَلى حِصارِهِم، فَضَرَبَ قُبَّتَهُ في أقصى بَني خُطَمَةَ مِنَ البَطحاءِ، فَلَمّا أقبَلَ اللَّيلُ رَماهُ رَجُلٌ مِن بَنِي النَّضيرِ بِسَهمٍ فَأَصابَ القُبَّةَ، فَأَمَرَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ أن تُحَوَّلَ قُبَّتُهُ إلَى السَّفحِ، وأحاطَ بِهِ المُهاجِرونَ وَالأَنصارُ.

the prairie. At nightfall a man from Banī al-Naḍīr shot an arrow and hit the tent. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) ordered his tent to be moved towards the foot of the hill. He was surrounded by his companions of the Muhajirūn and the Anṣār. When it became dark, they missed the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), so people said: "O Messenger of Allah, we do not see ʿAlī." He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "I see him busy with what is good for you." After a while, he came back with the head of the Jewish man who had shot an arrow at the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). His name was ʿAzūrā. He (a.s.) placed it in front of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), who asked him: "How did you do that?" ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "I noticed this wicked person to be audacious and brave. I laid in ambush for him and said: "How daring could he be if darkness would come and he would take us by surprise."[156] He came brandishing his sword, along with nine of his Jewish fellows. I attacked him, and killed him, when his followers ran away. They are not far away now, so send me with some men, for I hope to overwhelm them.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) sent ten fighters with him; among them were Abū Dujāna Simāk ibn Kharasha and Sahl ibn Ḥunayf. They caught up with them before they were able to enter their fortress and killed them all. They brought their heads to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), who ordered them to be buried inside one of the water wells of Banī Ḥuṭama. That was the reason for the conquering of the fortresses of Banī al-Naḍīr.[157]

B) The Battle of Banī Quraiẓah

The major conspiracy where the infidels joined the Jews in the Battle of Khandaq was unsuccessful; on the other hand, the tribe of Banī Quraiẓah broke their treaty which they concluded with the Muslims to the effect that they would not stand against them. They sided with the infidels against the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).[158] On the day when the infidels ran away defeated, he (ṣ.a.w.) decided to invade the stronghold of Banī Quraiẓah, which was the last den of wickedness for the Jews

فَلَمَّا اختَلَطَ الظَّلامُ فَقَدوا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ عليه السلام، فَقالَ النّاسُ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، لا نَرى عَلِيّاً؟ فَقالَ صلى الله عليه وآله: أراهُ في بَعضِ ما يُصلِحُ شَأنَكُم. فَلَم يَلبَث أن جاءَ بِرَأسِ اليَهودِيِّ الَّذي رَمَى النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله وكانَ يُقالُ لَهُ: عَزورا فَطَرَحَهُ بَينَ يَدَيِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله . فَقالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: كَيفَ صَنَعتَ؟ فَقالَ: إنّي رَأَيتُ هذَا الخَبيثَ جَريئاً شُجاعاً، فَكَمَنتُ لَهُ وقُلتُ: ما أجرَأَهُ أن يَخرُجَ إذَا اختَلَطَ الظَّلامُ يَطلُبُ مِنّا غِرَّةً، فَأَقبَلَ مُصلِتاً سَيفَهُ في تِسعَةِ نَفَر مِن أصحابِهِ اليَهودِ، فَشَدَدتُ عَلَيهِ فَقَتَلتُهُ وأفلَتَ أصحابُهُ ولَم يَبرَحوا قَريباً، فَابعَث مَعي نَفَراً؛ فَإنّي أرجو أن أظفَرَ بِهِم!

فَبَعَثَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله مَعَهُ عَشَرَةً، فيهِم: أبو دُجانَةَ سِماكُ بنُ خَرَشَةَ، وسَهلُ بنُ حُنَيفٍ، فَأَدرَكوهُم قَبلَ أن يَلِجُوا الحِصنَ، فَقَتَلوهُم وجاؤوا بِرُؤوسِهِم إلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله، فَأَمَرَ أن تُطرَحَ في بَعضِ آبارِ بَني حُطَمَةَ.

وكانَ ذلِكَ سَبَبُ فَتحِ حُصونِ بَنِي النَّضيرِ.

ب ـ غَزوَةُ بَني قُرَيظَةَ

أخفقت المؤامرة الكبرى التي تآزر عليها المشركون واليهود في غزوة الخندق، ونكث بنو قريظة حلفهم الذي كان قد عقدوه مع المسلمين على عدم التعرّض لهم، ومالؤوا المشركين ضدّ النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله ، فعزم صلى الله عليه وآله في غد ذلك اليوم الذي فرّ فيه المشركون على اقتحام حصن بني قريظة، وهو آخر وكر فسادٍ لليهود قرب المدينة. وبعد أن صلّى صلى الله عليه وآله صلاة الظهر، أصدر أمره بالتعبئة العسكريّة، وأخبر المسلمين بإقامة صلاة العصر في حيّ «بني قريظة».

in Medina.[159] When he (ṣ.a.w.) finished midday prayers, he ordered military mobilisation and informed the Muslims that they would pray the afternoon prayers in the quarters of Banī Quraiẓah.[160] The personality of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) manifested itself in this movement, and his role therein was noticeable for a number of factors:

1. The banner of Islam was in his able hand.[161]

2. He was the leader of the frontline of the army.[162]

3. Banī Quraiẓah had already heard about him, so when they saw him, they said: "Here comes the killer of ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wadd." The historian Ibn Hishām says: "Banī Quraiẓah accepted the arbitration of Saʿd ibn Muʿādh, because ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) would say: "By Allah, I shall taste what Ḥamza had tasted [of martyrdom], or I will conquer their fortress."[163]

4. The Jews accepted the arbitration of Saʿd ibn Muʿādh concerning them, for they thought that he would side with them, because they had old associations with him. However, his verdict was to kill their men, confiscate their belongings and take captive their offspring.[164]

25. **Al-Sīrah al- Nabawiyya, by Ibn Hishām** –on mentioning how Banī Quraiẓah submitted to the arbitration of Saʿd ibn Muʿādh–: "When they had Banī Quraiẓah under siege, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib cried out: "O battalion of faith.", and he and al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām marched forward. He (a.s.) said: "By Allah, I shall taste what Ḥamza had tasted [of martyrdom], or I will conquer their fortress." So, they said: "O Muḥammad: we give in the arbitration of Saʿd ibn Muʿādh."[165]

وتجلّت شخصيّة الإمام عليه السلام في هذا التحرّك أيضاً، وكان دوره فيه لافتاً للنظر لأُمور:

1. كانت راية الإسلام الخفّاقة بيده المقتدرة.

2. كان آمراً على مقدّمة الجيش.

3. كان بنو قريظة قد تسامعوا به، ولمّا رأوه، قالوا: جاء قاتل عمرو بن عبد ودّ. يقول ابن هشام: نزل بنو قريظة على حكم سعد بن معاذ؛ لأنّ عليّ بن أبي طالب قال: «وَاللّهِ لاَذوقَنَّ ما ذاقَ حَمزَةُ أو لاَفتَحَنَّ حِصنَهُم».

4. رضي اليهود بحكم سعد بن معاذ فيهم؛ إذ كانوا يظنّون أنّه سيحكم لهم بسبب الأواصر القديمة التي كانت تربطهم به، لكنّه حكم بقتل رجالهم، ومصادرة أموالهم، وسبي ذراريهم.

25. **السيرة النبويّة لإبن هشام** ـ في ذِكرِ نُزولِ بَني قُرَيظَةَ عَلى حُكمِ سَعدِ بنِ مُعاذ ـ : إنَّ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ صاحَ وهُم مُحاصِرو بَني قُرَيظَةَ: يا كَتيبَةَ الإيمانِ. وتَقَدَّمَ هُوَ وَالزُّبَيرُ بنُ العَوّامِ وقالَ: وَاللّهِ لاَذوقَنَّ ما ذاقَ حَمزَةُ أو لاَفتَحَنَّ حِصنَهُم؛ فَقالوا: يا مُحَمَّدُ، نَنزِلُ عَلى حُكمِ سَعدِ بنِ مُعاذٍ.

Chapter Six

The Fatal Blow in the Battle of Khandaq

When Banī al-Naḍīr moved from the outskirts of Medina, some of them went to Khaibar and some to Syria (al-Shām), but their chieftains kept inciting the infidels and encouraging them to go into alliances with the Jews, in order to prepare an army from all the tribes to attack Medina with the assistance of the Jews.[166]

And such was the case. A large army of ten thousand fighters were brought together, including all those who would oppose the new Islamic government established by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) in Medina. The army marched towards Medina,[167] and that was the reason why the battle came to be known as the Battle of the Confederates (al-Aḥzāb).

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) started to consult his companions about how to confront the enemy, and Salmān suggested digging a ditch around the entrance of the city to obstruct the enemy, and it was done. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) ordered his companions to dig the ditch, and he himself took part in digging.[168]

The army which, full of all pride and arrogance, was about to attack Medina was blocked outside the city because of the ditch. It remained thus for nearly a month,[169] until they began to face problems in supplies.

One day ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wadd managed to cross the ditch with a number of well known enemy horsemen.[170] They confronted the Muslims and challenged them to send a number of their equals to fight,

الفصل السادس

الضربة المصيرية في غزوة الخندق

عند ما نزح بنو النضير عن أطراف المدينة، توجّه قسم منهم إلى خيبر، وقسم إلى الشام، وطفق رؤساؤهم يحرّضون المشركين ويشجّعونهم على التحالف مع اليهود، وتهيئة جيش من جميع القبائل لمهاجمة المدينة بمؤازرة اليهود.

وهكذا كان؛ فقد تهيّأ جيش ضخم قوامه عشرة آلاف، ضمّ كافّة المعارضين للحكومة الإسلاميّة الجديدة التي أسّسها النبيّ ﷺ في المدينة وبدأ زحفه نحو المدينة، ومن هنا عُرفت هذه الغزوة بغزوة الأحزاب.

وقد شاور النبيّ ﷺ أصحابه حول كيفيّة مواجهة العدوّ، فاقترح سلمان حفر خندق في مدخل المدينة؛ لتعويق العدوّ. وتحقّق ما أراد، وأمر ﷺ أصحابه بحفر الخندق، واشترك هو معهم في الحفر، فتعوّق جيش العدوّ، الذي كان يهمّ بمهاجمة المدينة بكلّ غرور وخُيَلاء، خلف الخندق، وظلّ على هذه الحال شهراً تقريباً، حتى وقع في مأزِق بسبب صعوبة الإمداد.

وفي ذات يوم عبر عمرو بن عبد ودّ الخندق ومعه عدد من فرسان العدوّ وشجعانه

but no one responded to them. They repeated their challenge many times. ʿAmr enjoyed a formidable reputation, which scared everyone. The voices were subdued in the chests, and his arrogant challenges were not answered. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered that someone should face him and do away with his evil, but no one responded, except the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī (a.s.).[171] When they faced each other, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) pronounced his everlasting phrase:

"Faith, all of it, is facing polytheism, all of it."[172]

After a fierce fight, the Imām swiftly attacked him and finished him off. When the call 'Allah is Greater' went as high as the sky, the companions of ʿAmr fled,[173] and the army of the Confederates dispersed with all its arrogance and vainglory.

We can provide an overview of the key role of the Imām in this war as follows:

1. When ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd and his companions crossed the ditch at a narrow place, the Imām (a.s.) and a number of men stood there, so no one else of the polytheists was able to cross.[174]

2. The killing of ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd was so decisive and important that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said:

"The duel between ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd on the day of Khandaq is better than the deeds of my nation until Judgment Day."[175]

In another version he said:

"The Blow of ʿAlī to ʿAmr on the day of Khandaq is equal to the worship of all humans and Jinn."[176]

When that champion of the Arabs was thrown down by the sword of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), he spat at the Imām's face, in despair and misery. However, ʿAlī (a.s.) did not respond immediately. He took his time and did not rush to sever his head; lest his reaction should have any trace of personal rage.

3. After he threw him to the ground and killed him, his followers took flight in retreat, when Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) followed them[177] and killed one of them by the name of Nawfal ibn ʿAbdullah.[178]

المشهورين، وصاروا أمام المسلمين، وطلبوا أن يبرز إليهم أقرانهم، فلم يجبهم أحد، وكرّروا نداءهم غير مرّة، وكان لعمرو صيته المخيف، ففزع منه الجميع، وحُبست الأنفاس في الصدور، ولم تلقَ نداءاته المغرورة جواباً، فأمر رسول اللّهﷺ أن يقوم إليه أحد ويقتلع شرّه، فلم يقُم إلّا أمير المؤمنين عليّ عليه السلام . ولمّا تقابلا قالﷺ عبارته الخالدة:

بَرَزَ الإيمانُ كُلُّهُ إلَى الشِّركِ كُلِّهِ.

وبعد قتال شديد عاجله الإمام بهجمة سريعة، فقضى عليه، وبلغت صيحة «الله أكبر» عنان السماء، فلاذ أصحابه بالفرار. وتبدّد جيش الأحزاب على ما كان عليه من شوكة وأبّهة خياليّة.

ويمكننا أن نفهرس دور الإمام العظيم في هذه الحرب على النحو الآتي:

1. لمّا عبر عمرو بن عبد ودّ وأصحابه من موضع ضيّق من الخندق، استقرّ الإمام عليه السلام هناك مع جماعة، فلم يتيسّر للمشركين العبور بعدئذٍ.

2. كان قتل عمرو بن عبد ودّ مهمّاً وحاسماً ومصيرياً إلى درجة أنّ رسول اللّهﷺ قال:

لَمُبارَزَةُ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِب لِعَمرِو بنِ عَبدِ وَدٍّ يَومَ الخَندَقِ أفضَلُ مِن أعمالِ أُمَّتي إلى يَومِ القِيامَةِ.

وفي رواية:

لَضَربَةُ عَلِيٍّ لِعَمرٍو يَومَ الخَندَقِ تَعدِلُ عِبادَةَ الثَّقَلَينِ.

وحينما تجدّل صنديد العرب صريعاً بصق في وجه الإمام آيساً بانساً، فوقف صلوات اللّه عليه، وتمهّل ولم يبادر إلى حزّ رأسه لئلّا يكون في عمله ذرّة من غضب.

3. وبعد أن جدّله وصرعه، وولّى أصحابه مدبرين تبعهم، وقتل منهم نوفل ابن عبد اللّه.

4. When the Imām (a.s.) struck the leg of ʿAmr and finished him off, he threw the dust of misery, fear and terror on the faces of the polytheists and left them defeated, helpless and in disarray.[179]

5. The Imām (a.s.) killed ʿAmr, but he disdained stripping his enemy of his valuable shield, as 'he would strike with his sword for the cause of the Truth', and nothing else.... All that exaltation, majesty, and pride was so noticeable that even the sister of ʿAmr herself lauded him.[180]

26. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "The duel between ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wudd on the day of Khandaq is better than the deeds of my nation until Judgment Day."[181]

27. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "The Blow of ʿAlī to ʿAmr on the day of Khandaq is equal to the worship of all humans and Jinn."[182]

4. لمّا ضرب الإمامعليه السلام رجل عمرو وقضى عليه، ألقى تراب الذلّ والخوف والرعب على وجوه المشركين، وأقعدهم حيارى مهزومين منهارين.

5. قتل الإمامعليه السلام عمراً، بيد أنّه ترفّع عن سلب درعه الثمين إذ «كان يضرب بسيفه من أجل الحقّ» لا غيره... ولم يخفَ كلّ هذا الترفّع والجلال والشمم عن الأنظار، حتى إنّ أُخت عمرو نفسها أثنت عليه.

26. **رسول الله**صلى الله عليه وآله لَمُبارَزَةُ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ لِعَمرِو بنِ عَبدِ وَدٍّ يَومَ الخَندَقِ أفضَلُ مِن أعمالِ أُمَّتي إلى يَومِ القِيامَةِ.

27. **عنه**صلى الله عليه وآله: لَضَربَةُ عَلِيٍّ لِعَمرٍو يَومَ الخَندَقِ تَعدِلُ عِبادَةَ الثَّقَلَينِ.

Chapter Seven

Courage and Propriety in al-Ḥudaibiyah

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) decided to go to Mecca on the sixth year AH, intending to do the ʿUmrah pilgrimage. He journeyed towards al-Hudaybiyyah, and Quraish were informed of his desire, so they came out from Mecca. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was informed that Quraish had decided to stop him and prevent him from entering Mecca.

They sent an envoy to negotiate with the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), even as he sent his representative. They agreed that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) should go back and not enter Mecca that year.[183] A peace agreement was also concluded between them. The terms of this agreement were written by the hands of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).[184]

28. **Al-Irshād, narrating from Fāyid, the retainer of ʿAbdullah ibn Sālim who said:** "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) went for the ʿUmrah of al-Ḥudaybiyyah, he stopped in al-Juḥfah, but he did not find water there. He sent Saʿd ibn Mālik with water carrier camels; after walking for a short distance, he returned with the water carriers and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I cannot go on. My feet trembled out of fear of the people!" The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Sit down." Then he sent another man, who went with the water carriers. When he got to the place to which the first one got, he too came back.

    The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) asked him: "Why did you come back?" He

الفصل السابع

الشَجاعَةُ وَالأدَبُ في الحُدَيبِيَة

عزم رسول اللّهﷺ على التوجّه إلى مكّة في السنّة السادسة من الهجرة قاصداً العمرة، فسار حتى الحديبيّة، فعلمت قريش بمسيره، فخرجت من مكّة. وأُخبر النبيّﷺ أنّ قريش عازمة على صدّه ومنعه من دخول مكّة.

وبعثت قريش ممثّلاً عنها للتفاوض مع النبيّﷺ، كما بعث النبيّﷺ ممثلا عنه أيضاً، فقرّروا أن يرجع النبيّﷺ تلك السنة ولا يدخل مكّة. وعقدوا على ذلك صلحاً بينهم، فكتب الإمام عليّع نصّ الصلح بيده.

28. **الإرشاد عن فايد مولى عبد اللّه بن سالم:** لَمّا خَرَجَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ في عُمرَةِ الحُدَيبِيَّةِ نَزَلَ الجُحفَةَ فَلَم يَجِد بِها ماءً، فَبَعَثَ سَعدَ بنَ مالِكٍ بِالرَّوايا، حَتّى إذا كانَ غَيرَ بَعيدٍ رَجَعَ سَعدٌ بِالرَّوايا فَقالَ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، ما أستَطيعُ أن أمضِيَ! لَقَد وَقَفَت قَدَماي رُعباً مِنَ القَومِ! فَقالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّﷺ: اِجلِس.

ثُمَّ بَعَثَ رَجُلاً آخَرَ، فَخَرَجَ بِالرَّوايا حَتّى إذا كانَ بِالمَكانِ الَّذي انتَهى إلَيهِ الأوَّلُ رَجَعَ،

said: "By He who sent you with the Truth, I was so scared that I could not go on."

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) called the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) and sent him with the water carriers. They left, and the drivers of the camels were certain that he would come back, because the others before him had come back. ʿAlī (a.s.) went out with the water carriers, until he got to al-Ḥirār,[185] and loaded the camels with water. He came back with them to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), and the camels were making loud noises. The Prophet said: 'Allah is Greater', and prayed for goodness for him.

29. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, from al-Burā' ibn ʿĀzib:** "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) made a peace agreement with the people of al-Ḥudaybiyyah, and the treaty was written by ʿAlī, he wrote: "Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah." The polytheists said: "Do not write Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allah. If you were a messenger, we would not fight you!" So, he (ṣ.a.w.) said to ʿAlī: "Delete it." ʿAlī said: "I will not be the one to delete it." The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) deleted it himself."[186]

فَقالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: لِمَ رَجَعتَ ؟! فَقالَ: وَالَّذي بَعَثَكَ بِالحَقِّ مَا استَطَعتُ أن أمضِيَ رُعباً! !

فَدَعا رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِما، فَأَرسَلَهُ بِالرَّوايا، وخَرَجَ السُّقاةُ وهُم لا يَشُكّونَ في رُجوعِهِ لِما رَأَوا مِن رُجوعِ مَن تَقَدَّمَهُ، فَخَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام بِالرَّوايا، حَتّى وَرَدَ الحِرارَ فَاستَقى، ثُمَّ أقبَلَ بِها إلَى النَّبِيِّ ﷺ ولَها زَجَلٌ، فَكَبَّرَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ، ودَعا لَهُ بِخَير.

29. **صحيح البخاري عن البراء بن عازب:** لَمّا صالَحَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ أهلَ الحُدَيبِيَّةِ، كَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ بَينَهُم كِتاباً، فَكَتَبَ: مُحَمَّدٌ رَسولُ اللّه، فَقالَ المُشرِكونَ: لا تَكتُب «مُحَمَّدٌ رَسولُ اللّهِ»؛ لَو كُنتَ رَسولا لَم نُقاتِلكَ! ! فَقالَ لِعَلِيٍّ: أُمحُهُ. فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: ما أنَا بِالَّذي أمحاهُ، فَمَحاهُ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ بِيَدِهِ.

Chapter Eight

The Crucial Role in the Conquering of Khaibar

The Battle of Khaibar occupies a significant importance among the battles of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). In this battle, he (ṣ.a.w.) defeated the Jews of Khaibar and destroyed the centre of conspiracy against his religion and new government. The fortresses of the Jews were in a fertile region, to the north-west of Medina, at a distance of about 200 kilometres, called Khaibar.[187]

The Jews living in those fortresses would harbour a strong grudge against the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), the Muslims and the Islamic state from the first days of the spread of the Message. They spared no effort in plotting against the Muslims. In fact, the Battle of the Confederates (al-Aḥzāb) broke out against Islam by their military and financial support. Thus, it is clear that they were fierce enemies and fervent plotters against the Message and its noble Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).[188]

When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was reassured against Quraish, after the peace treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyyah, he turned towards Khaibar to conquer its fortresses and do away with the den of conspiracies.[189] The existence of ten thousand fighters, the invincible and strong fortresses, and the abundant equipment and supplies they had, and deep-rooted grudge of the Jews available in the fortress, which encouraged them to fight against the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), are all clear indications of the special significance of the Battle of Khaibar.

الفصل الثامن

الدَّوْرُ المَصِيرِيُّ فِي فَتْحِ خَيْبَر

تحظى وقعة خيبر بشأن خاصّ بين وقائع النبيّ ﷺ؛ ففيها هزم ﷺ يهود خيبر، وقوّض مركز التآمر على دينه وحكومته الجديدة. فكانت حصون اليهود في منطقة خصبة شمال غربيّ المدينة تبعد عنها حوالي (٢٠٠) كيلومتر، تدعى خيبر.

وكان اليهود القاطنون في هذه الحصون يضمرون حقداً للنبيّ ﷺ والمؤمنين والدولة الإسلاميّة منذ الأيّام الأُولى لاتّساع الرسالة، ولم يدّخروا وسعاً للكيد بهم، بل إنّ حرب الأحزاب شُنَّت على الإسلام بدعمهم العسكري والمالي. وبهذا يتّضح أنّهم كانوا أعداءً لُدّاً ومتآمرين يتحرّقون حنقاً على الرسالة ونبيّها الكريم ﷺ .

وحين اطمأنّ رسول الله ﷺ من قريش بعد صلح الحديبيّة، توجّه نحو خيبر؛ لفتح حصونها، والقضاء على وكر التآمر. ووجود عشرة آلاف مقاتل، وحصون حصينة منيعة لا تُقهر، وقدرات ومعدّات كثيرة داخلها، وأضغان راسخة فى قلوب اليهود المتواجدين داخل الحصن شدّت من عزائمهم لمحاربة النبيّ ﷺ شكّل دلالة على الأهمّيّة الخاصّة لوقعة خيبر.

The Commander of the Faithful Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) had a key role in the conquest of these fortresses and a striking presence, unequalled and unmatched by anyone. His merits can be listed in the following points:

1. The banner of Islam in this battle, as in many more such battles, was in the able hands of the Imām (a.s.).[190]

2. When all the fortresses were conquered, to the exlusion of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Salālim resisted, as they were the strongest of the fortresses, the Muslims charged at them twice: one under the leadership of Abū Bakr, and the other under the leadership of ʿUmar, but both attempts failed. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) assigned ʿAlī (a.s.) the role of conquering them. He was ill and unable to fight, so the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) prayed for him, and he was miraculously cured. Through the hands of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) did the Muslim army conquer the two fortresses that nobody thought could be conquered.[191]

3. The Imām (a.s.) threw down, with a decisive blow, al-Ḥārith, the arrogant Jewish fighter whose roar when he fought would make bodies shiver in fear, even as he (a.s.) also stroke Marḥab, whom no one would dare to face in battle, cutting him in two.[192]

4. When the Muslims failed to conquer the two fortresses and hearts were about to be taken by fear, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said his well-known and everlasting words: "Tomorrow, I shall hand the banner to a man who loves Allah and his Messenger, and whom Allah and His Messenger love."[193] He also said: "[He is] a resilient attacker who will never flee"[194], referring to ʿAlī - may Allah's blessings be upon him, who revived in them the hope of victory.

5. The Imām (a.s.), alone, uprooted the gate of the fortress of Qamūṣ, which could only be moved by forty men.[195]

30. **Al-Irshād, narrating from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām, Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq and other traditionists (aṣḥāb al-āthār), who said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) besieged Khaibar for more than twenty days. At that time the banner was held by the Commander of the

وكان للإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام فيها مظهر عجيب، وله في فتحها العظيم دور لا يضاهى ولا يبارى يتمثّل فيما يلي:

1. كانت راية الإسلام في هذه المعركة بيد الإمام علي عليه السلام المقتدرة كما في غيرها من الحروب والغزوات.

2. لمّا فتحت كلّ الحصون، واستعصى حصن «الوطيح» و«السلالم» إذ كانا من أحكم الحصون، وزحف المسلمون نحوهما مرّتين: الأُولى بقيادة أبي بكر، والأُخرى بقيادة عمر، لكنّهما أخفقا في فتحهما انتدب النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله عليّاً عليه السلام، وكان مريضاً لا يقدر على القتال فدعا النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله، فشفي، وفتح اللّه على يديه، وتمكّن الجيش الإسلامي العظيم من فتح ذينك الحصنين اللذين كان فتحهما لا يصدّق ولا يخطر ببال أحد.

3. جندل الإمامُ عليه السلام الحارثَ ـ المقاتل اليهوديّ المغرور، الذي كانت الأبدان ترتجف من صيحاته عند القتال ـ بضربة قاصمة، كما قدّ مرحب الذي لم يجرأ أحد على مواجهته نصفين.

4. لمّا أخفق المسلمون في فتح الحصنين المذكورين وأوشك الرعب أن يسيطر على القلوب، قال رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله عبارته العظيمة الرائعة المشهورة: «لأُعطينّ الراية غداً رجلا يحبّ اللّهَ ورسولَه ويحبّه اللّهُ ورسولُه»، والأُخرى: «كرّاراً غير فرّار»، يريد بذلك عليّاً صلوات اللّه عليه، فأحيا الأمل في النفوس بالنصر.

5. قلع الإمام عليه السلام باب قلعة قموص وحده، وكان لا يحرّكه إلّا أربعون رجلا !

30. الإرشاد عن عبد الملك بن هشام ومحمّد بن إسحاق وغيرهم من أصحاب الآثار:

حاصَرَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله خَيبَرَ بِضعاً وعِشرينَ لَيلَةً، وكانَتِ الرّايَةُ يَومَئِذٍ لِأَميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام،

Faithful, (a.s.). He was suffering from pain in his eyes which kept him from the battle [for a time]. The Muslims attacked the Jews in front of their forts and at the sides. One day, they overcame the gate, but they had dug a ditch around themselves. Marḥab came out on foot to oppose them in battle.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) summoned Abū Bakr and said to him: "Take the banner."

He took it with a number of the Muhājirūn and strived without achieving anything. He returned denouncing the people who had followed him, while they were just blaming him. The next day he gave it to ʿUmar, but he went a little way with it and then came back accusing his followers of cowardice, while they were also accusing him of cowardice.

Then the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "This banner was not in the hand of the person most worthy of holding it. Bring me ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."

It was said to him: "He has sore eyes."

He (ṣ.a.w.) said. "Show him to me, and you will show me a man who loves Allah and His Messenger and whom Allah and His Messenger love. He takes things up in the right way and he will not flee."

They brought ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), leading him to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) asked him: "What is troubling you, ʿAlī?"

He (a.s.) said: "Sore eyes which prevent me from seeing and a pain in my head."

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Sit down and put your head on my thigh."

ʿAlī, (a.s.) did that, and the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) prayed for him. He spat some saliva into his hand and rubbed it on his eyes and his head. His eyes opened, and the pain in the head which he had went away. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had said in his prayer: "O Allah, protect him against the heat and the cold."

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) then gave him the banner, and it was a white banner, and he said: "Take the standard and set forth with it.

فَلَحِقَهُ رَمَدٌ أعجَزَهُ عَنِ الحَربِ، وكانَ المُسلِمونَ يُناوِشونَ اليَهودَ مِن بَينِ أيدي حُصونِهِم وجَنَباتِها. فَلَمّا كانَ ذاتَ يَومٍ فَتَحُوا البابَ وقَد كانوا خَندَقوا عَلى أنفُسِهِم، وخَرَجَ مَرحَبٌ بِرِجلِهِ يَتَعَرَّضُ لِلحَربِ.

فَدَعا رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ أبا بَكرٍ فَقالَ لَهُ: خُذِ الرّايَةَ، فَأَخَذَها ـ في جَمعٍ مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ ـ فَاجتَهَدَ ولَم يُغنِ شَيئاً، فَعادَ يُؤَنِّبُ القَومَ الَّذينَ اتَّبَعوهُ ويُؤَنِّبونَهُ!

فَلَمّا كانَ مِن الغَدِ تَعَرَّضَ لَها عُمَرُ، فَسارَ بِها غَيرَ بَعيدٍ، ثُمَّ رَجَعَ يُجَبِّنُ أصحابَهُ ويُجَبِّنونَهُ!

فَقالَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: لَيسَت هذِهِ الرّايَةُ لِمَن حَمَلَها، جيؤوني بِعَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ. فَقيلَ لَهُ: إنَّهُ أرمَدُ. قالَ: أرونيهِ تُروني رَجُلاً يُحِبُّ اللّهَ ورَسولَهُ، ويُحِبُّهُ اللّهُ ورَسولُهُ، يَأخُذُها بِحَقِّها لَيسَ بِفَرّارٍ.

فَجاؤوا بِعَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ عليه السلام يَقودونَهُ إلَيهِ، فَقالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: ما تَشتَكي يا عَلِيُّ؟ قالَ: رَمَدٌ ما أُبصِرُ مَعَهُ، وصُداعٌ بِرَأسي. فَقالَ لَهُ: اِجلِس وضَع رَأسَكَ عَلى فَخِذي. فَفَعَلَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام ذلِكَ، فَدَعا لَهُ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ وتَفَلَ في يَدِهِ فَمَسَحَها عَلى عَينَيهِ ورَأسِهِ، فَانفَتَحَت عَيناهُ وسَكَنَ ما كانَ يَجِدُهُ مِنَ الصُّداعِ. وقالَ في دُعائِهِ لَهُ: اللّهُمَّ قِهِ الحَرَّ وَالبَردَ. وأعطاهُ الرّايَةَ ـ وكانَت رايَةً بَيضاءَ ـ وقالَ لَهُ: خُذِ الرّايَةَ وَامضِ بِها، فَجَبرَئيلُ مَعَكَ، وَالنَّصرُ أمامَكَ، وَالرُّعبُ مَبثوثٌ في صُدورِ القَومِ، وَاعلَم ـ يا عَلِيُّ ـ أنَّهُم يَجِدونَ في كِتابِهِم: إنَّ الَّذي يُدَمِّرُ

Gabriel is with you. Victory is in front of you and terror is spread into the hearts of the enemy. Be aware, ʿAlī, that they have found in their Book that the name of the one who will destroy them is Āliyā. When you meet them, say: "I am ʿAlī, then they will forsake [the field] if Allah wishes... ."

It is reported in a tradition: "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) said: "I am ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib," one of the Rabbis of the people called out to them, saying: "I swear by what was revealed unto Moses that you are defeated." As a result, such terror entered their hearts that they were not able to bear it."[196]

31. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, narrating from Sahl ibn Saʿd, who said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said on the day of Khaibar: "Tomorrow I will give this banner to a man with whose hands Allah will bring victory. He loves Allah and His Messenger, and Allah and His Messenger love him too." He [Sahl] said: "People then started to speak with each other throughout that night about the one to whom the banner will be given. He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Where is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib?" They said: "He is suffering from a pain in his eyes." He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Bring him to me." He was brought, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) spat some saliva into his eyes and prayed for him. He was cured, as if he had no pain. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) then gave him the banner. ʿAlī said: "O Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), I shall fight them until they become like us [Muslims]?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Go at ease until you reach their field, then invite them to Islam and inform them of what is incumbent upon them of the rights of Allah in Islam; for by Allah, if Allah guides one through you, it is better for you than you should have red camels."[197] [198]

32. **Al-Irshād:** "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) killed Marḥab, those who had gone out with Marḥab withdrew and barred the gate of the fortress to keep him out. The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) advanced against it. He worked on it until he opened it. However, most of the people from the other side of the ditch did not come across against him. So, the Commander of the

عَلَيهِم اسمُهُ آليا، فَإذا لَقيتَهُم فَقُل: أنَا عَلِيٌّ، فَإنَّهُم يُخذَلونَ إن شاءَ اللّه... .

وجاءَ فِي الحَديثِ: أنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام لَمّا قالَ: أنَا عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ، قالَ حِبرٌ مِن أحبارِ القَومِ: غُلِبتُم وما أُنزِلَ عَلى موسى. فَدَخَلَ قُلوبَهُم مِنَ الرُّعبِ ما لَم يُمكِنهُم مَعَهُ الإستيطانُ بِهِ.

31. **صحيح البخاري عن سهل بن سعد:** إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله قالَ يَومَ خَيبَرَ: لأُعطِيَنَّ هذِهِ الرّايَةَ غَداً رَجُلاً يَفتَحُ اللّهُ عَلى يَدَيهِ، يُحِبُّ اللّهَ ورَسولَهُ، ويُحِبُّهُ اللّهُ ورَسولُهُ.

قالَ: فَباتَ النّاسُ يَدوكونَ لَيلَتَهُم أيُّهُم يُعطاها، فَلَمّا أصبَحَ النّاسُ غَدَوا على رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله كُلُّهُم يَرجو أن يُعطاها، فَقالَ: أينَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب؟ فَقيلَ: هُوَ يا رَسولَ اللّهِ يَشتَكي عَينَيهِ، قالَ: فَأرسِلوا إلَيهِ، فَأُتِيَ بِهِ، فَبَصَقَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله في عَينَيهِ ودَعا لَهُ، فَبَرَأَ حَتّى كَأن لَم يَكُن بِهِ وَجَعٌ، فَأعطاهُ الرّايَةَ، فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: يا رَسولَ اللّه، أُقاتِلُهُم حَتّى يَكونوا مِثلَنا؟ فَقالَ: أُنفُذ عَلى رِسلِكَ حَتّى تَنزِلَ بِساحَتِهِم، ثُمَّ ادعُهُم إلَى الإسلامِ، وأخبِرهُم بِما يَجِبُ عَلَيهِم مِن حَقِّ اللّهِ فيهِ، فَوَاللّهِ لأَن يَهدِيَ اللّهُ بِكَ رَجُلاً واحِداً خَيرٌ لَكَ مِن أن يَكونَ لَكَ حُمرُ النَّعَمِ.

32. **الإرشاد:** لَمّا قَتَلَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام مَرحَباً رَجَعَ مَن كانَ مَعَهُ وأغلَقوا بابَ الحِصنِ عَلَيهِم دونَهُ، فَصارَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام إلَيهِ فَعالَجَهُ حَتّى فَتَحَهُ، وأكثَرُ النّاسِ مِن جانِبِ الخَندَقِ لَم يَعبُروا مَعَهُ، فَأَخَذَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام بابَ الحِصنِ فَجَعَلَهُ عَلَى الخَندَقِ جِسراً لَهُم حَتّى

Faithful (a.s.) uprooted the gate of the fortress, and then he used it as a bridge across the ditch so that they might go across and conquer the fortress. They seized the spoils. When they withdrew from the fortress, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) took the gate in his right hand and threw it many metres away. It used to take twenty men to bolt that gate.[199]

33. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "By Allah, I did not uproot the gate of Khaibar and destroy the stronghold of the Jews with physical power, but it was with divine power."[200]

عَبَروا وظَفِروا بِالحِصنِ ونالُوا الغَنائِمَ. فَلَمَّا انصَرَفوا مِنَ الحُصونِ أخَذَهُ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ بِيُمناهُ فَدَحا بِهِ أذرُعاً مِنَ الأَرضِ، وكانَ البابُ يُغلِقُهُ عِشرونَ رَجُلاً مِنهُم.

33. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: وَاللّهِ ما قَلَعتُ بابَ خَيبَرَ، ودَكدَكتُ حِصنَ يَهودٍ بِقُوَّةٍ جِسمانِيَّةٍ، بَل بِقُوَّةٍ إلٰهِيَّةٍ.

Chapter Nine

His Activities in the Conquest of Mecca

In the peace treaty of al-Ḥudaibiyyah it was agreed that each one of the two parties should abstain from waging war or instigate their allies to do so, or give their allies any support in any war. However, Quraish broke the terms of this peace treaty and supported Banī Bakr, their allies against the tribe of Khuzāʿah, who were the allies of the Muslims; as well, they joined their allies at night in fighting against the tribe of Khuzāʿah.[201] The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) heard the news to the effect that a number of Muslims were unjustly martyred, and that the chief of the tribe of Khuzāʿah, ʿAmr ibn Sālim, had asked for help in that lines of emotional poetry, and so the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) answered his appeal.

Thus the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) decided to conquer Mecca and rid once and for all, the centre of monotheism of all signs of polytheism, as there was no obstacle that prevented him (s.a.w) from achieving that aim at that time. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) took control of Mecca through a wonderful military plan, without any bloodshed, accompanied by more than ten thousand fighters.[202]

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) took part in this victory; there are a number of notable points regarding his important role as follows:

1. A man called Ḥāṭib ibn Abī Baltaʿah had written a letter to Quraish, informing them of the intention of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to conquer Mecca, and he sent this letter with a woman. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) called

الفصل التاسع

النشاطات في فتح مكة

تمّ الاتّفاق في صلح الحديبيّة على أن يكفّ كلّ من الطرفين عن شنّ الحرب، وألّا يحرّضا حلفاءهما على ذلك، وألّا يدعماهم في حرب من الحروب. لكنّ قريش نكثت مقرّرات ذلك الصلح بتجهيز بني بكر حلفائهم على قبيلة خزاعة حليفة المسلمين، أو بالاشتراك ليلا في قتال ضدّها.

وتناهى إلى أسماع النبيّ ﷺ استشهاد عدد من المسلمين مظلومين، واستنجاد عمرو بن سالم رئيس قبيلة خزاعة بأبيات مؤثّرة، فأنجده.

وهكذا عزم على فتح مكّة، ومحو معالم الشرك من مركز التوحيد، إذ لا مانع يحول دون ذلك حينئذ. فسيطر رسول الله ﷺ على مكّة عبر خطّة عسكريّة عجيبة، وفتحها بلا إراقة دم، ومعه أكثر من عشرة آلاف مقاتل.

وشهد الإمام عليّ عليه السلام هذا النصر، وكان حضوره فيه لافتاً للنظر من وجوه:

١. كان حاطب بن أبي بلتعة قد كتب إلى قريش كتاباً يخبرهم فيه بعزم النبيّ ﷺ على فتح مكّة، وأرسله مع إحدى النساء. فاستدعى النبيّ ﷺ عليّاً عليه السلام، وبعثه مع اثنين للقبض على

ʿAlī (a.s.) and sent him with two other people to seize this woman. When they caught up with her and asked her to give the letter to them, she strongly denied that she had anything. They inspected her many times, but found nothing; this unsuccessful inspection supported her claim. The Imām (a.s.) said to her: "By Allah, the Messenger of Allah has never lied to us....By Allah, either you show us the letter or I take your head to the Messenger of Allah!" The woman surrendered and took the letter out of the folds of her hair locks and gave it to him.[203]

2. Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah was then the carrier of the banner of the Muslims; he would chant: "Today is the day of fierce battle....." The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) called out the call of mercy and compassion: "Today is the day of Mercy."[204] Then he called ʿAlī (a.s.) and asked him to take the banner from Saʿd."[205]

3. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) gave immunity to all men on the day of the conquering of Mecca, except for a band of wicked and arrogant people, whom he ordered to be killed. Among them was al-Ḥuwayrith who used to hurt the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) very much when he was in Mecca; there was also a songstress who would lampoon him (ṣ.a.w.) It was Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) who killed them.[206]

34. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, narrating from ʿUbaydullah ibn Abī Rāfiʿ, who said:** "I heard ʿAlī (a.s.) say: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) sent me, al-Zubayr, and al-Miqdād, saying to us: "Go until you come to the garden of Khākh,[207] where there is a woman carrying a letter, so take it from her." We left, racing our horses until we came to the garden, where we found the woman; we said to her: "Take out the letter." She said: "I have no letter." We said: "Either you take out the letter or we will disrobe you." She took it out of her hair locks, and we took it back to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)."[208]

35. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, narrating from ʿAbdullah ibn Abī Najīḥ, who said:** "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) organised his army in Dhī Ṭuwā, he ordered al-Zubayr, who was the commander of the left flank, to enter from Kudā[209] with some of his soldiers, and

تلك المرأة. ولمّا لقوها وطلبوا منها دفع الكتاب إليهم أنكرت ذلك أشدّ إنكار، ففتّشوها عدّة مرّات فلم يجدوا عندها شيئاً، ودلّ تفتيشهم على صحّة ما تدّعيه. فقال لها الإمامعليه السلام: واللّه ما كَذَبنا رسولُ اللّه صلوات اللّه عليه... واللّه لتُظهرنّ الكتاب أو لأردنّ رأسك إلى رسول اللّه! فاستسلمت المرأة وأخرجته من ضفيرتها، ودفعته إليه.

2. كان سعد بن عبادة يحمل راية الإسلام، وينادي: اليوم يوم الملحمة... .

فنادى رسول اللّهصلى الله عليه وآله نداء الرحمة والرأفة، وقال: اليوم يوم المرحمة...، ثمّ دعا عليّاًعليه السلام وأمره أن يرفع الراية مكان سعد.

3. أعطى النبيّصلى الله عليه وآله الأمان للجميع بعد فتح مكّة إلّا شرذمة من سود الضمائر المعاندين فقد أهدر دمهم، منهم الحويرث ـ الذي كان يؤذيه كثيراً يوم كان في مكّة ـ وامرأة مغنّية كانت تهجوهصلى الله عليه وآله، فقتلهما الإمامعليه السلام .

34. **صحيح البخاري عن عبيد اللّه بن أبي رافع:** سَمِعتُ عَلِيّاً رَضِيَ اللّهُ عَنهُ يَقولُ: بَعَثَني رَسولُ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله أنَا وَالزُّبَيرَ وَالمِقدادَ، فَقالَ: اِنطَلِقوا حَتّى تَأتوا رَوضَةَ خاخٍ، فَإنَّ بِها ظَعينَةً مَعَها كِتابٌ، فَخُذوهُ مِنها. قال: فَانطَلَقنا تَعادى بِنا خَيلُنا حَتّى أتَينَا الرَّوضَةَ، فَإذا نَحنُ بِالظَّعينَةِ، قُلنا لَها: أخرِجي الكِتابَ. قالَت: ما مَعِي كِتابٌ! فَقُلنا: لَتُخرِجِنَّ الكِتابَ أو لَنُلقِيَنَّ الثِّيابَ. قال: فَأخرَجَتهُ مِن عِقاصِها. فَأتَينا بِهِ رَسولَ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله .

35. **تاريخ الطبري عن عبد اللّه بن أبي نجيح:** إنَّ النَّبِيَّصلى الله عليه وآله حينَ فَرَّقَ جَيشَهُ مِن ذي طُوىً، أمَرَ الزُّبَيرَ أن يَدخُلَ في بَعضِ النّاسِ مِن كُدىً، وكانَ الزُّبَيرُ عَلَى المُجَنِّبَةِ اليُسرى، فَأمَرَ سَعدَ بنَ عُبادَةَ أن يَدخُلَ في بَعضِ النّاسِ مِن كَداءٍ. فَزَعَمَ بَعضُ أهلِ العِلمِ أنَّ سَعداً قالَ حينَ

he ordered Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah to enter from Kidā'[210] with another group of people. Some of the people of knowledge have claimed that when Saʿd entered, he said: "Today is the day of fierce battle. Today women shall be taken captives." One of the Muhājirūn heard this and said: "O Messenger of Allah, listen to what Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah is saying. We are worried that he might make an assault on Quraish." The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said to ʿAlī: "Catch up with him and take the banner from him: you will be the one to enter Mecca with it."[211]

وُجّهَ داخِلاً: «اليَومُ يَومُ المَلحَمَةِ،اليَومُ تُستَحَلُّ الحُرمَةُ»فَسَمِعَها رَجُلٌ مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ، فَقالَ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، اِسمَع ما قالَ سَعدُ بنُ عُبادَةَ! وما نَأمَنُ أن تَكونَ لَهُ في قُرَيشٍ صَولَةٌ!! فَقالَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ لِعَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ: أدرِكهُ فَخُذِ الرّايَةَ، فَكُن أنتَ الَّذي تَدخُلُ بِها.

Chapter Ten

The Superb Resistance in the Battle of Ḥunayn

The conquest of Mecca filled the hearts and souls of the polytheists with fear and panic. The two important tribes of al-Ṭā'if: Hawāzin and Thaqīf, consulted with other tribes and decided to confront the Islamic army quickly before they marched in on them. They mobilised a large army, under the command of a brave young man called Mālik ibn ʿAwf al-Naṣrī, and the army advanced on towards the Muslims.[212]

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) took the initiative to confront them with a great army, composed of twelve thousand fighters: ten thousand from Yathrib, and two thousand from the new Muslims. The mightiness of this army made some people so proudful that they said: "We may never be beaten from paucity in number."[213]

Mālik ordered his army to hide behind rock boulders, inside mountain gorges and in high positions at the end of the valley that leads to the region of Ḥunain. When the Islamic army reached that area, it was bombarded with rocks and arrows, and it suffered withdrawal and defeat.[214] As a result, many fighters among the army of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) fled, so much that Abū Sufyān mockingly said: "Their withdrawal will not end until they reach the sea."[215]

In this time of difficulty, no one stood by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) except for a few, about ten people, who fought desperately in his defence. Among them was the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) who

الفصل العاشر

المقاومة الرائعة في غزوة حنين

ألقى فتح مكّة الرعب في قلوب المشركين، والذعر والفزع في نفوسهم؛ فتشاورت قبيلتا الطائف المهمّتان هوازن وثقيف مع بعض القبائل الأُخرى، فعزمتا على المسارعة إلى مواجهة جيش الإسلام قبل أن يقبل عليهم، وجمعتا جيشاً ضخماً بقيادة شابّ باسل شجاع يدعى: مالك بن عوف النصري، وسار الجيش نحو المسلمين.

وبادر النبيّ ﷺ إلى مواجهتهم على رأس جيش عظيم يتألّف من اثني عشر ألفاً؛ عشرة آلاف من يثرب، وألفين من المسلمين الجدد، وبلغت عظمة الجيش درجةً جعلت البعض يصاب بغرور زائف حتى قال: لا نُغلب اليوم من قلّة.

وأمر مالك جيشه بالاختباء خلف الأحجار والصخور وشعاب الجبال والنقاط المرتفعة في آخر الوادي الذي كان ممرّاً إلى منطقة حنين. ولمّا وصل الجيش الإسلامي هناك رُشق بالسهام والحجارة، فمُني بالهزيمة والانكسار، وحدث ما حدث، وفرّ كثير من جيش رسول اللّه ﷺ، حتى قال أبو سفيان مستهزئاً: لا تنتهي هزيمتهم دون البحر.

وفي ساعة العسرة هذه لم يبقَ مع رسول اللّه ﷺ إلّا قليل؛ قرابة عشرة، فاستماتوا في

kept moving around him in defence, so those who intended killing the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) were defeated when he forced them to flee.[216]

In the midst of these times of trouble and hardship, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) called out in a loud voice, saying: "O partisans of Allah and partisans of His Messenger, I am the servant of Allah, and I am His Messenger!" He then drove his mule towards the enemy, accompanied by a number of his companions, and ordered his uncle al-ʿAbbās to call the Muslims with his loud voice and ask them to support him. Thus the army was reorganised once again.[217]

ʿAlī's steadfastness and his perseverance in fighting were noteworthy, as he could kill forty men among the tribe of Hawāzin,[218] one of whom was Abū Jarwal, who was one of their brave men; his death marked the beginning of the break down of their army.[219]

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) chased the defeated forces and besieged their fortress in al-Ṭā'if. In this siege, the Imām (a.s.) engaged in a fight with Nāfiʿ ibn Ghaylān and killed him. Some of the polytheists ran away and others entered Islam.[220]

In addition to this, the Imām (a.s.) was given the responsibility of smashing the idols around al-Ṭā'if, and he undertook the task in the best way possible.[221]

Al-Shaikh al-Mufīd, may Allah be pleased with him, said in respect to the presence of the Imām (a.s.) in this battle:

"So, have a look now at the outstanding merits of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) in this battle; contemplate on them and think about their meanings, and you will find him worthy of every virtue in it. He has been uniquely distinguished with this, and nobody in the ummah shares it with him."[222]

According to what we have mentioned and what has been cited in the historical events, we can state the role of the Imām (a.s.) within the following points:

1. He carried the banner of the Muhājirīn.
2. His presence in the paroxysm of the battle was awesome: the

الدفاع عنه، وفيهم أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام فكان لا يفتأ يحوم حوله مدافعاً، وهزم من كان يريد قتل النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله، وأجبرهم على الفرار.

وصاح النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله بصوت عال في خضمّ تلك الشدائد والنوازل قائلا: يا أنصار اللّه وأنصار رسوله، أنا عبد اللّه ورسوله! ثمّ ساق بغلته نحو العدوّ ومعه عدد من الصحابة، وأمر عمّه العبّاس أن ينادي المسلمين بصوته الجهوريّ ويدعوهم إلى نصرته. وهكذا انتظم أمر الجيش مرّة أُخرى.

إنّ ثبات عليّ عليه السلام وقتاله بلا هوادة في هذه المعركة لافتان للنظر أيضاً، فقد قتل أربعين من هوازن، وفيهم أبو جرول؛ وهو أحد شجعانهم، وكان هلاكه بداية لانهيار جيشهم.

ولاحق النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله الفارّين، وحاصر قلعتهم بالطائف. وفي هذا الحصار اشتبك الإمام عليه السلام مع نافع بن غيلان فقتله، فولّى جمع من المشركين مدبرين، وأسلم آخرون.

يضاف إلى هذا أنّ الإمام عليه السلام كلّف عند الحصار بكسر الأصنام التي كانت حول الطائف، وقد أنجز هذه المهمّة بأحسن ما يكون.

قال الشيخ المفيد ـ رضوان اللّه عليه ـ في حضور الإمام عليه السلام هذه الغزوة: «فَانظُرِ الآنَ إلى مَناقِبِ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام في هذِهِ الغَزاةِ وتَأَمَّلها وفكِّر في مَعانيها تَجِدهُ قَد تَوَلّى كُلَّ فَضلٍ كانَ فيها، وَاختَصَّ مِن ذلِكَ بِما لَم يَشرَكهُ فيهِ أحَدٌ مِنَ الأُمَّةِ».

ويتسنّى لنا الآن ـ بناءً على ما ذكرنا وما جاء في الوقائع التاريخيّة ـ أن نسجّل دور الإمام عليه السلام في النقاط الآتية:

1. حمله راية المهاجرين.

2. حضوره المهيب في احتدام القتال وهجوم العدوّ بلا هوادة، ودفعه الخطر عن النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله

enemy launched a severe attack, and he defended the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in the most dangerous moments, when many had fled the battlefield.

3. He killed Abū Jarwal, and so the army of Hawāzin broke apart.

4. He could also kill forty fighters of Hawāzin.

5. He led a battalion whose task was to break the idols.

6. He had a duel with Shihāb –from the tribe of Khathʿam– whom none of the Muslims dared to face. The Imām (a.s.) advanced to him and finished him off.

7. He killed Nāfiʿ, and this led many people to embrace Islam.

36. **Al-Irshād:** "A man from the tribe of Hawāzin came in front of the people on a red camel, carrying in his hand a black banner fixed on a long spear. Whenever he gained a victory over the Muslim fighters, he would pursue them, and if the people escaped him, he would raise it [i.e. the spear] for the polytheists behind him, and they would follow him. He was chanting:

I am Abū Jarwal, no doubt about it,
We either destroy the people or are destroyed.

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) directed himself towards him. He struck the hind of his camel and brought it down. Then he struck him and overcame him. He then recited:

Now the people know with whom the morrow belonged,
In the heat of the battle I am the one who brings disgrace [to others].

The polytheists were defeated after Abū Jarwal was killed, may Allah curse him."[223]

37. **Al-Irshād:** "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) killed Abū Jarwal, and so the people were defeated, the Muslims began to ply them with their swords, led by the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) who killed forty of them. Thus was the defeat and the capturing of prisoners brought about at that time."[224]

في أحرج اللحظات التي فرّ فيها الكثيرون.

3. قتلُه أبا جرول والذي استتبع انهيار جيش هوازن.

4. قتله أربعين من مقاتلي هوازن.

5. قيادته لكتيبة كانت قد تعبّأت من أجل إزالة الأصنام.

6. مبارزة شهاب ـ من قبيلة خثعم ـ الذي لم يجرأ أحد من المسلمين على مبارزته، فهبّ الإمام عليه السلام إليه وقضى عليه.

7. قتله نافعاً، الذي أدّى إلى إسلام الكثيرين.

36. **الإرشاد:** أقبَلَ رَجُلٌ مِن هَوازِنَ عَلى جَمَلٍ لَهُ أحمَرَ، بِيَدِهِ رايَةٌ سَوداءُ في رَأسِ رُمحٍ طَويلٍ أمامَ القَومِ، إذا أدرَكَ ظَفَراً مِنَ المُسلِمينَ أكَبَّ عَلَيهِم، وإذا فاتَهُ النّاسُ رَفَعَهُ لِمَن وَراءَهُ مِنَ المُشرِكينَ فَاتَّبَعوهُ، وهُوَ يَرتَجِزُ ويَقولُ:

أنَا أبو جَروَلٍ لا بَـراحَ حَتّى نُبيحَ القَومَ أو نُباحَ

فَصَمَدَ لَهُ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، فَضَرَبَ عَجُزَ بَعيرِهِ فَصَرَعَهُ، ثُمَّ ضَرَبَهُ فَقَطَرَهُ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

قَد عَلِمَ القَومُ لَدَى الصَّباحِ أنّي فِي الهَيجاءِ ذو نَصاحِ

فَكانَت هَزيمَةُ المُشرِكينَ بِقَتلِ أبي جَروَلٍ لَعَنَهُ اللّهُ.

37. **الإرشاد:** لَمّا قَتَلَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام أبا جَروَلٍ وخُذِلَ القَومُ لِقَتلِهِ، وَضَعَ المُسلِمونَ سُيوفَهُم فيهِم، وأميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام يَقدُمُهُم حَتّى قَتَلَ أربَعينَ رَجُلاً مِنَ القَومِ، ثُمَّ كانَتِ الهَزيمَةُ وَالأَسرُ حينَئِذٍ.

Chapter Eleven

Being Appointed as the Prophet's Vicegerent in the Battle of Tabūk

Tabūk is the farthest place to which the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) headed in his campaigns. When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was preparing his army to march towards Tabūk, the hypocrites in Medina began their movements. The incidents that took place clearly indicated that the hypocrites were waiting for the opportunity to strike their blow against the new government of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), considering that his long absence in this campaign would be a favourable opportunity for them. It is noted that he (ṣ.a.w.) first appointed Muḥammad ibn Maslamah as governor of Medina, and then he appointed ʿAlī (a.s.) over Medina. He said [to ʿAlī (a.s.)]:

"It is necessary that I stay or you stay."[225] He also said: "Medina will not be secure except by me or by you."[226]

It was through this way that the conspiracy was met with disaster. The very existence of ʿAlī (a.s.) struck fear in the hearts of the hypocrites and conspirators; they had no hope of trying any move in Medina. Therefore, they changed their plans. The battle of Tabūk was the only battle in which the Commander of the Faithful did not take part, by the decision of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), because of the incidents of Medina.[227] They falsely assumed that ʿAlī had given up taking part in battles, so he had let the Prophet down and decided not accompany him, despite the desire of the Prophet. The Imām (a.s.) soon hurried

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الاستخلاف عن النبيّ ﷺ في غزوة تبوك

تبوك هي أقصى منطقة توجّه إليها النبيّ ﷺ في حروبه. وبدأت تحرّكات المنافقين في المدينة في وقت راح رسول اللّه ﷺ يعدّ جيشه للانطلاق إلى تبوك. والحوادث التي وقعت تدلّ بوضوح على أنّ المنافقين في المدينة كانوا يتحيّنون الفرصة لتوجيه ضربتهم للحكومة النبويّة الجديدة. وكانت هذه الغيبة الطويلة للنبيّ فرصة مناسبة لهم. من هنا، نلحظ أنّه ﷺ استخلف في البداية محمّد بن مسلمة على المدينة، ثمّ جعل عليّاً عليه السلام عليها، وقال:

أنَا لابُدَّ مِن أن أُقيمَ أو تُقيمَ.

وقال:

إنَّ المَدينَةَ لا تَصلُحُ إلّا بي أو بِكَ.

وهكذا أخفقت المؤامرة، فإنّ وجود عليّ عليه السلام ألقى الرعب في قلوب المنافقين والمتآمرين، وآيسهم من القيام بأيّ تحرّك في المدينة، فراحوا يعزفون على وتر آخر؛ فإنّ غزوة تبوك كانت الغزوة الوحيدة التي لم يشهدها أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام بقرار النبيّ ﷺ، ولما طرأ من أحداث في المدينة. فأرجفوا أنّ عليّاً تخلّى عن الحرب وخذل النبيّ ولم يرافقه مع رغبة النبيّ في حضوره

towards the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) before his departure and informed him about their lies and calumnies. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) then uttered his everlasting and great statement in favour of ʿAlī: "Will you not be satisfied to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"[228] In light of this, the conspiracy came to grief in its early stages, and history recorded in favour of ʿAlī (a.s.) the most brilliant of merits in front of all people.

معه. فما كان من الإمام عليه السلام إلّا أنْ هرع إليه صلى الله عليه وآله قبل مغادرته، وأخبره بأراجيفهم، فنطق النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله عندئذٍ كلمته الخالدة العظيمة في حقّه: «أما تَرضى أن تَكونَ مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسى إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدي».

وهكذا أُحبطت هذه المؤامرة في مهدها، وسجّل التاريخ لعليّ عليه السلام أسطع المناقب أمام أنظار الناس.

Chapter Twelve

A Number of Important Delegations

A) Breaking the Idols

38. **Al-Irshād –in respect to the incidents following the Battle of Ḥunayn-:** "Then he [the Prophet] (ṣ.a.w.) marched towards al-Ṭā'if and laid a siege on them for days. He sent out the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), leading a troop of horsemen, and ordered him to trample on everything he found and smash every idol he found.

He went forward until he was met by a large troop of horsemen from the Khathʿam tribe. One of their men, called Shihāb, came forward in the darkness just before dawn. He called: "Is there anyone to fight me in single combat?" The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) asked them: "Any one for him?" No one responded. The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) rose to go against him. Then Abū al-ʿĀṣ ibn al-Rabīʿ, the husband of the Prophet's (ṣ.a.w.) daughter (Zaynab), stood up and said: "You will be too much for him, O Commander." He said: "Indeed. But if I am killed, then you are to lead the people." The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) went forward against him reciting:

'Duty is required of every leader,
That he waters the straight lance [with blood] or it is broken.'

Then he struck him down and killed him. He went on with his horsemen and smashed the idols. Then he returned to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) who was still laying siege on the people of al-Ṭā'if. When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) saw him, he magnified God saying: 'God is greater' for his victory. He then took him by the hand, went aside with him and

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غَلَبَةٌ بَعْثاتِيَّةٌ هامَّةٌ

أ. كَسرُ الأَصنامِ

38. **الإرشاد** في ذِكرِ وقايع ما بَعدَ غَزوَةِ حُنَين ـ ثُمَّ سارَ [النَّبِيُّ ﷺ] بِنَفسِهِ إلَى الطّائِفِ فَحاصَرَهُم أيّاماً، وأنفَذَ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام في خَيلٍ، وأمَرَهُ أن يَطَأَ ما وَجَدَ، ويَكسِرَ كُلَّ صَنَمٍ وَجَدَهُ. فَخَرَجَ حَتّى لَقِيَتهُ خَيلُ خَثعَمٍ في جَمعٍ كَثيرٍ، فَبَرَزَ لَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنَ القَومِ يُقالُ لَهُ: شِهابٌ، في غَبَشِ الصُّبحِ، فَقالَ: هَل مِن مُبارِزٍ؟ فَقالَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام: مَن لَهُ؟ فَلَم يَقُم أحَدٌ، فَقامَ إلَيهِ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، فَوَثَبَ أبُو العاصِ بنُ الرَّبيعِ زَوجُ بِنتِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ فَقالَ: تُكفاهُ أيُّهَا الأَميرُ. فَقالَ: لا، ولكِن إن قُتِلتُ فَأَنتَ عَلَى النّاسِ، فَبَرَزَ إلَيهِ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام وهُوَ يَقولُ:

إنَّ عَلى كُلِّ رَئيسٍ حَقّاً أن يُروِيَ الصَّعدَةَ أو تُدَقّا

ثُمَّ ضَرَبَهُ فَقَتَلَهُ. ومَضى في تِلكَ الخَيلِ حَتّى كَسَرَ الأَصنامَ، وعادَ إلى رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ وهُوَ مُحاصِرٌ لِاهلِ الطّائِفِ، فَلَمّا رَآهُ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ كَبَّرَ لِلفَتحِ، وأخَذَ بِيَدِهِ فَخَلا بِهِ، وناجاهُ طَويلاً.

spent a long time in confidential talk with him."[229]

B) Declaring Repudiation from the Polytheists

The verses of the Chapter of Repudiation (al-Barāʾa) [Qurʾān, 9], the declaration of dissatisfaction with polytheism and idolatry, and the necessity of purifying the land of revelation from all signs of polytheism, are all considered to be among the greatest events in the history of Islam. The Chapter of Repudiation was revealed on the season of Ḥajj pilgrimage in the ninth year AH. Abū Bakr was given the responsibility of conveying this Sūrah to the pilgrims, with a declaration that included four clauses. Abū Bakr headed towards Mecca, but it was only after a short while that the revelation was revealed onto the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), informing him:

"No one can convey it for you, except you or a man of yourself."

He called ʿAlī (a.s.) and told him what happened. He gave him his own camel and ordered him to leave Medina quickly to catch up with Abū Bakr and take the Sūrah from him and read it to the people in their large number on the tenth day of Dhul Ḥijjah. Thus, another merit is added to many such great virtues of ʿAlī (a.s.). This was also to prove to generations that he is of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and that they are one.

39. **Al-Irshād:** It was narrated in respect to the Chapter of Repudiation [Qurʾān, 9]: "The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) gave it to Abū Bakr to annul the alliance with the polytheists. Before he went too far, Gabriel (a.s.) descended to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and said to him: "Allah sends his greetings to you and says: "No one can convey it for you, except you or a man of yourself." The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) called ʿAlī (a.s.) and said to him: "Mount my she-camel al-ʿAḍbāʾ and catch up with Abū Bakr. Take [the declaration] of repudiation from him and go with it to Mecca to annul the agreement with the polytheists through it. Tell Abū Bakr either to go with you or to return to me." The Commander of the Faithful mounted the she-camel of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and caught up with Abū Bakr.

ب ـ إعلانُ البَراءَةِ مِنَ المُشرِكينَ

إنّ آيات البراءة، وإعلان الاستياء من الشرك والصنميّة، ولزوم تطهير أرض الوحي من معالم الشرك، كلّ ذلك يعدّ من أعظم الفصول في التاريخ الإسلامي. فقد نزلت سورة «براءة» في موسم الحجّ سنة (٩ هـ) وكُلّف أبوبكر بقراءتها على الحجّاج، مع بيان يتألّف من أربع موادّ، وتوجّه أبوبكر إلى مكّة، لكن لم يمضِ على تحرّكه إلّا وقت قصير حتى هبط الوحي مبلّغاً النبيّ ﷺ أن:

لا يُؤَدّي عَنكَ إلّا أنتَ أو رَجُلٌ مِنكَ.

فدعا عليّاً عليه السلام وأخبره بالأمر، وأعطاه راحلته، وأمره أن يعجّل في ترك المدينة، ويأخذ السورة من أبي بكر، ويقرأها على الناس في حشدهم الغفير يوم العاشر من ذي الحجّة. وهكذا كان. فأُضيفت بذلك منقبة أُخرى إلى مناقبه العظيمة، وثبت للأجيال والأعصار المختلفة سلفاً أنّه من النبيّ ﷺ، وأنّه نفسه.

39. **الإرشاد:** جاءَ في قِصَّةِ البَراءَةِ: وقَد دَفَعَهَا النَّبِيُّ ﷺ إلىٰ أبي بَكرٍ لِيَنبِذَ بِها عَهدَ المُشرِكينَ، فَلَمّا سارَ غَيرَ بَعيدٍ نَزَلَ جَبرَئيلُ عليه السلام عَلَى النَّبِيِّ ﷺ فَقالَ لَهُ: إنَّ اللّهَ يُقرِئُكَ السَّلامَ ويَقولُ لَكَ: لا يُؤَدّي عَنكَ إلّا أنتُ أو رَجُلٌ مِنكَ. فَاستَدعى رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ عَلِيّاً عليه السلام وقالَ لَهُ: اِركَب ناقَتِي العَضباءَ وَالحَق أبا بَكرٍ، فَخُذ بَراءَةَ مِن يَدِهِ وَامضِ بِها إلىٰ مَكَّةَ، فَانبِذ عَهدَ المُشرِكينَ إلَيهِم، وخَيِّر أبا بَكرٍ بَينَ أن يَسيرَ مَعَ رِكابِكَ أو يَرجِعَ إلَيَّ.

فَرَكِبَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام ناقَةَ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ العَضباءَ، وسارَ حَتّىٰ لَحِقَ أبا بَكرٍ، فَلَمّا رَآهُ فَزِعَ

When he saw ʿAlī (a.s.), he got scared of the reason for catching up with him. He met him and said: "O Abū al-Ḥasan, why did you come? Are you to accompany me, or for some other matter?" The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) said to him: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered me to catch up with you, to take from you the verses from the Chapter of Repudiation, and to annul by these verses the agreement with the polytheists. He also ordered me to give you the choice of coming along with me or going back to him." He said: "I shall go back to him." He went back to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). When he entered, he said: "O Messenger of Allah, you regarded me as worthy to undertake a mission on account of which men craned their necks towards me, and when I went on with it, you dismissed me from it. What was wrong with me? Was any verse from the Qur'ān revealed concerning me?" The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "No, but the Trusty one, Gabriel (a.s.), came to me from Allah, exalted be He, [with the command] that: "No one can convey it for you, except by yourself or a man of yourself. ʿAlī is of myself, and no one can convey for me except'Alī."[230]

40. **Tārīkh Dimashq** narrating from ʿAbbās who said, "While I was with ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭab on a way to Medina - while his hand was in my hand - he told me, 'O Ibn ʿAbbās, I do not consider your companion (i. e. ʿAli) but an oppressed man!' I said to him, 'Then give him back his due, O Commander of the Faithful!' He drew his hand out of my hand and turned away from me mumbling, then stopped until I joined him. He said to me, 'O Ibn ʿAbbās, I think the people just made light of your companion,' I said, 'By God the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did not make light of him when commanded him to take (back) the Declaration of Repudiation from Abū Bakr to read it out for the people!' Then he (i. e. ʿUmar) kept silent."[231]

C) **The Delegation to Yemen**

When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) conquered Mecca and gained victory against the tribes living around in the battle of Ḥunayn, he wanted to expand the limits of his mission. He sent Muʿādh

مِن لُحوقِهِ بِهِ، واستَقبَلَهُ وقالَ: فيمَ جِئتَ يا أبَا الحَسَنِ، أسائِرٌ مَعِي أنتَ أم لِغَيرِ ذلِكَ؟! فَقالَ لَهُ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام: إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله أمَرَني أن ألحَقَكَ فَأَقبِضَ مِنكَ الآياتِ مِن بَراءَةَ وأنبِذَ بِها عَهدَ المُشرِكينَ إلَيهِم، وأمَرَني أن أُخَيِّرَكَ بَينَ أن تَسيرَ مَعِي أو تَرجِعَ إلَيهِ. فَقالَ: بَل أرجِعُ إلَيهِ.

وعادَ إلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله، فَلَمّا دَخَلَ عَلَيهِ قالَ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، إنَّكَ أهَّلتَني لِأَمرٍ طالَتِ الأعناقُ فيهِ إلَيَّ، فَلَمّا تَوَجَّهتُ لَهُ رَدَدتَني عَنهُ، ما لي، أنَزَلَ فِيَّ قُرآنٌ؟! فَقالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: لا، ولكِنَّ الأَمينَ هَبَطَ إلَيَّ عَنِ اللّهِ جَلَّ جَلالُهُ بِأَنَّهُ لا يُؤَدّي عَنكَ إلّا أنتَ أو رَجُلٌ مِنكَ، وعَلِيٌّ مِنّي، ولا يُؤَدّي عَنّي إلّا عَلِيٌّ.

40. **تاريخ دمشق عن ابن عبّاس:** بَينا أنَا مَعَ عُمَرَ بنِ الخَطّابِ في بَعضِ طُرُقِ المَدينَةِ يَدُهُ في يَدي ـ إذ قالَ لي: يَابنَ عَبّاسٍ، ما أحسِبُ صاحِبَكَ إلّا مَظلوماً! فَقُلتُ: فَرُدَّ إلَيهِ ظُلامَتَهُ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ!! قالَ: فَانتَزَعَ يَدَهُ مِن يَدي، ونَفَرَ مِنّي يُهَمهِمُ، ثُمَّ وَقَفَ حَتّىٰ لَحِقتُهُ، فَقالَ لي: يَابنَ عَبّاس، ما أحسِبُ القَومَ إلّا استَصغَروا صاحِبَكَ. قُلتُ: وَاللّهِ مَا استَصغَرَهُ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله حينَ أرسَلَهُ وأمَرَهُ أن يَأخُذَ بَراءَةَ مِن أبي بَكرٍ فَيَقرَأَها عَلَى النّاسِ!! فَسَكَتَ.

ج ـ البَعثُ إلَى اليَمَنِ

لمّا فتح رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله مكّة، وانتصر على القبائل المستقرّة حولها في غزوة حنين، أراد توسيع نطاق دعوته؛ فأرسل إلى اليمن معاذ بن جبل، وهناك استعصت مسائل على معاذ فرجع، وبعث بعده خالد بن الوليد، فلم يحقّق نجاحاً، وأخفق في مهمّته بعد ستّة أشهر

ibn Jabal to Yemen, but there were questions there that were too difficult for Muʿādh to answer, so he returned.

Afterwards, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd, who failed to achieve any success and could not undertake the task in Yemen even after six months. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) then appointed ʿAlī (a.s.) and sent him there with a letter. When ʿAlī (a.s.) got there, he read it to the people in an eloquent manner and effective language and invited them to monotheism. The tribe of Hamdān entered Islam, and he informed the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), who became very happy and supplicated for them.[232]

Other traditions narrate that the Imām (a.s.) engaged with the tribe of Madhhij in battle and defeated them. Then, after a second time of defeating, he called them to Islam. He collected the booty of war and the charities of Najrān and joined the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in the Ḥajj pilgrimage season.[233]

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was then assigned the responsibility of judiciary in Yemen, and the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) supplicated for him to be firm and accurate in his arbitrution.[234] The books of history have recorded examples of his judiciary in Yemen. The following question might be raised here: Did all those incidents occur to him in one journey or in multiple trips?

Ibn Saʿd has mentioned two journeys the Imām (a.s.) made.[235] Moreover, the traditions related to his battle with the tribe of Madhḥij indicate that it was a separate assignment. There are many such merits cited in books in respect of his mission to Yemen and the activities and efforts he has undertaken in order for him to execute this great mission.

41. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) sent me to Yemen and said to me: "O ʿAlī, do not fight anybody, until you invite him [to Islam]. By Allah, if Allah guides a man through your hands, it will be better for you than whatever exist under the sun[236]. For you O ʿAlī, will also be his loyalty."[237]

من المكوث في اليمن. فانتدب عليّاً عليه السلام، فوجّهه إليها مع كتاب. ولمّا وصل قرأه على أهلها ببيان بليغ وكلام مؤثّر، ودعاهم إلى التوحيد، فأسلمت قبيلة «همدان». وأخبر رسول اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله بذلك، فسرَّ ودعا لهم.

ونقلت أخبار أُخرى أنّ الإمام عليه السلام اصطدم بقبيلة «مذحج» وهزمهم، ثمّ دعاهم إلى الإسلام بعد هزيمتهم الثانية، وجمع غنائم الحرب، وسار بها وبصدقات نجران فالتحق بالنّبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله في موسم الحجّ.

ثمّ فوّض إليه عليه السلام القضاء في اليمن، ودعا له النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله بالثّبات في قضائه. و نقلت كتب التاريخ نماذج من قضائه في اليمن. والآن يمكن أن يثار السؤال الآتي: هل حدثت كلّ هذه الوقائع لعليّ عليه السلام في سفرةٍ واحدةٍ أو في عدّة أسفار؟ !

ينصّ ابن سعد على سفرتين له عليه السلام . يضاف إلى هذا أنّ الأخبار المرتبطة باشتباكه مع قبيلة «مذحج» تدلّ على استقلال تلك «السريّة». وفي النصوص المتعلّقة بذهاب الإمام عليه السلام إلى اليمن، وكيفيّة تنفيذ هذه المهمّة الكبرى مناقب وفضائل مسجَّلة له عليه السلام تجدها هنا.

41. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام: بَعَثَني رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله إلَى اليَمَنِ وقالَ لي: يا عَلِيُّ، لا تُقاتِلَنَّ أحَداً حَتّىٰ تَدعوَهُ، وَايمُ اللّهِ لأَن يَهدِيَ اللّهُ عَلىٰ يَدَيكَ رَجُلاً خَيرٌ لَكَ مِمّا طَلَعَت عَلَيهِ الشَّمسُ وغَرَبَت! ولَكَ وَلاؤُهُ يا عَلِيُّ.

Chapter Thirteen

Supplications of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) for the Imām (a.s.)

A) O Allah, appoint for me an agent from my family, my brother ʿAlī

42. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O Allah, I say as my brother Moses said: "O Allah, appoint for me an agent from my family, my brother ʿAlī; enhance my strength by him and let him share my task, so that we may exalt You abundantly and remember You abundantly; for indeed You are seer of us."[238]

B) O Allah, let the truth revolve with ʿAlī whichever way he turns

43. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "May Allah have mercy on ʿAlī. O Allah, let the truth revolve with ʿAlī whichever way he turns."[239]

44. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O Allah, revolve the truth with ʿAlī whichever way he turns."[240]

C) O Allah, befriend whoever befriends him and show enmity towards whoever shows enmity towards him

45. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said,** on the farewell pilgrimage: "Whoever has Allah and His Messenger as his friend, this [ʿAlī] is his friend. O Allah, befriend whoever befriends him and show enmity towards whoever shows enmity towards him. O Allah, love whoever loves him and hate whoever hates him."[241]

الفصل الثالث عشر

مِنْ أدْعِيَةِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ لِلإمامِ عليه السلام

أ ـ اللّهُمَّ اجعَل لي وَزيراً مِن أهلي عَلِيّاً أخي

42. **رسول الله ﷺ**: اللّهُمَّ أقولُ كَما قالَ أخي موسىٰ: اللّهُمَّ اجعَل لي وَزيراً مِن أهلي، عَلِيّاً أخي، أُشدُد بِهِ أزري، وأشرِكهُ في أمري، كَي نُسَبِّحَكَ كَثيراً، ونَذكُرَكَ كَثيراً، إنَّكَ كُنتَ بِنا بَصيراً.

ب ـ اللّهُمَّ أدِرِ الحَقَّ مَعَهُ حَيثُ دارَ

43. **رسول الله ﷺ**: رَحِمَ اللّهُ عَلِيّاً، اللّهُمَّ أدِرِ الحَقَّ مَعَهُ حَيثُ دارَ.

44. **عنه ﷺ**: اللّهُمَّ أدِرِ الحَقَّ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ حَيثُما دارَ.

ج ـ اللّهُمَّ والِ مَن والاه وعادِ مَن عاداه

45. **رسول الله ﷺ** في حَجَّةِ الوَداعِ ـ: مَن يَكُنِ اللّهُ ورَسولُهُ مَولَياهُ فَإنَّ هذا مَولاهُ، اللّهُمَّ والِ مَن والاهُ، وعادِ مَن عاداهُ، اللّهُمَّ مَن أحَبَّهُ مِنَ النّاسِ فَكُن لَهُ حَبيباً، ومَن أبغضَهُ فَكُن لَهُ مُبغِضاً.

D) General Supplications of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

46. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "I was in pain, so I went to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.); he put me in his place and stood up to pray. He threw on me the end of his shirt and said: "O Ibn Abī Ṭālib, you have been cured; do not worry. I have never asked Allah for something without asking Him for the same thing for you, and I have never asked Allah for something but that He gives it to me, except that I was told: "There is no prophet after you."[242]

د ـ جَوامِعُ أدعِيَةِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله

46. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام**: وَجَعتُ وَجَعاً، فَأَتَيتُ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله، فَأَقامَني في مَكانِهِ وقامَ يُصَلّي، وألقىٰ عَلَيَّ طَرَفَ ثَوبِهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: قَد بَرَأتَ يَابنَ أبي طالِبٍ، لا بَأسَ عَلَيكَ؛ ما سَأَلتُ اللّهَ شَيئاً إلّا سَأَلتُ لَكَ مِثلَهُ، ولا سَأَلتُ اللّهَ شَيئاً إلّا أعطانيهِ، غَيرَ أنَّهُ قيلَ لي: إنّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدَكَ.

Chapter Fourteen

The Ascension of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) from the Breast of the Executor (a.s.)

The last days of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) were extraordinary. As for the days of ʿAlī (a.s.), they were full of worries and agonies, loaded with suffering and ordeals. At that time, the politicians were occupied with planning to seize the Caliphate in order to draw out the policy of the future and ponder on tomorrow and what will follow... .

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered the army to be ready for war against the Romans. The army was mobilised, and it included many notable figures. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) assigned himself the banner of command to Usāmah ibn Zayd. His young age was used as a pretext by the politicians to object to him, concealing their real motivations to linger and hesitate, when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was ill in bed, suffering from fever. When he came to know their sluggishness, he left his bed and headed to the mosque, with a feverish body and a wrapped head. He informed the Muslims of the unfotunate consequences of their reluctance and negligence, and then he gave his order, saying: "Dispatch the army of Usāmah." But the worldly politicians hindered the dispatch for fifteen days.[243]

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was spending the last days of his life, and he granted to ʿAlī (a.s.) his shield, his banner, and made ʿAlī his executor.[244] Through a long private talk the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) passed to him an uncountable sorts of knowledge.[245] While he (ṣ.a.w.) was

الفصل الرابع عشر
عُروجُ النبيّ ﷺ من صَدرِ الوَصيّ

كانت الأيّام الأخيرة من عمر رسول اللّه ﷺ أيّاماً عجيبةً، فقد كانت لعليّ عليه السلام أيّاماً حافلةً بالغموم، زاخرةً بالآلام، مليئة بالمتاعب والمحن، وكانت للسّاسة آنذاك أيّام عمل، ومثابرة وتخطيط للاستحواذ على الخلافة وسعي لرسم السياسة القادمة، وتفكير بالغد وبما يليه...

أمر رسول اللّه ﷺ بتجهيز الجيش لحرب الروم، فتعبّأ الجيش وفيه وجوه بارزة، وعقد ﷺ اللواء بنفسه ودفعه إلى أُسامة بن زيد. وكان صغر سنّه قد شكّل ذريعة بأيدي الساسة للاعتراض عليه إخفاءً للبواعث الحقيقيّة التي كانت تدفعهم إلى التلكّؤ والتباطؤ في الحركة في وقت كان النبيّ ﷺ على فراش المرض يعاني من الحمّى. ولمّا علم بتثاقلهم قام من فراشه، وتوجّه نحو المسجد بجسم محمومٍ ورأس معصوب، وأنبأ المسلمين بالتّبعات الذميمة الشاذّة لفتورهم وتقاعسهم، ثمّ قال: «أنفِذُوا جَيشَ أُسَامَة». بَيْد أنّ ساسة الدنيا حالوا دون الإنفاذ من خلال توقّف دام أكثر من خمسة عشر يوماً.

وكان رسول اللّه ﷺ يطوي اللحظات الأخيرة من حياته. ووهب الإمام عليّاً عليه السلام درعه، ولواءه، وجعله وصيّه، ونقل إليه علوماً لاتُحصى عبر نجوى طويلة. وبينا كان يلفظ كلمته الأخيرة: «لا، مَعَ الرَّفيقِ الأَعلىٰ» فاضت روحه المقدّسة الطاهرة وهو في حجر الإمام عليه السلام.

uttering his last words: "No, rather with the Highest Companion", his holy pure soul left his body while he was resting in the lap of the Imām (a.s.). The pure and virtuous soul rose towards the Highest Companion from the chest of his dear one, his interlocutor, his road comrade, his protector, his confidant, and his defender without any match, the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.).[246]

It is the Imām (a.s.) – stricken with grief, with eyes tearful because of the death of the Messenger of Allah - who will be the one to take charge of bathing him ritually, with the angels as his aids, and al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbbās with with him.....[247] Then he shrouded him, uncovered his face, and said with a plaintive voice, and a sorrowful heart with tears flowing down his cheeks: "By my father and my mother, how blessed are you alive and dead...."

He prayed over his pure body, and then the Companions prayed over him, group by group. He then buried the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) at the place where his sacred pure soul left his body.[248] A number of people assisted him in the burial, among whom were Aws ibn Khawalī and al-Fadl ibn ʿAbbās.[249]

47. **Al-Irshād:** "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) never left the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), but for a necessity; when he went for something, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) woke up and missed ʿAlī (a.s.). He said while his wives were around him: "Call my brother and companion for me." Then debility seized him (again) and he kept silent. ʿĀ'ishah said: "Call Abū Bakr for him." He was called, and he came in and sat near his head. When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) opened his eyes, he looked at him and turned away from him. Abū Bakr stood up, and said: "If he had needed anything from me, he would have told me." When he left, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) repeated what he had said: "Call my brother and companion for me." Ḥafṣah said: "Call ʿUmar for him." He was called, and when he came, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) saw him and turned away from him, so he left. Then he (ṣ.a.w.) again said: "Call my brother and companion For me." Um Salamah then said: "Call ʿAlī for him. He desires no

وعرجت تلك الروح الزكيّة المطهّرة نحو الرفيق الأعلى من صدر حبيبه ونجيّه ورفيق دربه وحاميه وحافظ سرّه والذابّ عنه بلا منازع: أمير المؤمنين عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام.

إنّه الإمام عليه السلام ـ والغمّ متراكم جاثم على صدره، والعيون عَبرى، والقلب حزين، مليء غصّةً لفقد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ـ مَن يلي غسله والملائكة أعوانه، والفضل بن عبّاس معه... ثمّ كفّنه، وكشف عن وجهه، وبينا كانت دموعه تنهمر على خدّيه، ناداه بصوت حزين وهو يغصّ في عبرته، والحزن يعصر قلبه: «بِأَبي أنتَ وأُمّي، طِبتَ حَيّاً ومَيِّتاً...».

وصلّى على جثمانه الطاهر، ثمّ صلّى عليه الصحابة جماعةً، جماعةً. ودفنه حيث فاضت روحه المقدّسة الشريفة، وعاونه على الدفن جماعة منهم أوس ابن خولّى، والفضل بن عبّاس.

47. **الإرشاد:** كانَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ لا يُفارِقُهُ [صلى الله عليه وآله] إلّا لِضَرورَةٍ، فَقامَ في بَعضِ شُؤونِهِ، فَأَفاقَ صلى الله عليه وآله إفاقَةً فَافتَقَدَ عَلِيّاً عليه السلام، فَقالَ ـ وأزواجُهُ حَولَهُ ـ: اُدعوا لي أخي وصاحِبي. وعاوَدَهُ الضَّعفُ فَأَصمَتَ. فَقالَت عائِشَةُ: اُدعوا لَهُ أبا بَكرٍ، فَدُعِيَ، فَدَخَلَ عَلَيهِ فَقَعَدَ عِندَ رَأسِهِ، فَلَمّا فَتَحَ عَينَهُ نَظَرَ إلَيهِ وأعرَضَ عَنهُ بِوَجهِهِ، فَقامَ أبو بَكرٍ وقالَ: لَو كانَ لَهُ إلَيَّ حاجَةٌ لَأَفضىٰ بِها إلَيَّ.

فَلَمّا خَرَجَ أعادَ رَسولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله القَولَ ثانِيَةً وقالَ: اُدعوا لي أخي وصاحِبي. فَقالَت حَفصَةُ: اُدعوا لَهُ عُمَرَ، فَدُعِيَ، فَلَمّا حَضَرَ رَآهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله فَأَعرَضَ عَنهُ، فَانصَرَفَ.

ثُمَّ قالَ صلى الله عليه وآله: اُدعوا لي أخي وصاحِبي. فَقالَت اُمُّ سَلَمَةَ: اُدعوا لَهُ عَلِيّاً؛ فَإِنَّهُ لا يُرِيدُ غَيرَهُ.

one else". The Commander of the Faithful was called; when he came near the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), he beckoned to him and kept him close. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) went in a private talk with him for a long time. Then ʿAlī stood up and sat aside, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) went into a slumber. The people asked him: "What did he confide to you, O Abū al-Ḥasan?" He said: "He taught me a thousand doors of knowledge, and each door opened for me another thousand doors. He also assigned to me to do what I will undertake, if Allah wills it."

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) became weaker, and death drew near; the Commander of the Faithful was next to him. When he (ṣ.a.w.) was about to pass on, he said to ʿAlī: "Put my head in your lap, for the will of Allah, the Exalted, has come to pass. When my soul leaves my body, take it in your hand and pass it over your face, then face me towards the Qiblah, and manage my affairs. Pray over me before anybody else, and do not leave me until you have buried me in my grave. Seek assistance from Allah, the Almighty." ʿAlī took his head, and placed it in his lap. Then he lost consciousness. Fāṭimah (a.s.) came to him, looking into his face, lamenting, weeping, and reciting:

'A bright face, through which rains are sent down,
A refuge for the widows, a haven for the orphans.'

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) opened his eyes, and said in a faint voice: "O my daughter, these are the words of your uncle Abū Ṭālib." Do not say so, or rather recite: "Muḥammad is but a messenger; [other] messengers have passed on before him. If he dies or is slain, will you turn back on your heels?"[250]

She kept weeping for a long time. He indicated to her to come close to him, and she came close. He whispered something to her, which made her face radiant; then he passed away, with the right hand of the Commander of the Faithful under his chin and his soul (ṣ.a.w.) poured forth into it. ʿAlī raised his hand to his face and rubbed it with it. He then put the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in the direction of the Qiblah, closed his eyes and laid him out on his waist-cloth. Then he went on to give him the burial."[251]

فَدُعِيَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، فَلَمّا دَنا مِنهُ أومَأَ إلَيهِ، فَأَكَبَّ عَلَيهِ، فَناجاهُ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله طَويلاً، ثُمَّ قامَ فَجَلَسَ ناحِيَةً حَتّىٰ أغفىٰ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله، فَقالَ لَهُ النّاسُ: مَا الَّذي أوعَزَ إلَيكَ يا أبَا الحَسَنِ؟ فَقالَ: عَلَّمَني ألفَ بابٍ؛ فَتَحَ لي كُلُّ بابٍ ألفَ بابٍ، ووَصّاني بِما أنَا قائِمٌ بِهِ إن شاءَ اللّهُ.

ثُمَّ ثَقُلَ صلى الله عليه وآله وحَضَرَهُ المَوتُ وأميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام حاضِرٌ عِندَهُ، فَلَمّا قَرُبَ خُروجُ نَفسِهِ قالَ لَهُ: ضَع رَأسي يا عَلِيُّ في حِجرِكَ؛ فَقَد جاءَ أمرُ اللّهِ عزَّ وجَلَّ، فَإذا فاضَت نَفسي فَتَناوَلها بِيَدِكَ وَامسَح بِها وَجهَكَ، ثُمَّ وَجِّهني إلَى القِبلَةِ، وتَوَلَّ أمري، وصَلِّ عَلَيَّ أوَّلَ النّاسِ، ولا تُفارِقني حَتّىٰ تُوارِيَني في رَمسي، وَاستَعِن بِاللّهِ تَعالى. فَأَخَذَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام رَأسَهُ فَوَضَعَهُ في حِجرِهِ، فَأُغمِيَ عَلَيهِ، فَأَكَبَّت فاطِمَةُ عليها السلام تَنظُرُ في وَجهِهِ وتَندُبُهُ وتَبكي وتَقولُ:

وأبيَضُ يُستَسقَى الغَمامُ بِوَجهِهِ ثِمالُ اليَتامىٰ عِصمَةٌ لِلأَرامِلِ

فَفَتَحَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله عَينَيهِ، وقالَ بِصَوتٍ ضَئيلٍ: يا بُنَيَّةُ، هٰذا قَولُ عَمِّكِ أبي طالِبٍ، لا تَقولِيهِ، ولكِن قُولي: ﴿وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِن قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ أَفَإِيْن مَّاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ انقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَى أَعْقَابِكُمْ﴾. فَبَكَت طَويلاً، فَأَومَأَ إلَيها بِالدُّنُوِّ مِنهُ، فَدَنَت، فَأَسَرَّ إلَيها شَيئاً تَهَلَّلَ لَهُ وَجهُها.

ثُمَّ قَضىٰ صلى الله عليه وآله وَيدُ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام اليُمنى تَحتَ حَنَكِهِ، فَفاضَت نَفسُهُ صلى الله عليه وآله فيها، فَرَفَعَها إلى وَجهِهِ فَمَسَحَهُ بِها، ثُمَّ وَجَّهَهُ، وغَمَّضَهُ، ومَدَّ عَلَيهِ إزارَهُ، وَاشتَغَلَ بِالنَّظَرِ في أمرِهِ.

48. **Kanz al-ʿUmmāl, narrating from Ḥudhaifa ibn al-Yamān, who said:** "I visited the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) when he was in his fatal illness; I saw him leaning on ʿAlī, so I wanted to move ʿAlī and sit in his place. I said to him: "O Abū al-Ḥasan, I think you are tired tonight, so why don't you move aside, so I can help you." Then the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Leave him, for he has a better right to be in this position than you are."[252]
49. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The Messenger of Allah passed away when his head was on my chest. His soul flowed into my palm, and I passed it over my face. I took charge of bathing him ritually[253] (ṣ.a.w.), aided by the angels. The house and the courtyards were full of them, a group of angels descending, and a group ascending. I continued to hear their hum, praying over him, until we laid him into his tomb."[254]

48. **كنز العمّال عن حذيفة بن اليمان:** دَخَلتُ عَلىٰ رَسولِ اللّهِﷺ في مَرَضِهِ الَّذي قُبِضَ فيهِ، فَرَأَيتُهُ يَتَسانَدُ إلى عَلِيٍّ، فَأَرَدتُ أن اُنَحِّيَهُ وأجلِسَ مَكانَهُ، فَقُلتُ: يا اَبَا الحَسَنِ، ما أراكَ إلّا تَعِبتَ في لَيلَتِكَ هذِهِ، فَلَو تَنَحَّيتَ فَأَعنَتُكَ، فَقالَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ: دَعهُ؛ فَهُوَ أحَقُّ بِمَكانِهِ مِنكَ.

49. **الإمام عليّ**ع: لَقَد قُبِضَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ وإنَّ رَأسَهُ لَعَلىٰ صَدري، ولَقَد سالَت نَفسُهُ في كَفّي فَأَمرَرتُها عَلىٰ وَجهي. ولَقَد وُلِّيتُ غُسلَهُﷺ وَالمَلائِكَةُ أعواني، فَضَجَّتِ الدّارُ وَالأَفنِيَةُ؛ مَلأٌ يَهبِطُ، ومَلأٌ يَعرُجُ، وما فارَقَت سَمعي هَينَمَةٌ مِنهُم، يُصَلّونَ عَلَيهِ حَتّىٰ وارَيناهُ في ضَريحِهِ.

Part Three:

The Efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to Consolidate the Leadership of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

Introduction: The Position of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) ards the Future of the Message

Chapter One: The Traditions of Executorship

Chapter Two: The Traditions of Inheritance

Chapter Three: The Traditions of Vicegerency

Chapter Four: The Traditions of Status

Chapter Five: The Traditions of Commandership

Chapter Six: The Traditions of Imāmate

Chapter Seven: The Traditions of Friendship

Chapter Eight: The Traditions of Guidance

Chapter Nine: The Traditions of Infallibility

Chapter Ten: The Tradition of Ghadīr

Chapter Eleven: The Utmost Limit of the Prophet's Effect to Appointing a Successor

Introduction

The Position of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) towards the Future of the Message

The religion of Islam is the last and seal of religions; the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) is the seal of prophets; and the Qur'ān is the last of the series of Divine Books; thus, Islam embraces all times and all places.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) stood forth to hold the banner of a religion that could gain the attribute of eternity. No time can ever out do it in degree or quality or go beyond its limit.

On the other hand, the law of existence and the nature of creation guide us to the fact that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) is like unto the rest of people. He has an apparent and limited life; the Qur'ān clearly announces that death will overcome him, even as it overcomes everyone else: "You will indeed die, and they [too] will die indeed."[255]

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) undertook the message of spreading the teachings of religion and guidance from heaven. He also held the responsibility of leading and ruling the society. Thus, he combined both the intellectual authority of the Ummah and its political leadership.

Here, we come across an important and a crucial question that cannot be easily overlooked, especially after it has changed into a doubt that has engaged the attention of the Muslim scholars and thinkers throughout history.

The question is: As long as the life span of this divine and unique leader after years of struggle and propagation will end up with death, and as long as the Prophet will emigrate to the Highest Companion in compliance with the call of his Lord, what did he prepare for the future of this religion for the rest of time? What did he do to secure the future of his call and guarantee the continuance of his message? Did he define a special choice for the future, or did he not even think of that and leave all the affairs to the Ummah?

Muslim scholars, traditionists and theologians have written books on this subject and have concluded with different theories. What can be noticed is that this theorising trend has tried to establish the events of Islamic history and change it to a criterion based on fundamentals and principles.

However, where does the truth lie?

A deep reflection on this subject and a vast study of the life of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) suggest that the Prophetic position towards the future of the Message cannot fail to be included under one of the following three possibilities:

1. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) overlooked the future of the Mission and disregarded the issue altogether without saying anything to the *Ummah*.
2. He (ṣ.a.w.) entrusted the future of the Message to the *Ummah* and commanded the companions to undertake the duty of the issue of the Mission after him.
3. He (ṣ.a.w.) gave special emphasis to the explicit deigntion in respect of the management of the future and governance of the affairs of the Message, so he clearly announced the person that would hold the responsibility of guiding the *Ummah* after him and assume the role of leading the Islamic society.

The following is a study and analysis of these three suppositions:

First Supposition: Remaining Silent about the Future

This supposition faces a line of questions such as: What led the

Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) not to think about a project for the a future of the Mission? What is it that made him stay silent about the future of the Ummah? What is the nature of thought that could possibly stem from such a position and crystallize such a negative stand on the part of a leader?

It is possible to base this negativity and interpret it as a supposed prophetic stance according to two prior suppositions that could come into the mind of the leader and overtake him. We will explain these two suppositions in order to understand the degree of their rationality and the extent of their consistency with intellectual criteria.

1. Security and Absence of Danger

That is the leader does not recognize any danger towards the Ummah, and that there is no trend able to destabilise the faith of people or influence their convictions. Therefore, this Ummah that was about to inherit the Message of Islam will be successful in establishing the project of managing the society and securing the continuance of the Message.

Question: Is such a conception correct?

The real events of the society of early Islam clearly show the inaccuracy of this conception, since there were fundamental and serious dangers that threatened the Islamic society at that time and were about to eradicate its whole entity. These are:

A) The Absence of Leadership

The time for the establishment of the cultural, social and political dimensions of a society under the leadship of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) has not long since passed, so the Prophet took upon himself those demanding and challenging tasks.

On the other hand the continuing wars and ongoing confrontations prevented the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from spreading the culture of the Message or implementing its teachings with all its dimensions. For example, many a man would bear the title of a 'companion', even though he lacked a deep and accurate conception about the

foundations of the religion and did not have a proper understanding of the personality of the Prophet or the dimensions of the Message.

Such a society will necessarily go through trembles and face the brink of a violent crisis as soon as the leader disappears; it will definitely face an atmosphere full of disorder from every angle, lose its ability to make correct decisions; it will not take long until it falls into the lurking snare and becomes a bait for the tricks of politicians and their associates.

In light of this, is it possible - despite these challenges recorded by history - for the Messenger and the Leader (ṣ.a.w.) to leave such a society to an unknown future and overlook such an awesome responsibility for the future?!

B) The Immaturity of the Society

At the end of the previous point we have concentrated on the failure of the inheritors of this universal changing Message to enjoy any strong intellectual or political foundation that would allow them to think about the future and manage its affairs in a proper way. The remnants of ignorance continued to have firm roots in the society and the tribal partisanship still occupied a large influence in their existence.

As we have mentioned, such men do not possess an adequate perception of the position of the Messenger Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and the high status he enjoys. They sometimes looked at him as a normal person speaking in content and anger,[256] and sometimes would advise him to observe justice! It was hard for them to comply with his judgments and laws such that they would even doubt the very Message.

After all that, is it logical for the Prophet and Leader to entrust the governance of affairs and the future of the Message to the hands of such a weak society, and then delightedly depart to his Lord?

C) The Hypocrites and the Destructive Trends from Within

Many aligned to confront the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and oppose his Message when he was at the peak of his power or during his ruling government. Even though these people pretended to have faith, they

would oppose the religion of the Truth and try to extinguish its lights with every might and power they had.

This confrontation can be considered wider in scope and severer than the practise of the hypocrites, as it exceeds it to a wider range, as established by the events of history – to which we will soon refer in detail. So, can we then think that this great leader disregarded all that among other things, and left the Ummah without any management?

It is necessary to add to this group those who were new to Islam, that is, those who did not embrace Islam until after the conquering of Mecca. The realities of religion were still not firmly established in their hearts, so they were vulnerable to alteration with any incidence; it is possible for events to throw them to a different road, as can be proven by the trends that stormed the Islamic life after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).

D) The Jews and Other Forces and External Dangers

Islam is a revolutionary mission comprised of destroying and building. The movement of this religion demolished the satanic tricks and plots and constructed over its ruins a new building.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) brought a Message that aims at leading the world and having the final word in the human life. When the enemies realised this meaning, they engaged into a violent confrontation with this new religion. They utilised all their force to eradicate it until their last breath. When they came to understand that the language of direct clash was of no avail, they turned to trickery, and deception. This reality cannot be denied even by one who has a superficial knowledge of the history of Islam.

After all these violent confrontations and bitter conflicts with the Jews, the polytheistic tribes and many more such hostile forces, would it be possible for us to think that they turned to peace and had no concern about Islam and its mission?

Is it correct for an intelligent politician and a shrewd leader to disregard such hostile reality surrounding his mission and keep on without preparing a plan that can preserve his mission and guarantee

its future?

Moreover, can the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) be a leader who has plunged into all these conflicts, and then think that his Ummah has possessed firmness against all those deceptions and dangers? Can he fail to fear they may go astray, considering that the deceptions of the enemies and their power have disappeared, so there is nothing more to be concerned about?

2. Passivity towards the Future

The second element that could be used to justify the first supposition and give it a logical interpretation is to suppose that the Prophet and leader had perceived the dangers surrounding his mission and comprehended well the importance of the future, but he did not attempt to fortify the mission against these dangers. This is because he sees that his message will end with the end of his life, so he bears the responsibility as long as he is alive. But, when he is no longer among people, and there is no danger to threaten his life or his mission or to conflict with his personal interests - far be him from this - then why should he take the initiative to safeguard and secure its future? Rather, he could leave the people and the Ummah to await an unknown destiny!

Is such a conception befitting for a real leader, a shrewd politician and a diligent messenger?! How can such an approach be true to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), when his pure soul had no rest in upholding the word of Allah, until the Lordly call came to him inviting him to calmness: "*Ṭā Hā! We did not send down to you the Qur'ān that you should be miserable.*"[257]

How could that be true to the Prophet of Allah, when the heaven would witness his suffering and his efforts to guide people: "Grievous to him is your distress; he has deep concern for you, and is most kind and merciful to the faithful."[258]

Can we then attribute passivity and carelessness to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), when his sacrifice for the sake of the Message reached

such a level that he did not leave out the governance of its affairs up to the last moments of his life? He was on his deathbed overcome by sickness, when he was calling for the mobilisation of the army of Usāmah.

Is the event of the 'Misfortune of Thursday' not sufficient for us? The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) requested a pen and a paper, so that he might write a letter for the Ummah by which they will never fall astray after him. The claim that he kept silent about the future of the Ummah must be regarded as a sort of inconsideration towards the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and a baseless supposition that is inappropriate for the status of this great person. It is most suitable to deem him far above such misgiving and the likes of it.

In light of this, it is not possible to assume this negative stand of silence, and so the first supposition is invalid.

Second Supposition: Entrusting the Future to the Nation

That is we believe the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) did not assign a leader for the future of the Ummah, or rather, he left the leadership of the Message to the Ummah, so that the generation of the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār could define the nature of this future according to the system of consultation.

The question that should be raised here is, can one give in to such a conception? To what extent does this correspond to reality?

There are a number of points that surround this unusual supposition as follows:

A.

If the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had taken such a position regarding the future of the Ummah and the Message, it would have been appropriate for him to instruct the Ummah in the nature of the Council system and its boundaries, constituents and conditions. Whatever is related to this subject should have been explained. What makes this process more important is that the Islamic society of that time had not yet experienced the method of consultation within the structure of a

government, nor were they aware of how to employ it. Is it logical for us to claim that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) left the Ummah to choose its own future and the nature of the leadership that awaits them in an unclear and unknown way?

What refutes this approach and makes it far from acceptance is the position of the componions that demanded the Caliphate and then assumed its position. All the examples and proofs from the lives of these people indicate with no place for doubt that none of them referred to consultation as a system adopted or consolidated by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). They did not establish their position by claiming that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was the one who chose for the Ummah the system of Council after him. Moreover, their life history shows they did not believe in consultation, nor did they practically practise it.

Abū Bakr turned towards explicit designation in appointing the substitute to succeed him. As for ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, he resorted to the selection of the six person council only after being compelled to do so, as he did find an appropriate substitute. He said on his deathbed:

"If I had found one of these two men and handed this affair [of the Caliphate] over to him, I would have trusted him, Sālim, the freedman of Abū Ḥudhayfa, and Abū ʿUbaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ."[259] He also said: "If Sālim had been alive, I would not have made it a council"[260]; "If Abū ʿUbaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ had been alive, I would have appointed him as Caliph and would not have sought a council."[261]

It becomes clear that this theory has nothing to do with the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). On the contrary, it has been produced during that time, and then it has been gradually shaped in order to justify what took place in the early years of the history of Islam.

B.

If the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had put forward the system of council as a choice for the future, and if he had desired to leave the intellectual authority of the Message and the political leadership of the Ummah to the generation of the companions, it would have been necessary to

prepare the generation to get them ready for this mission, especially if we would consider that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) foretold the decline of the system of the Roman Caesar and the Persian Chosroes and the collapse of their empire, and that his (ṣ.a.w.) Message would spread in time and place without any obstacles or boundaries.

So, were the companions up to that level of knowledge and understanding that qualifies them to undertake such great responsibility?

What is the truth? Can we really believe that the companions were able enough to carry out this responsibility? This is a crucial question that many people ask, and it cannot be simply overlooked, because disregarding it indicates a form of naivety and carelessness towards the principles of belief.

The scholar Marwān Khlaifāt[262] is one of those who posed this question, and it led him to study and contemplate. His journey prompted him to turn to the texts of traditions and history, and he came to a very important conclusion that is worth reading, as cited in the third chapter of the second part of his book. The following is a summary of his findings:

- The companions would ask very little questions and narrate only a little of what they heard.
- They spared no effort to prevent the writing of traditions and its circulation. Moreover, they received from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) only a few number of realities, because they were too occupied. They themselves have admitted that they were preoccupied with transactions in the markets and many more such engagements, which prevented them from reaching the realities of the Sunnah.[263]
- Among the finding of the study was that the companions made many mistakes in their report of traditions. They would narrate a part of a tradition, would receive a tradition from its narrator and attribute it to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), would forget

what they had heard, or would make a mistake in giving an answer, and then be reminded by others about the truth, and so on.

Furthermore, among the companions were hypocrites, as the Qur'ān explicitly declares; among them are those who totally apostatized and those who will be cast to Hell, as is explicitly mentioned in the two Ṣaḥīḥ books, on the authority of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).

Can it be said after all that that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) left the intellectual authority and political leadership to this generation and made them the guardians of his Message and the trustees of the Book?

Therefore, we cannot hesitate for a moment to say that the hypothesis of entrusting the affair of the future to the Ummah, as the story of leaving the intellectual authority and political leadership to the companions, is a baseless hypothesis formed in order to correct the bitter events that stormed the Islamic life after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.); it has no origin or basis at all from the proof-texts of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) or his life.

As a result, the second supposition is invalid too.

Third Supposition: Defining the Future and designating the Caliph

That is to believe that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) took a positive stand in respect to the future of the Ummah and experienced the cause of this future with great responsibility, such that he chose who would succeed him and preserve the Message and the Caliphate of the Ummah. The event of al-Ghadīr, accompanied by the magnificent sermon the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) delivered to the Muslims, is nothing but a declaration and an emphasis of what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had already announced on numerous occasions regarding the executorship of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the Imāmah of this great Mujāhid.[264]

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) chose him from the early days of his life. He grew up beside the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and was raised in his house and under his care, without being polluted by polytheism for one instant of his pure life. No words are more indicative in respect

to this pure upbringing than the words of ʿAlī himself, when he said:

> "Certainly, you know my position of close kinship and special relationship with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). When I was only a child, he took charge of me. He would carry me to his chest, lay me beside him in his bed, hold me close to him and make me smell his scent. He used to chew something and then feed me with it. He found no lie in my speaking, nor weakness in any act.
>
> From the time of his weaning, Allah had linked a mighty angel to him to take him along the path of noble character and good behaviour throughout day and night. I used to follow him as a young camel follows in the footprints of its mother. Every day he would show me in the form of a banner some of his high traits and commanded me to follow them. Every year he would go in seclusion to al-Ḥirā', with no one except for me. No single house in Islam would bring together anyone other than the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and Khadījah, and I was the third of them. I used to see the light of divine revelation and the Message and smell the scent of Prophethood.
>
> When the revelation was revealed on the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), I heard the moan of Satan, so I asked: "O Messenger of Allah, what is this moan?" He replied: "This is Satan who has lost all hope of being worshipped. O ʿAlī, you see whatever that I see and you hear whatever I hear, except that you are not a prophet, but you are a vicegerent and you are surely on [the path of] virtue."[265]

The Prophetic traditions related to the Imāmah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his executorship are so vast and numerous that do not leave any room for doubt. The Prophet of Allah did not announce or refer to the 'right of the Caliphate' and the 'true Caliphate' for the Imām once or twice, or rather, he had done so tens of times. He defined a

clear plan for the future of the Ummah and the Message in front of all the Muslims.

The procedure for the announcement of the right of ʿAlī through public declaration extended throughout the years of the Prophet's Message until it reached its peak in the event of al-Ghadīr.

He who contemplates on all of these points will not doubt for a moment that the concept of Imāmah of the Ummah and the leadership of the future was one of the foremost engagements of the holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). In his view, it is the first mission that outweighs everything else. As a result, he would declare wherever the apportunity arises.

In this chapter, we have relied on documents and texts recorded by both Schools of Thought, in traditions, history and Tafsīr.[266] In this introduction, we will give an analytical study, starting from the beginning of the early years of the Message and the first days of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), up to the day of al-Ghadīr, as previously mentioned.

We will again discuss the event of al-Ghadīr, and extensively analyse its different angles according to the facts taken from the traditions and a contextual study of them.

This is a brief overview of the work. Below are the details of the efforts the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to consolidate the leadership of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).

The Great Efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

A) The Tradition of the Day of Warning

The divine command descended to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), ordering him to invite his kinsfolk to Islam: "Warn the nearest of your kinsfolk."[267] The Prophet invited his kin; when they gathered together, he began to prepare them to receive what he called them to. After giving an introduction, he turned to say: "So, which of you will assist me with this affair, to be my brother, my executor and my vicegerent among you."[268] In another version, it read: "...my vicegerent after me."

Nobody from among those who attended answered the Prophet's invitation, except for ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who leaped up in front of everyone and answered the call of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). After the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) heard ʿAlī's response, he said in the presence of all: "Indeed, this is my brother, my executor and my vicegerent among you, so listen to him and obey [him]."[269]

Thus did, the Prophet announce the wilāyah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his Imāmah, when the Mission was still in the early days of its public invitation. Those present clearly understood the core of the Message. They completely recognized that the statement of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was a reference to the Imāmah of ʿAlī and the necessity of obedience to him. This is why some of them opposed and said to Abū

Ṭālib: "He has ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!"[270]

However, they acted arrogantly and were too haughty to accept the Truth or submit to it.

B) The Traditions of Executorhip

Executorship aims at safeguarding the religion and preserving its path, as conducted by all the divine prophets. Referring to this reality in many places and on different occasions, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) desired to consolidate for the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) his position in executorship. Among what the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said is: "For every prophet is an executor and inheritor, and ʿAlī is my executor and inheritor."[271]

There are so many traditions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) regarding ʿAlī (a.s.) in this meaning, such that the word 'executor' became a description for the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) and an attribute that is known by with no doubt or obscurity. In the lexicon Tāj al-ʿArūs, when citing the word executor (waṣī) we read: "al-Waṣī – like Ghanī- is a title for ʿAlī, may Allah be pleased with him."[272]

When the term 'Executor' was used in traditions, statements and poems, the majority of the Muslims in early Islam knew without doubt that it was referring to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and his vicegerency and leadership.[273]

Then came the role of the Ummayads, who seemingly spent a lot of efforts to efface this title and take it away from the Imām. They made every effort and fabricated a great number of traditions to reach their evil cause.[274] However, how should the Truth be defeated by the tyranny of the people of falsehood?!

C) The Traditions of Inheritance

The human mind has always been familiar with such terms as 'inheritance' 'heir' and 'heredity', which embrace material and spiritual realities. People normally express their surprise if a person keeps silent about the disposal of his inheritance after him. What he leaves for the people could sometimes be in the form of material things or in the

form of spiritual inheritance.

The practice of inheritance continued to exist, and human nature became accustomed to have a trustworthy heir, without any denial. Moreover, people came to agree upon this practice, no matter what civilisation, culture or creed they have been associated with.

Now, let's have a look at what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did with his great inheritance, considering that he is the Seal of prophets, the holder of the last of divine Messages, the propagator of the everlasting religion that exceeds the limits of place and time.

To whom did he entrust this religion after him? Did Allah, the Exalted, order His Messenger to entrust the affair to a particular person?

The traditions of 'Inheritance' are a clear answer to this important question. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) informed that the choice of an inheritor is a normative rule practised by all the prophets before him. Since he is the Seal of prophets and the last link among Divine prophecies, it is necessary for him to choose his inheritor; he has explicitly announced that his inheritance lies in Imāmah and knowledge.

The companions also emphasised this position from that period onwards, as they would reveal the reports of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and his declaration of this reality in different places and on many occasions. They would sometimes refer in their words to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in respect of the position of inheritance ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid asked Qutham ibn al-ʿAbbās : "For what reason did ʿAlī inherit the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)?" He said: "He was the first of us to join him and the nearest of us in attachment to him."

The chapter of the 'Traditions of Inheritance' is comprised of traditions and historical texts that express this reality from both Schools of Thought, and they point to the Prophetic sayings where the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) clearly started that ʿAlī is his inheritor. He is the inheritor of the Prophet's (ṣ.a.w.) knowledge and treasury, and

so he is by necessity the leader of the Ummah and the symbol of its intellectual and political authority.

D) The Traditions of Vicegerency

The word '*al-khilāfah*' is another Qur'anic expression. It is a religious term that clearly refers to succession in its different dimensions. This is what explains the strenuous efforts of the people who took charge of the affairs of the Muslims after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). They tried a lot to seize this position with force.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) declared the vicegerency of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib from the first days of his Mission and his Divine Message. This declaration can be seen in traditions narrated by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in different places and on multiple occasions; they refer to the boundaries of this vicegerency. This Prophetic effort shows the attention the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) gave for the future of the Ummah and his great concern for the fate of the Message after him.

E) The Traditions of Rank

Among the greatest execellencies and magnificent titles the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) bestowed upon ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) the Commander of the Faithful is the title of 'rank' (*manzilah*), where the Prophet considered ʿAlī to be of equal rank to his own self and described ʿAlī to be similar to him in leadership. This group of Prophetic traditions is known among scholars and traditionists as the traditions of 'rank', in reference to the clear Prophetic statement declared in this regard.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) expressed this lofty station the Commander of the Faithful enjoyed with different words, for instance: "Your rank in relation to me is that of Aaron in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."[275]

He (ṣ.a.w.) acknowledged this reality and declared it to the Muslims over and over again, so he could clarify to everyone and to history the similarity and equality of ʿAlī to him in leadership. Among the places the Prophet announced this miraculous statement about ʿAlī was the Expedition of Tabūk.

In a milieu of difficult and exhausting circumstances, the Prophet prepared a large army and left Medina heading to fight Rome. The city of Tabūk was the remotest place the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ever travelled for war and the farthest in distance from Medina. In the city of Medina where the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) resided, the hypocrites tried to spread dissension in an organised way. They waited for the situation with hatred and malice, and they were secretly planning to pounce upon the new Islamic society with a shattering blow.

The Prophet left Medina for a long trip. He was awaiting with apprehension the dissensions of the hypocrites and the plots of the enemies. So what would he do? How can the situation of Medina be secured? He (ṣ.a.w.) chose to keep ʿAlī back in Medina and put him in charge of his family. ʿAlī was to safeguard the Prophet's house, along with the rest of followers who stayed behind.

When the hypocrites and those that had sickness in their hearts saw that, their plan was a failure and their dreams broke down, as the Commander the faithful stayed back in Medina, they began to say that the Prophet left ʿAlī behind because there was something wrong with him; if the Prophet had a purpose, he would not have left ʿAlī in charge of women and children!

The rumours of the hypocrisy movement began to pollute the atmosphere of Medina. Their false humours started to surround ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the lion in battle and the knight in the fields of jihād. They began to fall down around him from every side and direction. So what would the Commander of the Faithful do?

He quickly caught up with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and told him the rumours of the hypocrites. In response the holy Prophet revealed to ʿAlī his great credit and his lofty status with him. He (ṣ.a.w.) said to ʿAlī with all compassion: "My brother, go back to your place, since Medina will not be in peace except with me or you, for indeed you are my vicegerent among my family and the abode of my emigration and my people. Will you not be pleased to be in relation to

me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"[276]

With frankness that carries no ambiguity, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) recorded for ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) everything that he had in position, status and responsibilities, except for prophecy. He explained without any blemish that the Commander of the Faithful is the one who will practically embody the continuance of the prophetic teachings. He will carry out the responsibilities of the Prophet in his absence, in leading the Ummah and exercising the intellectual and practical authority of the Message of Islam.

A number of historical texts have quoted the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) as explicitly addressing ʿAlī with the following sentence: "They must have a leader and a commander; I am the leader and you are the commander."[277]

F) The Traditions of Commandership

The holy Qur'ān encouraged all the believers and invited them with complete openness to obey 'those invested with authority'[278], where God considers obedience put to them equal to obedience to Allah and His Messenger (ṣ.a.w.). The question is: who are 'those invested with authority'? Is it possible for us to consider the despots and tyrants – who seize rulership assume the throne throught trickery – an example of authority? This can never be permissible.

Without doubt, the category of those invested with authority is applied to those who live their life according to the pure Prophetic teachings. They dedicate their existence to Allah and for His sake, and they spare their life for the sake of raising the word of the Truth and spreading justice in all aspects of life.

The Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) is the one who can assume this designation in the most perfect form. He stands on the highest point of its lofty peak, as has been expressed by Prophetic traditions.

Let us go beyond this to an even more important reality. It is the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) who singled out to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib with

the title 'Commander of the Faithful' (*amīr al-mu'minīn*); no one else is ever entitled to assume this desingation, as has been indicated by the explicit Prophetic prohibition.

We have a great number of narrations that refer to this meaning. These are so many that a single book was compiled in this book by the role model for wayfarers and example for worshippers, Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥillī, under the title: *al-Yaqīn bi ikhtiṣāṣ mawlānā ʿAlī (a.s.) bi imrat al-mu'minīn*. What is noticeable is that these Prophetic traditions mention Imām ʿAlī as 'the Commander of the Faithful', 'the Commander of the pious' (*amīr al-bararah*), or 'the Commander of every believer after my [the Prophet's] death' (*amīr kull mu'min baʿd wafātī*.)

Why when Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) wrote the peace treaty with Muʿāwiyah, he stiputated that Muʿāwiyah should not call himself 'the Commander of the Faithful'.[279]

G) The Traditions of Imāmah

'Imām' literally means the proceeding one, the followed, the leader of a group, or the chief of a tribe.[280] In the Qur'anic and religious culture, it, without doubt, means the leader of the Ummah in its different dimensions and the ruler of the Ummah in the governance of its affairs. This reality can be seen in two letters exchanged between the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and Muʿāwiyah.

The Imām spoke about his position and the status of Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) in a long letter. He cited the Prophet's proof-texts relating to his succession of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). The answer Muʿāwiyah gave was: "Verily, Muḥammad was the Messenger of Allah among the messengers sent to all mankind. He conveyed the messages of his Lord and nothing more!"

This means that the duty of the Prophet is confined only to communication and propagation. He was the propagator of a message and nothing more. He was neither an Imām, nor a ruler, a leader, or a political man.

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) replied to Muʿāwiyah who denied the other excellences of the Prophet, especially his rank as an Imām. He said in his letter: "You claim that he was a prophet, but he was not an Imām; you are here by denying the imamate of all the prophets. However, we testify that he was a messenger, a prophet and an Imām."[281]

This conversation exchanged in two letters indicates the status of Imāmah in Islamic thought and shows the reasons behind the enmity of the Ummayads towards this title.

Therefore, we can now understand the depth of the narrations and traditions that show the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) emphasising the Imāmah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). He used to say: "O ʿAlī, you are my executor, my vicegerent, and the Imām of my Ummah after me", "You are the Imām of every believer male and female, and the friend of every believer male and female after me." There are many more such traditions that narrate the importance of the continuation of Imāmah within the existence of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

H) The Traditions of Wilāyah (Guardianship)

Among the outstanding designations that have been quoted in the traditions and emphasised in Qur'anic verses that have been interpreted by traditions to refer to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) is *al-walī*.

There is no dispute that the application of the word *walī* in different meanings including: guardian, leader, ruler, one more worthy of disposing, one who has a better claim to supervise and command is common in Arabic literature, as we will elaborate within our study and analysis of the tradition of al-Ghadīr.

The texts that emphasise the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) using the title *al-walī* and *al-wilāyah* for ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) are indeed numerous in the traditions and Prophetic literature. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) continued to refer to ʿAlī with this honourable description on many different occasions.

The Prophet's address, "O ʿAlī, you are the master of people after me. So, whoever obeys you has obeyed me, and whoever disobeys you

has disobeyed me"[282], was so frequently repeated that it filled the books of the Sunni School of Thought and their Ḥadith compilations. We have mentioned a number of them under the title 'The Traditions of *Wilāyah*'.[283]

These traditions do not leave any room for doubt that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) has thereby defined the nature of the political course and clearly pointed out the political leadership that would assume the affairs after him.

I) The Traditions of Guidance

To leading the Ummah is to guide people to the intended aim, direct them to the highest destination and steer them towards human perfection. Is it possible for someone who has not enjoyed complete guidance or has not lived the religion with deep perception in his existence to lead society towards guidance? Is he, who cannot achieve guidance unless through being guided, worthy of taking this position?[284] The Prophet explained that the guide of the Ummah and the leader who directs the believers to the place of safety in the future is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) is the one who will lead the Ummah towards the reality and take them to the clear and pure fountains; it is he who will assume the position of guidance after the Prophet.

This is what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) declared when he considered ʿAlī to be the 'guide' of the Ummah and the lofty example of this status. He (ṣ.a.w.) interpreted God's words: "*You are only a warner, and there is a guide for every people.*"[285], by saying: "I am the warner and the guide is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."

J) The Traditions of Infallibility

Infallibility ('iṣmah) means immunity from sin, error, ignorance or any deviancy that might blemish one's behaviour. It is one of the essential attributes of the divine messengers; there is no school of thought or Muslim sect that doubts the necessity of the infallibility of the prophets. The prophets (a.s.) are infallible according to the text

of the Qur'ān; all theologians and scholars have agreed upon this fact; no one argues about the principle of infallibility or its necessity, even though some might have certain views about its definition and limits.

As for the doctrine of the Shi'a that is based on the explicit designation of the Imām after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) on the basis of authentic texts, it maintains that all the characteristics of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) - except for prophethood - should be manifested in the Imām, and the vicegerent after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). This belief is based on religious texts and rational arguments that have all been presented in its proper place.

The Shi'a scholars and theologians have focused on this principle against the rest of the Islamic sects, and considered it necessary for the vicegerent of the Prophet. This is opposite to the other trends in the Islamic arena who do not believe in the necessity of the proof-text. The nature of these positions and the analysis of their historical backgrounds and intellectual foundations is something beyond the scope of this discussion.

However, it is worth mentioning a number of points before we continue discussing the Prophetic efforts to set the foundations of the Imāmah of 'Alī (a.s.) and establish his leadership, and refer to the nature of the approach the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) developed to present this reality. The Shi'a theologians and exegetes have always referred to the 'verse of purification[286]' as one of the arguments for the infallibility of the Imāms and the purity of the Ahlul Bayt.

However, what concerns us in this stage and has a close relation with this study is to know the nature of this issue and the procedures the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) took to explain it.

After the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) recited the verse of purification to the Muslims, he would since then - for several months - stand beside the house of 'Alī and call out at the time of prayer: "Prayer, O Ahlul Bayt."[287]

Therefore, there is no doubt that the People of the Cloak are the

Ahlul Bayt and that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) is the master and at the peak of the Household. What is of great importance in our view is what the Messenger (ṣ.a.w.) did to prepare for the leadership of the future which was part of his program and announce the Imāmah that will succeed him. Besides his emphasis on the purity of Ahlul Bayt and their infallibility, he continued to say: "I am at war with whoever is at war with you, and I am at peace with whoever is at peace with you."[288]

So, what does this repetition mean? What is the purpose thereof?

Through his insightful interpretation of His words: "*We did not appoint the vision that we showed you except as a test for the people and the tree cursed in the Qur'ān.*"[289], it seems that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) revealed to the Ummah the actual existence of a family that will inflict on the Islamic society harm, punishment and oppression. He compared the move of this family to the leaping of monkeys. He (ṣ.a.w.) warned the Ummah lest they should leave the affairs of their religion to fall into the hands of their men, or that the values of this religion and its sublime example should be a toy in their hands to play with as they like. Through emphasis on the concept of the Ahlul Bayt as pure men, infallible and free of faults and defects, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) sought for record to the Ummah the line of the infallible Imāmah and the righteous leadership of the future.

The verse of purification had a great role in explaining the virtues of the 'Progeny of Allah' and revealing their feats and lofty status. There were Prophetic efforts to reveal the purport of the verse and define its meaning, in addition to the effort that the Imāms (a.s.) devoted in this regard; and on the other hand, there were the of the Ummayads and their corrupt exegetes who attempted to deviate the verse from the 'Progeny of Allah' or to include others in this virtue. The secret behind all these efforts lies in the sublime concept of the verse and what it means in its definite reference to the purity of the Commander of the Faithful and the infallibility of the Ahlul Bayt.

This verse was not alone in the field. In addition to the verse of

purification and the efforts that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) put in, many traditions were quoted where the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) described ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib with honesty, purity, abiding to the truth, correct conduct and pure nature. He (ṣ.a.w.) then crowned all that by declaring that ʿAlī is the equal of the Qur'ān, the criterion of the truth, the scales that differentiate between truth and falsehood and between right and wrong.

All these arguments indicate that the person worthy of being the example, the leader, the ruler, the commander and the master is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and nobody else.

Moreover, observe and ponder into the following sayings of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.): "'Alī is with the Qur'ān, and the Qur'ān is with ʿAlī.", "'Alī is with the truth and the truth is with ʿAlī.", "'Alī is on the path of the truth. Whoever befriends him follows the truth and whoever leaves him leaves the truth.", "'Alī is with the truth and the Qur'ān, and the truth and the Qur'ān are with ʿAlī."

What does this mean? It means that ʿAlī is firm; he will not deviate from the path; he will never stumble. He is on the highest peak of straightness and righteousness; he knows nothing other than the truth and the right.

ʿAlī carries on his forehead the lofty title which is called 'infallibility', and so the Ummah will be secure and their religion will be safe. They will be guided through the guidance of ʿAlī and will follow him as a model and example.

K) The Traditions of Knowledge

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) holds the intellectual authority of the Ummah along with political rulership, as has previously been explained. Throughout the life of the Ummah, it has faced many intellectual dilemmas on both the individual and social domains, so who will undertake to overcome these obstacles?

Who will suppress what the society encounters by way of ideological problems and explain to people the verses of the Qur'ān? Who will

teach the Ummah the laws of their religion and whatever is related to the authority in thought and knowledge?

Whom the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) desired to assume this position in the future after his death?

The old texts contain Prophetic narrations that all indicate that the Prophet chose ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib to bear the intellectual authority [in thought and knowledge] after him. Among these traditions is his words: "I am the city of knowledge and ʿAlī is its gate."

So, in addition to ʿAlī's passion for knowledge, his essential aspiration for it, his desire for learning and his special ability in this field, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did not hide his attention to prepare ʿAlī for a special intellectual task. He (ṣ.a.w.) fed ʿAlī with knowledge and satiated his soul with inner insight (maʿrifah) and transcendent Lordly realities.

The Prophetic words, "I am the city of knowledge and ʿAlī is its gate; so whoever seeks the city must come to it by its gate," came to indicate with certainty that correct knowledge is only with ʿAlī alone.[290]

The Prophet sent for ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib to attend during the last moments of his life and disclosed to him the springs of knowledge. In summarising what he came to know from the secrets of prophethood, ʿAlī said: "He reported to me a thousand doors [of knowledge]; each door opens up to another thousand doors."

In another report the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "I am the house of wisdom, and ʿAlī is its gateway."

Moreover, has humanity ever come to meet someone other than ʿAlī who could say: "Ask me before you lose me."? Have the pages of history ever known someone who has mentioned this other than the Commander of the Faithful?

The companions all agreed that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was the most learned of them, they used to say: "The best of us is ʿAlī."

Why was this so? The Commander of the Faithful himself said: "No verse was revealed except that I knew why it was revealed, where it was

revealed, and to whom it was revealed. My Lord bestowed upon me a rational heart and a speaking tongue."

How lofty are the words of Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) and how exalted are they, when he said after the martyrdom of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.): "Yesterday, a man parted from you whom no one of the old has preceded in knowledge nor will anyone in the future reach him."

These traditions - which have been recorded in different places - testify that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) meant by focusing on this point to declare the future intellectual authority of the Ummah. He (ṣ.a.w.) clearly defined the source from which the knowledge of religion must be taken.

L) The Traditions of the Twelve Caliphs

Among the important traditions that are worthy of contemplation on in reference to the future of the Ummah are the traditions that speak about the number of the successors of the Messenger (ṣ.a.w.). These traditions that have been cited in various authentic chains[291] show that there are successors to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).

One of the traditions is the following: "The religion [of Islam] will continue to exist until the Hour [Judgment Day] stands forth, or you will have been ruled by twelve Caliphs."[292]

Another tradition has been recorded by Jābir ibn Samurah, who said: "I was with my father when he visited the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), I heard him say: "After me there will be twelve Caliphs." Then he lowered his voice, so I asked my father: "What did he say." My father said: "He said: "All of them are of Banī Hāshim."[293]

In another tradition: "There will be twelve commanders after me."

What did the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) mean by all of these traditions? Did he speak about an event that will happen, or did he refer to a reality that must be actualized? Is he giving an overview of the future to refer to those who will succeed him in the reality of history and who will assume this position after him? Or is he referring

to a reality to the effect that we will witness twelve Caliphs and it is they who must be the successors and no one else?

There is no doubt that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) intended to announce the Caliph and define who will take his place and rule the Ummah as he (ṣ.a.w.) did.

However, some tried to provide other examples for this divine statement by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). They said the twelve Caliphs are the four Caliphs, Muʿāwiyah, his son Yazīd, and so on![294]

According to this interpretation the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) would have appointed these people as his successors and directed the Ummah to follow, obey and submit to them! This means that Muslim should obey Yazīd, ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and the likes of them: "*Monstrous is the utterance that comes out of their mouths, and they say nothing but a lie.*"[295]

How should we think that the Messenger of dignity and humanity and the Messenger of freedom and lofty values has chosen ungodly tyrants to succeed him? Would he encourage the Ummah to obey criminals and corrupt ones?![296]

There is no dispute that whoever the tradition itself - in which there is no escape - must submit to the interpretation of the Shīʿah who say that the Caliphs are ʿAlī and his progeny (a.s.), as has been recorded in the traditions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), which clearly cite their names. Accordingly, the following points can be made:

1. They are twelve known people conforming to the tradition from the aspect of their number and names.
2. The Imāms [cited in the traditions] are from Quraysh. They [i. e. ʿAlī and his progeny] are also from Quraysh.
3. A number of traditions have at the end of it the expression: "All of them are from Banī Hāshim", which is applicable to ʿAlī and his progeny. They are all from Banī Hāshim. The lofty words of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) confirm this, when he said: "Surely, the Imāms are from

Quraysh. They have been planted in this line through [Banī] Hāshim; none is suitable for rulership save them."[297]

4. They are from the Household of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.); in concordance with what has been previously cited.
5. This also corresponds to what has been stated by the Imāms of the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.), in that the names of the honourable vicegerents have been completely and clearly cited.
6. According to the traditions the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) would speak about the perpetuity of the Imāmah of al-Mahdī (a.s.) up to the Judgment Day. The Awaited Saviour is the last link in the series of the twelve Imāms of the Shi'a creed. Here are a number of these traditions:
   - Al-Mahdī is of ourselves, the Ahlul Bayt. Allah will prepare his affair in one night.[298]
   - Al-Mahdī is of my progeny, of the children of Fāṭimah.[299]
   - [Even] If there was only one day left to this world, Allah the Exalted, will send a man of ourselves [Ahlul Bayt] who will fill the world with justice after it has been filled with oppression.[300]
   - The Hour [Judgment Day] will not stand forth until a man from my Household whose name is my name will rule.[301]
   - The Imāms after me are twelve; nine of them will be from the offspring of Ḥusain, and the ninth is their Mahdī.[302]

In completing this discussion, we will refer to a number of key points:

1. The tradition of 'the twelve Caliphs' or 'the twelve Commanders' which is narrated by Jābir ibn Samurah is regarded as one of the widely known traditions that has been recorded through successive reliable reporters. The majority of the traditionists believe that the Messenger

of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) declared it in the Ḥajj of communication (*Ḥajjat al-Iblāgh*). However, through close study on the chains of the tradition and analysis of its formulas, it is highly likely that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) conveyed this tradition in two places. These are:

1) The Mosque of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

In accordance with what has been narrated by Muslim and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the tradition by Jābir has been quoted in the following form: "I heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say on Friday, when al-Aslamī was stoned, "The religion [Islam] will continue..."[303] to the end of the tradition.

What is certain is that Māghir ibn Mālik al-Aslamī mentioned in the text was stoned in Medina.[304] Furthermore, in another version was read that the narrator heard the tradition in the Mosque of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.): "I came with my father to the Mosque when the Prophet was delivering a sermon..." to the end of the tradition. The word 'Mosque' in the tradition indicates that it is apparently the mosque of the Prophet.

2) The Ḥajj of Communication

This group of traditions is also narrated by Jābir ibn Samurah ibn Jundub. He heard this hadith from the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in the great season of the last Ḥajj[305] at ʿArafāt.[306]

2. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) took advantage of the season and the congregating of the Ummah at ʿArafāt in order to announce this reality and proclaim it.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) sought to benefit from the large crowd to announce the tradition of the Two Weighty Things (*Ḥadīth al-Thaqalain*) for another time among others, to consolidte to the Ummah their magnificent rank.

In general, when we look at these occasions, we witness the description of the Two Weighty Things as the path to the guidance of the Ummah. In the same ceremony, the example of the 'progeny' was defined and clearly announced; at the climax of this season, the

gathering witnessed the revelation of the verse of 'the Completion of Religion' and declaration of Wilāyah.

This declaration which was accompanied by the warning of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) signifies that any failure to declare what was revealed unto him from his Lord is equal to failure to communicate the Message.

In other words: It is as if the scene informs us of the events, where the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) cast onto the Ummah an encompassing view in all aspects of the Message and the affairs of the religion. In the last days of his trip he would focus on 'Ḥajj' and 'Wilāyah'. In this regard, Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) performed his Ḥajj pilgrimage....."

3. Some of the formulas of the tradition and its narrations prompt a question and deserves contemplation. They read: "All of them are from Quraysh." Jābir did not hear this part of the tradition, so he asked his father, who told him that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said at the end of the tradition: "All of them are from Quraysh" or: "All of them are from Banī Hāshim."

There are three forms of this tradition:

i) Jābir only said: "He then said something I did not understand."[307] Or: "He then said something I could not hear",[308] without explaining then reason for the lack of hearing.

ii) In another version Jābir attributed it to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), saying: "Then he lowered his voice, so I could not recognize what he said."[309] Or: "Then the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) whispered a word I could not hear, so I asked my father: "What was the word the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) whispered?"[310] Or: "Then he lowered his voice, so I asked my father: I heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say: "There will be twelve commanders after me." But, what did he say when he lowered his voice?" He said: "All of them are from Quraysh."[311]

iii) In other traditions the reason for the lack of hearing the words of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was the noise and clamour of the people which prevented the words of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) to be heard among the screaming and shouting of those present. The surprising and sad thing is we see that when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was speaking to the people, those who were listening to him were raising their voices, which contradicts the explicit Divine Command: "*Do not raise your voice above the voice of the Prophet.*"[312] Their voices were so loud and their quarrel was so fierce that the words of the Prophet could not be heard. There was so much clamour that the narrator Jābir was not able to hear the rest of the words, so he resorted to others, and they told him that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "All of them are from Quraysh." Different expressions have been cited in this regard. Among them are:

- "The people shouted and spoke, so I was not able to hear his words."[313]
- "Then he (ṣ.a.w.) said something the people prevented me from hearing."[314]
- "Then he (ṣ.a.w.) said something the people prevented me from hearing, so I asked my father or my son: "What was the word the people did not let me hear?" He said: "All of them are from Quraysh."[315]
- "People screamed, so I was no longer able to hear what he said."[316]

By contemplating what has been said, we come to the following conclusion:

1. The affairs of Caliphate and the future of the Ummah after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) have extreme sensitivity, such that when the Prophet reached the substantial point and got to the core of the issue, he lowered his voice as if he was whispering. In another scene the people

were noisy and clamorous while listening to the Prophet speaking, showing thereby their objection to him.

2. A number of traditions cite the 'lowering of the voice' and 'the noise and clamour', to be related to each aspect of the source of the narration. Jābir said that he did not hear the statement of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in the Mosque, because he (ṣ.a.w.) lowered his voice. However, the tradition quoted in Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says that Jābir could not hear the words because of the noise and clamour.

It is apparent that the Prophet lowered his voice in the Mosque of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), while the noise of the people and their clamour took place in the Farewell Ḥajj Pilgrimage.

3. It is most appropriate to mention that in one of the traditions we read that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said, when he lowered his voice, "All of them are from Banī Hāshim."

It is most likely that the Prophet's words, 'All of them are from Banī Hāshim' were what created noise and prevented people from hearing him. They did not yield to it and were not willing to accept it. The point that raises the strength of this conclusion is the incident of Saqīfa and the events that occurred there. In the controversy of the day of Saqīfa, none of the parties of the game referred to the likes of these words, nor did they mention that they heard the Prophet say: 'All of them are from Quraysh', even though this statement could have been effective in the settlement of the position.

Therefore, it can be said that the last part of the Prophetic tradition was 'All of them are from Banī Hāshim' and nothing else. However, with the passage of time, they assessed that it would be advantageous to replace 'All of them are from Banī Hāshim' with 'All of them are from Quraysh'.

Whatever the case may be, this tradition in its various versions and different chains of transmission, which has been recorded by Sunni narrators, contains one message and nothing else. This message is

announcing the Wilāyah (guardianship or mastership) of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his offspring and stipulating his direct succession after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). It is also another proof for the firmly established policy of the Prophet in defining the future of the government and the leadership of the Ummah after him.

M) The Tradition of the Ark

When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) lived among the Ummah, he had control of all the affairs and oversaw all the issues. The Islamic society had not yet expanded, but the new society faced many difficulties on both the interior and external levels and suffered a number of deviations. For example, the hypocrisy movement was at its primary stages within that society, in addition to the apostatising of men from inside the community.

The Messenger and Leader (ṣ.a.w.) contemplated a time when the igniting flame of his life would fade away but it would be incumbent upon the Ummah to plough their way after him and continue the path. What we have presented here refers to the planning of the prospect of the Ummah and the management of its future; such future whose atmosphere may split and explode with dissension from all sides and be engrossed in violent turmoil and waves of deviation.

In light of this, the statements of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) were given to direct the Ummah to a safe haven where they can be immune from dissension and deviation; this statement came to be known as 'the tradition of the ark'. One form of this narration is: "Verily, the like of my Household among you is the like of the ark of Noah. Whoever boards on it will be rescued and whoever stays behind will perish."

How splendid such an awakening comparison that prompts one to be alert and cautious is!

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) foresaw the future from behind the veils of the unseen and saw that it was full of confusion and deviations. He compared this falling astray to violent raging waves,

which drowned anyone who came across and would draw them into a bottomless hole. There are many who tried to climb delusions out of caution of these waves, but it devoured them and took them to a weak refuge where they will ultimately drown.

Therefore, it is most appropriate for the Ummah to be cautious and to realize that the path to salvation lies in taking refuge in the Ark, resorting to Ahlul Bayt (a.s.), clinging on to their path, and holding on to their teachings and sunnah.

There is no doubt that this tradition indicates the necessity of obedience to the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.). Would an intelligent person allow himself to be taken by violent waves and face the inevitable outcome of drowning and going astray, and then hesitate and fail to take refuge in the rescue ship?

In addition, looking forward to this ark will by necessity bring about guidance and rescue from the waves of dissensions and deviations. The ark is the rescuer, and so these noble figures are infallible and thus immune from error and sin.[317]

N) The Tradition of the Two Weighty Things

Among the steps the Leader and Messenger (ṣ.a.w.) undertook for the future of the Ummah to prevent any error, ignorance perplexity or deviation were his efforts to appoint the intellectual authority. He defined the path of the intellectual movement and explained the method of interpreting the Qur'ān, the Message and its source. This reality has probably expressed itself in the most evident way through the tradition of the Two Weighty Things (*Ḥadīth al-Thaqalain*).

This tradition has also been recorded on numerous occasions. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) proclaimed it many times in one context in various explanatory formulas and in different places. He declared it at 'Arafat, al-Khīf Mosque and Ghadīr Khumm; he also cited it at the end of a statement he had made before departing from this world when he lost consciousness and was confined to bed. In addition to the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.), a large number of companions have also narrated this tradition,

and many of the Successors (*tābiʿīn*) and scholars have acknowledged its authenticity.[318]

The tradition has been recorded in various formulas. In one of them it says: "I am leaving among you that if you cling on to you will never go astray after me. One of them is greater than the other. The Book of Allah, which is a rope stretched from heaven to earth, and [the second is] my progeny and household. They will never be separated until they join me at the Pond; so observe how you will treat them after I have left."[319]

How great these words are! They show a superior merit, an unmatchable lofty virtue, a guidance that inspires felicity and an instruction that prevents from misguidance.

The most important point that these grand Prophetic words contain is the authority of the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.), and the necessity of following them in words and actions. A large number of scholars have declared this sublime reality, among whom is Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī, one of the great Sunni theologians. He said: "He (ṣ.a.w.) made them equal to the Book of Allah, in that holding on to the two is a source of salvation from going astray. There is no sense in holding on to the Book except the pursuance of what lies within it by way of knowledge and guidance; and so is the case with the progeny ('itrah)."[320]

Moveover, the most important duties and responsibilities of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) include guidance and the eradication of any deviation and error. On the other hand, what the Ummah should observe is the necessity of holding on to whatever leads to guidance and guards them from error.

This is exactly what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did when he asserts to the Muslims: "If you cling on to them, you will never go astray after me." Therefore, would one hesitate to follow the guiding progeny and submit to them, when they preserve from misguidance?!

The tradition also indicates that holding on to these two honourable

weighty things is sufficient to reach the sublime destination and attain guidance; there is nothing beyond these two except misguidance: "So what is there after the truth except misguidance?"[321]

Another point is that the tradition of the Two Weighty Things confirms without any ambiguity or obscurity the infallibility of the Progeny. From one angle, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) regarded holding on to them as obligatory without any restriction or condition. So, would it be logical or rational for us to think that the Prophet invited the Ummah to follow the authority of individuals and urge the Ummah to hold on to their teachings without any restriction or condition, when they live in error?

Moreover, this Progeny is equal to the Qur'ān which: "Falsehood cannot approach, from before it or from behind it"[322]. So is the case with the Progeny.

The last point is that this tradition indicates that holding on to the Progeny is a barricade that blocks going astray; so if falling astray is applicable to this authority, then is it possible for them to preserve from misguidance?! Hence, the Progeny is infallible by necessity.

O) The Tradition of Ghadīr

We have mentioned that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) would emphasise the necessity of leadership and the future of the Ummah from the early stages of his mission. Many events testify to this, when he announced the 'Truth' and defined in front of everyone the leadership after him in its perfect features and excellent distinctions. He did not linger at all in doing this, nor did he leave an opportunity without declaring this Truth publicly. In the last Ḥajj pilgrimage that came to be known as Ḥijjat al-Wadā', the Prophetic efforts reached its peak, and the Heavenly command came to declare friendship and executorship.

Let us have a look at the occasion and ponder its primary events. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) intended to travel to Ḥajj in the tenth year AH, and the herald of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) called out

to inform people about this. A great number of Muslims gathered to head to Mecca to join the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and learn their Ḥajj rituals from him.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) led the Muslims in performing the Ḥajj pilgrimage and he returned back towards Medina. On the eighteenth of Dhil Ḥijjah, the Ḥajj caravans began to separate to take their own path home. Some of them were in front of the Prophet and some were behind, but they were still together, as they were all taking the one path. The caravan of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) stopped to rest in a place called Ghadīr Khumm in the valley of al-Juḥfah, which was a junction to different roads for the people of Medina, Egypt and Iraq.

The sun was in the heart of the sky, sending down its flaming rays and casting its heat towards the earth. It was at this time when the Revelation descended to the Prophet with a command from Heaven, ordering him to gather the people around him.

The herald of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) called for those who had advanced to come back and for those behind to catch up, so that all the Muslims can be brought together in one place.

It was midday on a summer day; the heat was so intense that some had to put their cloak under their feet, whereas others stood under the shade of animals and luggage. The entire crowd gathered with their eyes focused on their noble Prophet who stood upon a pulpit made out of camel's saddles.

The Prophet began his sermon, and the words were coming out from his heart and mouth with beauty and eloquence.

He praised Allah and lauded Him, and then asserted to the mass assembled that the hour of his departure is near. He would shortly be called and he would have to answer, like all other men.

As he was about to depart, he requested from those present to testify to him that he has fulfilled the Message; so the sounds answered in one call in responce to the Prophet: "We bear withness that you have conveyed and have advised and struggled; may Allah reward you with goodness."

Why did he gather them on this hot midday? It was to get them ready for the anticipated news and prepare the souls for this crucial announcement and speak to them about his truthfulness in communication.

He then spoke about his high status in the Ummah and requested from them to testify to his greater claim over their own selves, and they all testified in one voice.

He then took the upper arm of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and raised it, which increased the event with magnitude and solemnity, and then he called out with a loud voice: "So, whoever has adopted me as his master (*mawlā*), ʿAlī now is his protecting friend."

He said this sentence and repeated it thrice. He then set about to pray for those who will follow and support ʿAlī.

The scene witnessed a prophetic invitation where the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) called for the friendship of ʿAlī and his succession in front of tens of thousands of pilgrims who had gathered from all parts of the Muslim world for the Ḥajj; he (ṣ.a.w.) declared the 'right of Caliphate' and the 'true Caliphate'.

Would anyone hesitate about the signifiaction of Prophet proclaiming through these words that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was the executor and the Imām?

The historical scene at that time did not record any uncertainty or doubt about this reality, even by those individuals who made a mistake with their luck and were too arrogant to give in. There were men who did not have any doubt regarding the content of the Prophetic Message and its indications, but their insight turned them away, so they began to question the origin of this Prophetic initiative. They asked whether it was from the Prophet himself or from Heaven.

Nonetheless, the scene was in favour of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib who was crowned with friendship and leadership. People hastened to congratulate him. Even ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb stood up from between the congratulating crowd and addressed the Commander of the

faithful (a.s.) saying: "Congratulations to you, O ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib! You have become the protecting friend of every believer."

However, the issue did not continue in this way to its ultimate goal and purpose, as it was not long that a revolution erupted after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and everything changed. Men began to overturn and those who were not worthy tried to wear the garment of Caliphate. But, far be it! So, what did they do? After a while they sought to bring doubt into the signification of this noble tradition of Imāmah and Wilāyah and also raise misconceptions about its chain of transmision.

We have cited a large number of proof-texts regarding this tradition, and we wish to shed light on its secrets and realities through studying and analysing its content, its chain of transmission and its signification:

- The Chain of Transmission of the Tradition

Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr is one of the most distinguished Prophetic traditions and the most famous of them. A great number of traditionists and scholars have declared its authenticity and its wide-scale transmition.[323] For example, Ibn Kathīr reports from al-Dhahabī that he said: "The beginning of the tradition 'whoever has me as his protecting friend, 'Alī is also his master' is widely transmitted, and I am certain that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) has said it."[324]

Al-Dhahabī said in his treatise: "The tradition 'whoever has me as his protecting friend, 'Alī is also his protecting friend' is widely transmitted, and it brings about certitude that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had said it. A large number of people have narrated it through different chains that are authentic, good, weak and unusual, and I will cite them....."[325]

'Allāmah al-Amīnī counted one hundred and ten of the great companions who have narrated this tradition. He then asserted at the end of his study that there are more than what he has mentioned.[326]

The late scholar, Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī stated in his

glosses to words of the author of al-Ghadīr that there are a larger number of companions who have narrated this tradition, and so he cites them in his book ʿAlā Ḍifāf al-Ghadīr.[327]

The al-Ghadīr encyclopaedia has a large index that investigates the narrators of the tradition of al-Ghadīr among the Successors (*Tābiʿūn*).

As for the scholar Sayyid Ḥāmid Ḥusain al-Hindī who spent his whole life defending Wilāyah and the sanctity of the Shīʿah faith with diligence, he dedicated a large part of his eternal encyclopaedia ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār on Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr. In this book, he called attention in detail to the chains of transmission of this tradition and verified its paths of narration and the narrators.[328] He then completed the discussion by criticising those who believe that the tradition is not widely transmitted, showing to them with sufficient and sound proof the invalidity and inconsistency of such approach.

On the basis of this, it seems that speaking about the chain of transmission of this tradition and its authenticity is a waste of words. Therefore, we will restrict ourselves to mentioning some of the traditionists (*muḥaddithīn*) before leaving this point and going on to another dimension of the discussion.

Al-Ḥākim al-Naisābūrī quoted the tradition in his book al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain and wrote: "This tradition is authentic according to the conditions of the two Sheikhs (Bukhārī and Muslim), but they did not record it."[329]

He also said in another place after quoting the tradition: "This tradition is authentic in its isnād, but they (Bukhārī and Muslim) did not record it."[330]

As for al-Tirmidhī, after narrating the tradition in al-Sunan, he said: "This tradition is good (*ḥasan*) and authentic."[331]

When al-Dhahabī recounted the biography of Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, he wrote: "When Ibn Jarīr was informed that Ibn Abī Dāwūd spoke against the tradition of Ghadīr Khumm, he wrote his book al-Faḍā'il and insisted on the authenticaton of the tradition. I said: "I saw a

volume by Ibn Jarīr written about the paths (ṭuruq) of the chains of transmission of the tradition, so I was bewildered at the large number of these paths."[332]

Ibn Ḥajar wrote: "As for the tradition: 'whoever has me as his protecting friend, ʿAlī is also his master', al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'ī have considered it authentic, and it is narrated through many paths. Ibn ʿUqda has written extensively about it in an independent book, and most of its chains of transmission are authentic and good."[333]

The book written by Ibn ʿUqda called Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah was a text common between the scholars until about the tenth century AH. Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs has said regarding this book: "This book records the explicit designation of the Prophet - may blessings of Allah be upon him- concerning the friendship of our Master ʿAlī (a.s.) through one hundred and five transmission chains (*ṭuruq*)."[334] [335]

Another scholar who has reported this tradition is Ibn ʿAsākir, who mentioned it in different places in his great book, and it suffices that he has quoted tens of chains of transmission in one place alone.[336]

There are many more such great muḥadithīn, exegetes and scholars who have cited the hadith.

Is it possible after all that to doubt the issuance of the tradition or its chain of transmission?! Whoever does that has thereby retired to haughtiness, arrogance and opposition to the clear truth.

- The Signification of the Tradition

It appears from what we have said at the beginning of this discussion and from what we will mention in detail through many traditions that nobody would doubt or argue about the signification of the sentence 'whoever has me as his protecting friend, ʿAlī is also his master'; namely, that it refers to leadership, governance, Imāmah and rulership. Such was the normative rule of the predecessors and those who lived during the time of the tradition, without understanding anything else therefrom. There is also no dispute that the word mawlā in Arabic has meanings wider than those just mentioned.[337] However, none of those

meanings can be intended here, and so the meaning of the tradition is identical with what the first generation of Muslims understood.

The Word 'Mawlā' in Arabic Literature

Examining the old literary texts and studying books on philology and exegesis indicates without doubt that one of the clear meanings of Mawlā is rulership, chieftainship and governance of the affairs, that is leadership and protection.

Here we will cite a number of literary and exegetical texts:

- Abū 'Ubayda Mu'ammar ibn al-Muthannā al-Baṣrī, when commenting on verse 15 of Ṣūrah al-Ḥadīd, on His words "*The fire will be your abode: it is your master*"[338] wrote: "that is, it is deserving of you."[339]

He then based his interpretation on a verse of the pre-Islamic era which reads:

> So the cow was so scared that, it considered
> It a *mawla* (master) out of fear of dogs behind and ahead[340]

The commentators on the al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab' interpreted the word *mawlā* in this verse written by Labīd to mean deserving and more worthy (*awlā*).[341]

- The famous exegete and genealogist Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī when commenting on verse 51 of Ṣūrah al-Tawbah, "*Say, Nothing will befall us except what Allah has ordained for us. He is our* Master (*mawlā*), *and in Allah let all the faithful put their trust.*"[342], wrote the following: "that is, has a better claim to us than our own selves in respect of life and death."[343]
- The great scholar and famous Kufi exegete Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād ibn 'Abdullah, known as al-Farrā', when commenting on verse 15 of Ṣūrah al-Ḥadīd(Q 57), on His words "*it is your patron*"[344] wrote: " that is more deserving of you."[345]

This view has also been maintained by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Akhfash, Abū Isḥāq al-Zajjāj, Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Anbārī, and the likes of them.[346]

We have also mentioned that the use of *mawlā* to mean one in charge of affairs is one of the most common uses of this word, as declared by a great number of specialists, as follows:

- Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd, known as al-Mubarrad, when commenting on verse 11 of Ṣūrah Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.): "*That is because Allah is the Master (mawlā) of the faithful.*"[347], wrote: "*al-Walī* and a*l-Malwā* both have the same meaning, that is He Who is most worthy of His creation and Who undertakes their affairs."[348]

Al-Farrā' has also said in this regard: ""*al-Walī* and *al-Malwā* in the usage of the Arabs are the same (and are used identically)."[349]

The exegete and well known researcher of the Qur'ān in the fourth century AH, al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī says: "*al-Wilāyah* means undertaking the affairs; *al-Walī* and *al-Malwā* are used in one meaning. Both of them are used to mean al-Muwāī (friend, supporter, symphatizer, etc.) and al-Muwālā (the befriended, supported, symphatized, etc)."[350]

The exegete and famous man of letters of the fifth century AH Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī al-Naisābūrī, when commenting on verse 62 of Ṣūrah al-Anʿām,: "*Then they are returned to Allah, their real Master*"[351] wrote: "This means: "He who undertakes their affairs."[352]

- A great number of scholars have actually acknowledged this reality; another one of them is the great Muʿtazilite exegete Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī who, when commenting on verse 286 of Ṣūrah al-Baqarah: "*You are our Master, so help us*"[353] wrote: "You are our Master and we are Your servants, or [You are] our protecting friend or in charge of our affairs."[354]
- As for the scholar Ibn al-Athīr, in his valuable book *al-Nihāyah* he discussed the unusual and difficult terms of the Prophetic traditions and commented the meaning of *al-Mawlā*, saying: "The mention of the word *al-Mawlā* has been repeated many times; it is a word that carries several meanings.....Whoever takes charge of an affair is its *Mawlā* and *Walī*.....As the

tradition: "Any woman is got married without the consent of her guardian (*mawlā*), then her marriage is invalid." In another tradition it says 'her *walī*', which means someone who takes charge of her affairs.[355]

It becomes clear that 'taking charge of affairs' 'mastership', 'leadership' and 'rulership' are all fixed realities that apply to the meaning of *mawlā*. Moreover, as previously mentioned, mawlā is identical with *walī*, as asserted the scholars and exegetes.[356]

Accordingly, we as all followers of truth from any sect and school of thought[357], believe that what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) intended in that eternal grand event was to announce the *Wilāyah* of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his leadership (*imāmah*) and rulership (*za'āmah*) and nothing else.

The scene was arranged and the assembly was prepared only to declare the *Wilāyah* of 'Alī for the last time in front of everyone. People gathered such that it took root the consciousness and memories of all. This was done so that when the hour of the Prophet's departure was to come and he was to leave to his Lord, nobody would say: 'I did not know what happened', or: 'I had no knowledge of the issue'.

It was for all these reasons that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) sought to take the pledge and covenant from people, and he repeatedly made them confess what he communicated to them, until they did, and then he again addressed the congregation, saying: "Lo, let those present convey the message to those absent."

It is now time to study the implications of the core of this meaning. If we were to say that the indication of this Prophetic tradition does not refer to *wilayah* (guardianship) and leadership of the ummah in the future, then what would be the implications of this kind of interpretation?

Does the intellect acknowledge such an interpretation? We should analyse the event, study its components and contemplat on the situation in detail. This is in order to come to the contemplate already

mentioned through analysing the lexical and technical terms of that part of the Prophetic tradition.

The Tradition of Ghadīr Signfying Vicegerency

Intellectual Contexts

1. The conclusion to which that we have been able to come is that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) assigned in that grand event a leader for the future and that he defined for the Islamic ummah the promised Imām. What we can add here is that whoever believes that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) has failed to declare the issue of *wilāyah* and vicegerency in that great assembly or believes that the Prophet has chosen to remain silent about the future of the ummah and the Message, cannot comprehend what we have mentioned, and will be incapable of understanding the explicit designation of leadership after the Prophet.

If we were to support this view, it would be necessary for us to suppose that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) would not think about the future of the Message and would not draw any clear outlined and organised plan for the future of the ummah after him. In other words, he left the ummah like a herd without a shepherd or like dust lost in the open space.

As a result, he failed to proclaim the truth on this level, as he failed to announce it so clearly that the generations can pass it on!

However, we have seen at the beginning of the discussion that the other suppositions regarding the future of the ummah, except the theory of the explicit designation of leadership, are all characterised by invalidity, confusion and error.

The following question rises again: Will the intellect accept such passivity and neglect from someone who was called a 'wandering doctor'?[358]

Can this be applicable to a prophet who would not stop thinking about the future of the ummah and the Message for one moment? Far

be it that Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) would do so despite his wisdom and determination.

2. The Unfolding Course of Communication:

The Muslims performed their Ḥajj pilgrimage with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.); after the season finished, they intended to leave Mecca to return to their homelands in groups and caravans following the tracks of one another, departing the Ancient House. The caravan of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) also began its trip back to Medina.

When the Prophetic caravan came close to the valley of Khumm, a valley that is described as sandy and extremely hot,[359] the revelation descended from the Heaven. It commanded the Prophet to halt where he was. The herald of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) started to order those who were ahead to come back and those behind to stay where they are, so that all the people may be brought together in one place.

It was a barren and unoccupied land connected to the desert; the sun was beaming over the heads with scorching heat. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) requested that camel saddles be arranged as a pulpit for him to stand upon, so that when he delivered his sermon, everyone present would be able to see and hear him.

Tens of thousands of people were brought together there; the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) performed the noon prayer, and then prepared himself to deliver his sermon after everyone had assembled. The crowd became larger and closer to where the Prophet was standing, awaiting the important matter. The sun was fixed in the middle of the sky sending down its burning rays, turning the desert to a flaming mass.

Those present had to put their cloaks and clothes above their heads and below their feet to shelter themselves from the heat and the sun, whereas others resorted to the shade of the luggage and mountable animals. It was a great scene taking root in the memories and defying falling into oblivion:

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) stood upon the pulpit made out of luggage and camel saddles, and his magnificent words began to fill the

hearts and ears. He gave his sermon to tens of thousads of Muslims who had just completed their Ḥajj pilgrimage.

The sermon started with praising Allah and lauding Him, and then he called them over and over again to bear witness to his efforts to convey the Message and to struggle for the sake of the Mission. They bore witness to him, repeating it all in one voice.

This was all an introduction, and the souls and intellects were looking forward to what was behind the meaning of these Prophetic words. The awaited moment came, when the Prophet clasped the hand of ʿAlī and raised it aloft, so that all could see the two hands together, and then he said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master (*mawlā*), ʿAlī now is also his master."

Let's have a look at the scene and contemplate on it in depth. What is it that the Prophet wanted with this introduction where thousands of men were gathered? What is it that he wanted to announce in the middle of an extremely hot day?

When he said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master (*mawlā*), ʿAlī is also his master," did he just want to announce the necessity of love for ʿAlī? Did the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) not speak on many occasions and during his last farewell Ḥajj pilgrimage about his Household and love for them?

Can he gather thousands of men in a desert requesting from them to listen to his words, and for the present to convey to the absent, only to order them to love ʿAlī?!

Does love for ʿAlī need an order, when he is the master and commander of the believers, and he is the unparalleled personality in the school of Prophet Muhammad?

Moreover, were not the believers commanded according to the Book of Allah to love one another and to love ʿAlī necessarily? Do such statements need all of these preliminaries and preparations?

We have previously cited the traditions of 'love for ʿAlī' and asserted that these traditions have a sublime purpose that exceeds the limits of

normal love.

All these arguments reveal that what the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) desired to convey was something very important and momenteous. He desired that Muslims return to their homelands with their hearts echoing the words they heard in his sermon.

Can an intellect understand anything else from this scene? "*There is indeed an admonition in that for one who has a heart, or gives ear, being attentive.*"[360]

Textual Evidence within the Event Itself

The Revelation of Two Verses

There is no dispute that the verses 3 and 67 of Ṣūrah al-Mā'idah (Q 5) were both revealed on the occasion of the event of al-Ghadīr. The command came down to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) to convey (verse 67), so he prepared that grand scene where thousands and thousands of people gathered. After the Prophet said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master (*mawlā*), ʿAlī is also his master," the other verse that speaks about the fulfilment of religion and completion of blessings was revealed.

This reality has been endorsed by a large number of traditions and reports, to the extent that it cannot at all be doubted. A question: The Verse 67 of Ṣūrah al-Mā'idah was revealed commanding the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to communicate that if he failed to do, it would be as if he had not conveyed the Message at all. It also points to the fact that it will provoke the hostility of the arrogant and their enmity. Can all that be in harmony with the claim that the verse was revealed to assert certain divine-law ruling?

It is clear that the communication of divine-law ruling does not necessitate fear and awe on the part of the Prophet, and opposition and resistance on the part of others.

It is strange to see that a number of exegetes have maintained such view! When they failed to see the truth or they were not interested in seeing it, they turned to unsubstantial claims and baseless judgements.

The importance of these two verses and the time for their revelation urges us to dedicate an independent study on each of them.

The Content of the Sermon

The way that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) began his sermon, the way he chose to put forward the subject, the enthusiastic and effective coordination that filled the words of the Prophet, and the rhythm and charm of his words do not allow any place for doubt that the subject is more important and more critical that that some might think.

Let's stop with one of the historical narratives and then contemplate on what it refers to and suggests. Ḥudhayfa ibn Usayd said:

"When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) intended to return from the farewell Ḥajj pilgrimage, he forbade his companions to sit around trees that were close to each other on the field. He then sent for them and prayed under the trees, stood up and said: "O people! The All-graceful All-knowing informed me that no prophet lived more than half of the lifespan of the previous prophet; I think that I am about to leave and I will answer. I am responsible and you are responsible, so what do you say?"

They said: "We bear witness that you have conveyed the Massage, wished well and struggled, so may Allah reward you with the best."

He said: "Do you not bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and that Muḥammad is His servant and Messenger, and that His Heaven is true, His Hell is true, death is true, the Hour will come and there is no doubt in it, and that Allah will resurrect everyone from the grave?"

They said: "Yes, we bear witness."

He said: "O Allah, bear witness."

He then said: "O people! Allah is my master, and I am the master of the believers and I have a better right over them than their own selves. Whoever has adopted me as his master this person is also his master. O Allah, befriend whoever befriends him [ʿAlī] and show enmity to whoever shows enmity to him."

Then he said: "O People! I will be leaving you, and you will join me at the Pond. The Pond is wider than the distance between Buṣrā and Sinai; it has containers as many as the stars made from silver. When you arrive at the Pond, I will ask you about the Two Weighty Things. The great weighty thing is the Book of Allah, which is a path, one side of which is in the hand of Allah and the other is in your hand, so cling on to it, and do not go astray; and [the other weighty thing] is my Progeny ('itrah) and Household.

The All-graceful All-knowing informed me that these two will never separate until they join me at the Pond."[361]

The arrangement of the sermon indicates that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) wanted at first to prepare the hearts, drive the thoughts to contemplate and encourage the ears to listen and pay heed. Their hearts will then open, and their insight will be filled with faith, so the pure and sentimental words will be firmly fixed. This was all done, so that nobody would turn around the next day and deny what he heard of the words of the Prophet, unless it stems from misguidance and blindness, or from obstinacy towards the clear truth.

The Prophet said that the time for his departure drew near, and he was about to encounter his Lord. He said so to stimulate the minds and motivate them to think about the issue of succession. He pushed them to think about the form of leadership after him.

The words of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), "I am responsible and you are responsible," were meant to cast a strong charge of universal responsibility on everyone's shoulders. He intends to say: "I am responsible to convey the truth and announce the reality as it is, and you are responsible to listen, ponder and do as required."

He then went on to ask: "I have lived among you for many years spreading the messages of my Lord, so what do you say?" The crowd all replied in one loud cry: "We bear witness that you conveyed and struggled, so may Allah reward you with the best."

He then continued asking questions to the crowd, speaking about

the teachings he brought for them, and they bore witness to him in respect of monotheism and the Message. He has a better claim to them than their own selves in all aspects of life, so he turned to Allah to bear witness, saying: "O Allah, bear witness."

All that was an introduction. Eyes were fixed towards the Prophetic sence, ears were drawn to him, and questions were piercing the hearts: What does the Prophet desire to say after that?

The words gushed forth from the mouth of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.): "Whoever has me as his protecting friend, this man is also his master."

The Prophet then commenced to pray for those who will befriend him and against those who will disobey this command, thus declaring war against the Messenger himself.

Is it possible for an intelligent person after all that to claim that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) desired to assert love for ʿAlī?!

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) knows that there are people who cannot tolerate this reality, and that there are those who will instigate against the 'Master' and assemble ranks to confront him and desert the truth. He (ṣ.a.w.) emphasised and warned, against the Judgment Day; then returned to remind people of the time of departure, saying: "I am about to be invited and I will answer, but I am concerned about the future, so what will you do? Our meeting place will be there at the Pond and you will find me standing there waiting for you.

God's blessings be to you, O light of the world and lantern of existence. You declared the words of Allah and conveyed the message of Heaven as it should be. You fulfilled the right of the Truly Real to rescue humanity.

God's blessing be to you, as you announced the friendship of ʿAlī with a heart full of grief and pain, out of your knowledge of the extent of the deceptions and conspiracies hidden. However, you preserved the sanctity of the truth and you fulfilled the trust.

Greetings be to you - with sincere reverence - for what you have brought, and to those who have followed your teachings and your

path and sacrificed their souls for you.

ʿAlī's Coronation on the Day of Ghadīr

It was the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) who put his turban on the head of ʿAlī to intensify the splendour and magnitude of the ceremony, which is in reality: Light upon light.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) descended from the pulpit made for him straight after he declared the most critical Divine Message, with a tranquil soul and good pleasure after completing the communication of Allah's command to the ummah. The people crowded around the Prophet in circles, with their hearts filled with emotions.

What happened? ʿAlī became the vicegerent of the Prophet? Nobody had ever denied the efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) from the very beginning of his up to that moment. This is why the Prophet felt that his mission had not yet been accomplished and needed much more emphasis to firmly establish the issue and convey it in the most perfect mode.

He called for ʿAlī (a.s.) and crowned him with his heavenly turban (al-saḥāba)[362]. It was customary that the one who will take charge of affairs is crowned, as carried out by kings and rulers. He appointed ʿAlī to be the ruler and put the turban on ʿAlī's head, because: "Turbans are the crowns of the Arabs."[363]

When the Arabs chose someone to be their chief and ruler over them, they would put a turban on his head in such a way that would indicate the establishment of his authority and chieftainship.[364]

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) himself spoke about this great Prophetic distinction when he said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) crowned me with a turban on the day of Ghadīr Khumm."

The muḥadithīn (traditionists) and historians have also recorded the ceremony of this grand coronation that signifies greatness and magnitude. Among what they have written was: "The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) called for ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib on the day of Ghadīr Khumm and put a turban on him".

We also read: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) crowned ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib with his turban al-Ṣaḥāba."[365]

ʿAlī's coronation with the Propht's turban in a special way after conveying the message shows that the intention of his sermon and lofty words was only to designate ʿAlī as the successor. He (ṣ.a.w.) had no aim but to announce the leadership of the Commander of the Faithful for the ummah.[366]

Acknowledgement of the Commandership

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) descended from the pulpit made for him from camel saddles and ordered the believers to greet ʿAlī (a.s.) as the Commander of the faithful. Buraydah al-Aslamī said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered us to greet ʿAlī (a.s.) as the Commander of the Faithful."

Congratulating for Succession and Commandership

The proclamations given that day have depicted the very reality, as all those present did not understand from the event and from the communation anything other than the explicit designation of ʿAlī (a.s.) as successor. This is why they were pushed towards the Commander of the Faithful to congratulate him for assuming. What is wonderful is that those who later on seized command were among the first to congratulate the Imām, and among them was the second Caliph ʿUmar who took the initiative and said to the Imām: "Congratulations to you, O son of Abū Ṭālib! Today you have become the Master of every believer."

Many narrative and historical sources have asserted and recorded in different words ʿUmar's words of congratulation to Imām ʿAlī, as they have also recorded the congratulations of others.

Poems

Men of letters and poets enjoy a precise understanding of utterances and words; if there are different possibilities for a meaning, you see scholars resort to see what men of letters and poets understand.

On the day of Ghadīr when the Prophet had just came down from the pulput, Ḥassān ibn Thābit stood up, took permission from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) to authenticate the event in a poem, where he said:

Their Prophet calls them on the day of Ghadīr;
In Khumm, and listen to the call of the Prophet.

Until he says:

He then said to them: Stand up ʿAlī, for I;
Am pleased to appoint you leader and guide after me.

When he finished, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "O Ḥassān, you will continue to be sustained by the Holy Spirit as long as you help us with your tongue."

The Ghadīr poem of Ḥassān shows that he understood from the event and from the words of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) that it refers to the explicit designation of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[367] Many other poets after Ḥassān ibn Thābit continued to recite poems, inspired by the event of Ghadīr and its allusion to the Imāmah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

ʿAllāmah Sheikh ʿAbd al-Ḥusain al-Amīnī referred in his great encyclopaedia called "al-Ghadīr" to this poem with the intention of analysing its content and studying its purposes denoting the Imamah and wilayah.

Denial of Wilāyah and the Infliction of Punishment

There were hearts filled with hatred and malice out of the Prophet's explicit designation of ʿAlī as a walī to lead the ummah after him. They began to spread foolish statements. One of them, who was the most insolent of them and most audacious of them towards the truth, looked with a doubtful eye at what the Prophet did by appointing ʿAlī as the leader, so he rushed to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) with his hatred and asked with rudeness and impudence about the reality of the event. He asked the Prophet whether it was from him or from Allah, so the Prophet of Allah answered him three times and swore by

Allah that what he did was from Allah and it was a Divine command that had to be fulfilled. However, the man left with disappointed spirit absorbed with darkness from all sides. He asked Allah with discontent and resentment to send down a rock from the sky or to be severely punished if what the Prophet said was true.

As he moved a few steps away from the Prophet, Allah struck him with a rock that killed him immediately. Allah, the Almighty, revealed the following verse: "*An asker asked for a punishment bound to befall.*"[368]

What is important in this incident is what the asker for punishment understood. He understood from the Prophet's: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is his master," that they refer leadership and chieftainship. In his reply to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) he said: "Then you were not well pleased until you appointed this boy, and you said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is also his master."

It is clear that if love and affection for ʿAlī was intended by the words of the Prophet, it would not call for his insubordination and arrogance, and would not seduce him into disobedience and rebellion.

The Confession of the Companions

No companion of the Prophet understood from his words anything other than the notion of Imāmah and leadership. Nobody had doubt about the indication of the Prophetic statement and its meaning.

Since then a number of the companions used to call Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) as *"mawlā"* (master). When Imām ʿAlī asked them, they would answer him, saying: "We heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say on the day of Ghadīr Khumm: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī now is his master."[369]

ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, among others, confirmed this point at various times. The question is: Did these companions address ʿAlī as mawlā, on the basis of the tradition of Ghadīr, and mean 'the beloved' and 'the helper thereby'? Such understanding can only stem from ignorance and insolence.

The Imām's Imploration

When Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) saw the ruling political system seizing the opportunity to overlook the event and try to conceal it, he took the initiative to confront it. However, he did not resort to confronting the new situation through direct collision, nor did he believe it was appropriate to engage in a violent war that would cause dissension and disorder, for reasons already mentioned. However, he did not at all desist from revealing the truth and proclaiming the reality, whenever the opportunity arose.

When one faced the Imām with a question, he would openly answer them, and if he was among a group of people, he would take the initiative in speak about the event of Ghadīr, requesting from those present to bear witness to what they had seen and heard.

The Imām would request from those who maintained silence out of fear or greed to swear to proclaim and announce the truth so that the reality would not be lost or consigned to oblivion.

On many occasions did the Imām appeal to men to bear witness and testify to the truth, either during the era of the Imām's seclusion or during the reign of his Caliphate, so that the truth will not be lost for the new generation out of ignorance and misguidance.

Among what has been narrated is when the Imām attended the assembly of people at al-Raḥba in Kūfah and called men to testify to the tradition of Ghadīr. They said: "'Alī (a.s.) implored the people at al-Raḥba to testify to what they heard the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) say on the day of Ghadīr Khumm to testify. Some and ten of the companions stood up."

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) continued to assert this reality on every occasion. He would urge those who attended the event of Ghadīr to give their testimony, so that the right of the 'truth' will not be lost or forgotten.

When any of those people remained silent and refrained from giving testimony, the Imām would pray against them with pain and harm.

Would all that emphasis and insistence be meant to reflect the necessity of love and support for him?

Moreover, would the ruling system impose silence on the people present at the event out of their fear for the spread of love for ʿAlī as such?

The Words of the Ahlul Bayt about the Tradition

We have mentioned on many occasions that those who attended the ceremony of Ghadīr understood from the words of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.): 'Whoever has adopted me as his master (mawlā), ʿAlī now is his master,' its reference to mastership (or guardianship), leadership and rulership. It was for this reason that they came forth to greet the Imām with mastership [or guardianship] (wilāyah) and congratulate him. Men of letters and poets understood this meaning and incorporated in their poems this reality as a document for history.

What we want to comment on at the end of the discussion is that the Imāms of the Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) declared this reality on various occasions when commenting on this tradition.

Yes, nothing has been issued from these noble men to the contrary of this interpretation, when they are the source of eloquence and knowledge, and they are (the members of) the Household and thus are more knowledgeable about what is in the house.[370]

We will conclude with one of these citations whose seal is musk[371]: Abū Isḥāq asked Imām ʿAlī ibn Ḥusain al-Sajjād (a.s.): "What is the meaning of the Prophet's words: "Whoever has (adopted) me as his master, ʿAlī is also his master?" He (a.s.) said: "He told them that he will be the leader after him."[372]

There are many more such texts, and there is no dispute that their interpretation is prior to any other interpretation.[373]

After the Event of Ghadīr

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) proceeded to return to Medina after he finished his Ḥajj pilgrimage, declaring the wilāyah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). Nobody objected to the public Prophetic declaration

except one person, whereas the rest resorted to silence.

The people dispersed returning to their homelands, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) entered Medina with his companions.

The Efforts to Consolidate the Purport of Ghadīr

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) spent his last days in Medina with waves of joy over his face, well pleasure with the fulfilment of his responsibilities and the communication of the Heavenly command. However, he knew with his divinely inspired knowledge what was coming to pass within the society, and he was aware of all the conspiracies, plots and trickeries to break out in the near future. That is why he seized the opportunity to consolidate what he had conveyed and strengthen it even more. There are at least two great prophetic initiatives in this regard, which we will cite in the following chapter.

P) The Last Efforts

Writing the Will

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) stretched out lying on his deathbed overcome by sickness. Fever was flaming through his holy body, and all signs signalled that the time for departure was near, and the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) was about to leave this world after years of diligence and struggle. What held the Prophet's attention in that critical time was the future of the ummah and his Message. This pure tree was still in need of support, protection and care.

At these moments with pressure of death coming close, a call came from the room of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) where he said: "Bring me a paper [parchment, etc.] and I will write for you that after which you will never go astray."[374]

The scene exploded into clamour and gradually turned into scream and quarrell in the presence of the holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.); something was uttered by one of the people present that was harsh and hurtful and far from the status of the Prophet. The situation was so sad that women began to scream from behind the curtains out of pity for the

Prophet, urging the men to give the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) what he requested, but the same person returned and discredited them.[375]

Thereupon, the Prophet called out to the companions present: "Leave me."[376]

The Prophetic will was not written, but its contents were clear to many, who knew why the Prophet desisted from writing it.

Without doubt, the content of the will is a consolidation of what he conveyed in Ghadīr regarding wilāyah and the future and destiny of the ummah. The following points give testimony to this supposition:

1.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) spoke over and over again about 'clinging on to the Two Weighty Things and he considered it as immunity for the ummah from the plight of ruin and misguidance. In his own statement about this will, he clearly said: "....a paper and I will write that after which you will never go astray."

2.

It is important for us to study and ponder on the nature of what the Messenger desired to write that made all that commotion, tension and reaction, until one of those present directed an insulting statement to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). Was there anything other than the issue of 'leadership' that excited the violent atmosphere, such the Prophet ordered them with words full of pain to leave and stay away from him?

3.

Ibn 'Abbās would always speak about that calamity (*raẓiyyat al-khamīs* – the Thursday calamity), repeating its content with suffering and agony, and sometimes tears would flow down his cheeks. He said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ordered three things after what they said: he said: "Expel the polytheists from the Arabian peninsula, show respect to all delegates even as I would show respect to them....."

Ibn Abī Najīḥ who recorded the report from Sa'īd ibn Jubair said: "Then Sa'īd kept quiet about the third one; I do not know whether he did not mention it intentionally or he forgot it." Sufyān once said:

"Either he left it out or he forgot it!"[377]

Did Saʿīd forget?! Or did he choose to remain silent while looking at the sword of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf above the heads? Did the memory of history choose nothing but to push the issue to be forgotten to eradiacate the reality and render it to the advantage of the ruling system?

ʿAllāmah Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Sharaf al-Dīn writes: "The third one is nothing but the issue the Prophet desired to write down to protect them from going astray; but politics forced the muḥadithīn (tradithinists) to forget it, as mentioned by the Ḥanafī Mufti in (the city of) Tyre Ḥājj Dāwūd al-Dadā.[378]

It becomes clear that when the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was prevented from writing a letter, he insisted on the issue verbally within the frame of recommendations. However.....!

4.

The confession of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: ʿUmar declared this reality and considered his attempt to prevent the Prophet from writing a sort of preservation of the well-being of the ummah! He said: "During his sickness, he wanted to announce his name, but I prevented him from that out of pity and concern for Islam. Nay, by the Lord of this house, Quraysh will never agree on it. If he was to rule, the Arabs would revolt against him from all its areas, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had known that I knew what was in his heart, so he desisted!."[379]

Mobilising the Army of Usāmah

During the last days of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) when his sickness was overcoming him, he chose Usāmah ibn Zaid, a young man of the age of seventeen to lead a large contingent of Muslims, including the most distinguished of companions. Ibn Saʿd says in this regard:

"When Wednesday came, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had a fever and a headache; on Thursday morning he handed the banner to Usāmah.....All the dignitaries from the first generation of the Muhājirīn or the Anṣār were called to participate in the expedition.

Among them were: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū ʿUbaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd ibn Zaid, Qatādah ibn al-Nuʿmān, and Salamah ibn Aslam ibn Ḥarīsh."[380]

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) mobilised the army and said emphatically: "Moblise the army of Usāmah. May God curse him who stays behind it."[381] He ordered the Muslim army to leave Medina immediately, taking into consideration that there was no actual military danger threatening Medina!

There is no doubt that what the Prophet intended behind all that was to purify the environment of Medina from those who were waiting for the opportunity to pounce upon the Caliphate after the death of the Prophet.

On the other hand, he (ṣ.a.w.) desired to prepare the path for the right to return to its lawful owner, as stated explicitly in the words of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).

Chapter One

The Traditions of Executorship

A) For Every Prophet is an Executor

50. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "For every prophet is an executor and an inheritor, and ʿAlī is my an executor and my inheritor."[382]

51. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Allah, the Almighty, has [sent] one hundred and twenty four thousand prophets; I am the master of them, the best of them and the most honoured among them with Allah, the Great and Almighty. For every prophet is an executor whom he appointed (as an executor) by the command of Allah, the Almighty, and my executor ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is indeed their master, the best of them, and the most honoured among them with Allah, the Great and Almighty."[383]

52. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "The executor of Adam (a.s.) was Shayth ibn Adam, the gift of Allah; the executor of Noah was Sam; the executor of Abraham was Ishmael; the executor of Moses was Yūshaʿ (Joshua) ibn Nūn, the executor of David was Solomon; the executor of Jesus was Simon; and the executor of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), and he is the best of the executors."[384]

B) The Executor of Adam (a.s.)

53. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Adam (a.s.) asked Allah, the Great and Almighty to assign for him a righteous executor, so Allah,

الفصل الأوّل

أحاديث الوصاية

أ ـ لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ وَصِيٌّ

50. **رسول الله**ﷺ: إنَّ لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ وَصِيّاً ووارِثاً، وإنَّ عَلِيّاً وَصِيّي ووارِثي.

51. **عنه**ﷺ: إنَّ للّهِ تَعالىٰ مِائَةَ ألفِ نَبِيٍّ وأربَعَةً وعِشرينَ ألفَ نَبِيٍّ، أنَا سَيِّدُهُم وأفضَلُهُم وأكرَمُهُم عَلَى اللّه عَزَّوجَلَّ، ولِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ وَصِيٌّ أوصىٰ إلَيهِ بَأمرِ اللّهِ تَعالىٰ ذِكرُهُ، وإنَّ وَصِيّي عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ لَسَيِّدُهُم وأفضَلُهُم وأكرَمُهُم عَلَى اللّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ.

52. **الإمام الصادق**ؑ: كانَ وَصِيُّ آدَمؑ شَيثَ بنَ آدَمَ هِبَةَ اللّهِ، وكانَ وَصِيُّ نوح سامـ [أ]، وكانَ وَصِيُّ إبراهيمَ إسماعيلَ، وكانَ وَصِيُّ موسىٰ يوشَعَ بن نونٍ، وكانَ وَصِيُّ داوُدَ سُليمانَ، وكانَ وَصِيُّ عيسى شَمعونَ، وكانَ وَصِيُّ مَحَمَّدٍﷺ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍؑ وَهُوَ خَيرُ الأَوصياءِ.

ب ـ وَصِيُّ آدَمؑ

53. **رسول الله**ﷺ: إنَّ آدَمؑ سَأَلَ اللّهَ عَزَّوجَلَّ أن يَجعَلَ لَهُ وَصِيّاً صالِحاً، فَأَوحَى اللّهُ عَزَّوجَلَّ

the Almighty, revealed unto him: "I have honoured the prophets by prophethood; I then selected from among My creation certain creatures and made the best of them the executors. Allah then revealed to Adam: "O Adam, appoint Shayth as executor." So Adam (a.s.) appointed Shayth as executor. He is Hibat Allah ibn Adam."[385]

C) **The Executor of Noah (a.s.)**

54. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Noah left the world and enjoined his people to be loyal to his executor Sam."[386]

D) **The Executor of Moses (a.s.)**

55. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "The executor of Moses was Joshua ibn Nūn (a.s.). He is the lad of Moses whom Allah has mentioned in His Book."[387] [388]

E) **The Executor of Jesus (a.s.)**

56. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Jesus son of Mary was raised to heaven, after he enjoined his people to be loyal to his executor Simon ibn Ḥammūn al-Ṣafā."[389]

F) **The Executor of the Seal of Prophets (ṣ.a.w.)**

The Executor

57. **Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah, narrating from Anas ibn Mālik, who said:** "We said to Salmān: "Ask the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.): who is his executor?" Salmān asked the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.): "O Messenger of Allah, who is your executor?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "O Salmān, who was the executor of Moses?" He said: "Joshua ibn Nūn." He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Verily, my executor and inheritor who will pay my debts and fulfil my promise is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[390]

58. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** – in a sermon he delivered to the people of Medina –: "By Him who split the seed and created the soul, you have known that I am your companion whom you have been commanded to know. I am your knower through whose knowledge

إلَيهِ: إنّي أكرَمتُ الأَنبياءَ بَالنُّبُوَّة، ثُمَّ اخترتُ مِن خَلقي خَلقاً وجَعَلتُ خِيارَهُمُ الأَوصِياءَ. فَأَوحَى اللّهُ تَعالىٰ ذِكرُهُ إلَيهِ: يا آدَمُ أوصِ إلىٰ شَيث. فَأَوصى آدَمُ عليه السلام إلىٰ شَيثٍ وهُوَ هِبَةُ اللّهُ بنُ آدَم.

ج ـ وَصِيُّ نوح عليه السلام

54. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** لَقَد خَرَجَ نوحٌ مِنَ الدُّنيا وعاهَدَ قَومَهُ عَلَى الوَفاءِ لِوَصِيِّهِ سام.

د ـ وَصِيُّ موسى عليه السلام

55. **الإمام الباقر عليه السلام:** كانَ وَصِيُّ موسىٰ يوشَعَ بنَ نونٍ عليه السلام، وهُوَ فَتاهُ الَّذي ذَكَرَهُ اللّهُ عَزَّوجَلَّ في كِتابِهِ.

هـ ـ وَصِيُّ عيسى عليه السلام

56. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** لَقَد رُفِعَ عيسىَ بنُ مَريَمَ إلَى السَّماءِ، وقَد عاهَدَ قَومَهُ عَلَى الوَفاءِ لِوَصِيِّهِ شَمعونَ بنِ حَمّونَ الصَّفا.

و. وَصِيُّ خاتَمِ الأَنبياء صلى الله عليه وآله

1. الوَصِيُّ

57. **فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن أنس بن مالك:** قُلنا لِسَلمانَ: سَلِ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله مِن وَصِيِّهِ؟ فَقالَ لَهُ سَلمانُ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ مَن وَصِيُّكَ؟ قالَ: يا سَلمانُ، مَن كانَ وَصِيَّ موسىٰ؟ قال: يوشَعُ بنُ نونٍ. قالَ: فَإنَّ وَصِيّي ووارِثي، يَقضي دَيني، ويُنجِزُ مَوعودي عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب.

58. **الإمام علي عليه السلام** في خُطبَةٍ خَطَبَها لأهلِ المَدينَةِ ـ: وَالَّذي فَلَقَ الحَبَّةَ وبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ، لَقَد عَلِمتُم أنّي صاحِبُكُم وَالَّذي بِهِ أُمِرتُم، وأنّي عالِمُكُم وَالَّذي بِعِلمِهِ نَجاتُكُم، ووَصِيُّ نَبِيِّكُم،

is your deliverance. I am the executor of your prophet, the choice of your Lord, the word of your light and the knower of what benefits you."[391]

His Executorship Coming from Allah

59. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) arrived at Qudayd,[392] he said to ʿAlī (a.s.): "O ʿAlī, I asked my Lord to befriend between me and you, and He did. I asked Him to make us brothers of each other, and He did. Then I asked my Lord to make you my executor, and He did." Two men from the tribe of Quraish said: "By Allah, a measure of dates in a shabby bowl is dearer to us than what Muḥammad had asked from his Lord. Should not he have asked his Lord for an angel to help him against his enemy, or for a treasure to relieve him of his poverty? By Allah, whenever he asked Him something, be it true or false, He would fulfil it for him." So Allah, the Exalted, revealed the verse: "*[Look out] lest you should disregard aught of what has been revealed to you, and be upset...*"[393] up to the end of the verse."[394]

60. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said, –to Fāṭimah (a.s.)–:** "Do you not know that Allah, the Exalted, had looked at the people on earth and chose from among them your father as a prophet, and He looked again and chose your husband. Then He revealed unto me, and I married you to him and made him my executor?"[395]

The Best of Executors

61. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The best of the creation –on the day they will be assembled by Allah– are the messengers; the best of the messengers is Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.); and the best of every nation after its prophet is the executor of its prophet, until another prophet appears. Lo! The best of the executors is the executor of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.)."[396]

The Master of Executors

62. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "I am the master of the first and the last [of people], and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the master of the executors."[397]

وخِيَرَةُ رَبِّكُم، ولِسانُ نُورِكُم، وَالعالِمُ بِما يُصلِحُكُم.

2. وِصايَتُهُ مِنَ اللّهِ

59. **الإمام الصادق**عليه السلام: إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله لَمّا نَزَلَ قُدَيدَ قالَ لَعَلِيٍّعليه السلام: يا عَلِيُّ، إنّي سَأَلتُ رَبّي أن يُوالِيَ بَيني وبَينَكَ فَفَعَلَ، وسَأَلتُ رَبّي أن يُؤآخِيَ بَيني وبَينَكَ فَفَعَلَ، وسَأَلتُ رَبّي أن يَجعَلَكَ وَصِيّي فَفَعَلَ.

فَقالَ رَجُلانِ مِن قُرَيش: وَاللّهِ لَصاعٌ مِن تَمرٍ في شَنٍّ بالٍ أحَبُّ إلَينا مِمّا سَأَلَ مُحَمَّدٌ رَبَّهُ، فَهَلّا سَأَلَ رَبَّهُ مَلَكاً يَعضُدُهُ عَلى عَدُوِّهِ، أو كَنزاً يَستَغني بِهِ عَن فاقَتِهِ، وَاللّهِ ما دَعاهُ إلى حَقٍّ ولا باطِلٍ إلّا أجابَهُ إلَيهِ، فَأَنزَلَ اللّهُ سُبحانَهُ وتَعالىٰ: ﴿فَلَعَلَّكَ تَارِكٌ بَعْضَ مَا يُوحَى إِلَيْكَ وَ ضَائِقٌ بِهِ صَدْرُكَ﴾ ـ إلى آخِرِ الآيَةِ ـ.

60. **رسول الله**صلى الله عليه وآله ـ لِفاطِمَةَعليها السلام ـ: أ ما عَلِمتِ أنَّ اللّهَ عزَّوجَلَّ اطَّلَعَ إلىٰ أهلِ الأَرضِ فَاختارَ مِنهُم أباكِ فَبَعَثَهُ نَبِيّاً، ثُمَّ اطَّلَعَ الثّانِيَةَ فَاختارَ بَعلَكِ، فَأَوحىٰ إلَيَّ، فَأَنكَحتُهُ وَاتَّخَذتُهُ وَصِيّاً؟

3. خَيرُ الأَوصياءِ

61. **الإمام علي**عليه السلام: إنَّ خَيرَ الخَلقِ ـ يَومَ يَجمَعُهُمُ اللّهُ ـ الرُّسُلُ، وإنَّ أفضَلَ الرُّسُلِ مُحَمَّدٌصلى الله عليه وآله، وإنَّ أفضَلَ كُلِّ أُمَّةٍ بَعدَ نَبِيِّها وَصِيُّ نَبِيِّها حَتّى يُدرِكَهُ نَبِيٌّ، ألا وإنَّ أفضَلَ الأَوصِياءِ وَصِيُّ مُحَمَّد عَلَيهِ وآلِهِ السَّلامُ.

4. سَيِّدُ الأَوصياءِ

62. **رسول الله**صلى الله عليه وآله: أنَا سَيِّدُ الأَوَّلينَ وَالآخِرينَ، وعَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ سَيِّدُ الوَصِيّينَ.

63. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said, –to ʿAlī (a.s.)-:** "If I were not the Seal of the prophets, you would have been my partner in prophethood. If you are not a prophet, then you are the executor of a prophet and his inheritor. Rather, you are the master of the executor and the leader of the God-wary."[398]

The First of the Executors of the Seal of Prophets (ṣ.a.w.)

64. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "The Imāms after me are twelve. The first of them is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the last one of them is [the Awaited Saviour] al-Qā'im (the Riser). These are my vicegerents, my executors, my friends and the proofs of Allah against my nation after me."[399]

63. عنه ﷺ ـ لِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام ـ لَولا أنّي خاتِمُ الأَنبياءِ لَكُنتَ شَريكاً فِي النُّبُوَّةِ؛ فَإن لا تَكُن نَبِيّاً فَإنَّكَ وَصِيُّ نَبِيٍّ ووارِثُهُ، بَل أنتَ سَيِّدُ الأَوصِياءِ، وإمامُ الأَتقِياءِ.

5. أَوَّلُ أوصياءِ خاتَمِ الأَنبياءِ ﷺ

64. رسول الله ﷺ: الأَئِمَّةُ بَعدِي اثنا عَشَرَ؛ أَوَّلُهُم عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ، وآخِرُهُمُ القائِمُ؛ فَهُم خُلَفائي وأوصِيائي وأولِيائي وحُجَجُ اللّهِ عَلىٰ أُمَّتي بَعدي.

Chapter Two

The Traditions of Inheritance

A) The Inheritor

65. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAlī, you are my executor, my vicegerent, my agent, my inheritor and the father of my sons.... Your command is my command.....and your prohibition is my prohibition."[400]

B) The Inheritor of the Knowledge of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

66. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "The Qur'ān is a guiding imam, and it has a leader who guides by it, and calls to it through wisdom and good admonition. That is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib: he is the holder of authority after me. He is the inheritor of my knowledge, my wisdom, my inward and outward, and whatever the prophets before me had inherited. I am an inheritor and the bequeather, so never let your selves belie you."[401]

67. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "ʿAlī (a.s.) inherited the knowledge of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), whereas Fāṭimah inherited his bequest."[402]

الفصل الثاني

أحاديث الوراثة

أ ـ الوارثُ

65. **رسول الله ﷺ**: يا عَلِيُّ، أنتَ وَصِيّي، وخَليفَتي، ووَزيري، ووارِثي، وأبو وُلدي...، أمرُكَ أمري...، ونَهيُك نَهيي.

ب ـ وارِثُ عِلمِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ

66. **رسول الله ﷺ**: القُرآنُ إمامٌ هادٍ، ولَهُ قائِدٌ يَهدي بِهِ ويَدعو إلَيهِ بِالحِكمَةِ وَالمَوعِظَةِ الحَسَنَةِ، وهُوَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ، وهُوَ وَلِيُّ الأَمرِ بَعدي، ووارِثُ عِلمي وحِكمَتي، وسِرّي وعَلانِيَتي، وما وَرِثَهُ النَّبِيّونَ قَبلي، وأنَا وارِثٌ ومَوَرِّثٌ، فَلا تُكذِبُنَّكُم أنفُسُكُم.

67. **الإمام الباقر عليه السلام**: وَرِثَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام عِلمَ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ، ووَرِثَت فاطِمَةُ تَرَكَتَهُ.

Chapter Three

The Traditions of Vicegerency

A) Will You Not Assign a Vicegerent?

68. **Al-Sunnah, narrating from ʿAbdullah ibn Masʿūd, who said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said on the Night of the Jinn: "By Allah, I have been informed of my death." I said: "Would Abū Bakr lead the people?" He kept silent. I said: "Would ʿUmar lead the people?" He kept silent. I said: "Would ʿAlī lead the people?" He said: "They will not follow him; if they were to follow him, they would all enter Heaven."[403]

B) Appointing Imām ʿAlī as vicegerent by the Command of Allah

69. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAlī, you are my executor, and I have made you my executor by the command my Lord. You are my vicegerent; I have appointed you as vicegerent by order from my Lord."[404]

70. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Verily, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is the vicegerent of Allah and my vicegerent, and he is the proof (ḥujjah) of Allah and my proof."[405]

C) The vicegerent of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) after Him

71. **Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (a.s.) said:** "I bear witness to Allah that I have heard him (ṣ.a.w.) say: "'Alī is the best to succeed me among you. He is the Imām and the vicegerent after me."[406]

الفصل الثالث

أحاديث الخلافة

أ ـ ألا تستخلفُ؟

68. **السنّة عن عبد اللّه بن مسعود:** إنَّ النَّبيَّ ﷺ قالَ لَيلَةَ الجنِّ: نُعِيَت إلَيَّ ـ وَاللّهِ ـ نَفسي. فَقُلتُ: يَقومُ بِالنّاسِ أبو بَكرٍ الصِّدّيقُ! فَسَكَتَ. فَقُلتُ: يَقومُ بِالنّاسَ عُمَرُ! فَسَكَتَ. فَقُلتُ:يَقومُ بِالنّاسِ عَلِيٌّ!! فَقالَ: لا يَفعَلونَ، ولَو فَعَلوا دَخَلُوا الجَنَّةَ أجمَعينَ.

ب ـ اِستِخلافُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِأَمرِ اللّهِ عَزَّوجَلَّ

69. **رسول الله ﷺ:** يا عَلِيُّ، أنتَ وَصِيّي، أوصَيتُ إلَيكَ بِأَمرِ رَبّي. وأنتَ خَليفَتي، اِستَخلَفتُكَ بِأَمرِ رَبّي.

70. **عنه ﷺ:** إنَّ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِب خَليفَةُ اللّه وخَليفَتي، وحُجَّةُ اللّه وحُجَّتي.

ج ـ خَليفَةُ النَّبيِّ ﷺ بَعدَه

71. **فاطمة عليها السلام:** أُشهِدُ اللّهِ تَعالىٰ لَقَد سَمِعتُهُ [ﷺ] يَقولُ: عَلِيٌّ خَيرُ مَن أخلُفُهُ فيكُم، وهُوَ الإمامُ وَالخَليفَةُ بَعدي.

72. **Al-Sunnah, narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said:** "The people went out for the Battle of Tabūk, and ʿAlī asked [The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)]: "Shall I go with you?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "No." When ʿAlī started to cry, so the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said to him: "Would you not be well pleased to be in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that you are not a prophet? You are my vicegerent over every believer after me."[407]

D) The vicegerent of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) during his Lifetime and after His Death

73. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAlī, you are my executor, the father of my sons, the husband of my daughter, and my vicegerent over my nation, during my lifetime and after my death. Your command is my command and your prohibition is my prohibition. By Him who sent me with prophethood and made me the best of His creation, you are the proof of Allah against His creation, His trustee over his secret, and His vicegerent over His servants."[408]

72. **السنّة عن ابن عبّاس:** خَرَجَ النّاسُ في غَزوَةِ تَبوكَ، فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: أخرُجُ مَعَكَ؟ قالَ: لا. قالَ: فَبَكى. قالَ: أفَلا تَرضى أن تَكونَ مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسىٰ إلّا أنَّكَ لَستَ بِنَبِيٍّ! ! وأنتَ خَليفَتي في كُلِّ مُؤمِنٍ مِن بَعدي.

د ـ خَليفَةُ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ في حَياتِهِ وبَعدَ مَوتِهِ

73. **رسول الله ﷺ:** يا عَلِيُّ، أنتَ وَصِيّي، وأبو وُلدي، وزَوجُ ابنَتي، وخَليفَتي عَلىٰ أُمَّتي في حَياتي وبَعدَ مَوتي؛ أمرُكَ أمري، ونَهيُكَ نَهيي. أُقسِمُ بِالَّذي بَعَثَني بِالنُّبُوَّةِ وجَعَلَني خَيرَ البَرِيَّةِ أنَّكَ لَحُجَّةُ اللّهِ عَلىٰ خَلقِهِ، وأمينُهُ عَلى سِرِّهِ، وخَليفَتُهُ عَلىٰ عِبادِهِ.

Chapter Four

The Traditions of Rank

A) The Tradition of Rank

74. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said, to ʿAlī (a.s.):** "You are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."[409]

75. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said,** narrating from his forefathers (a.s.), who said: "The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said to ʿAlī on ten occasions: "You are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses."[410]

B) The Prophet's Assertion of the Tradition of Rank

The Day of Warning

76. **Kanz al-ʿUmmāl, narrating from Abū Rāfiʿ, who said:** "The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) gathered the clan of ʿAbd al Muṭṭalib in the ravine (shiʿab)....and said: "Allah has commanded me to warn my close kindred and my faithful folk that Allah the Sublime has never sent a prophet without appointing for him a brother of his family, an inheritor, a agent, an executor and a vicegerent over his folks. So, which one of you shall give me pledge of allegiance, that he will be my brother, agent, and inheritor among my folks, and be in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?" The people kept silent. He repeated his

الفصل الرابع

أحاديث المنزلة

أ ـ حَديثُ المَنزِلَةِ

74. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ـ لِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام ـ:** أنتَ مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسىٰ، إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدي.

75. **الإمام الصادق عن آبائه عليهم السلام:** لَقَد قالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله لِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام في عَشَرَةِ مَواضِعَ: أنتَ مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسى.

ب ـ مَوارِدُ تَأكيدِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله عَلى حَديثِ المَنزِلَةِ

1. يَومُ الإنذارِ

76. **كنز الفوائد عن أبي رافع:** إنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله جَمَعَ بَني عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ فِي الشِّعبِ... فَقالَ: إنَّ اللّه عزّوجلّ أمَرَني أن أُنذِرَ عَشيرَتِي الأَقرَبينَ ورَهطِي المُخلِصينَ، وإنَّ اللّه تَعالى لَم يَبعَث نَبِيّاً إلّا جَعَلَ لَهُ مِن أهلِهِ أخاً، ووارِثاً، ووَزيراً، ووَصِيّاً، وخَليفَةً في أهلِهِ، فَأَيُّكُم يُبايِعُني عَلى أنَّهُ أخي ووَزيري ووارِثي دونَ أهلي، ويَكونُ مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسى إلّا أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدي؟ فَسَكَتَ القَومُ.

words three times, and then he said: "By Allah, one of you should stand forth, or it will be entrusted to other people, and you will be rebuked!" He [the narrator] said: "ʿAlī (a.s.) then stood up, and everyone was looking at him, so he gave him pledge of allegiance, and responded to what he called him."[411]

On The Day of Fraternization

77. **Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah,** by Ibn Ḥanbal, narrating from Maḥdūj ibn Zaid, who said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) fraternized between the Muslims, then he said: "O ʿAlī, You are my brother, and you are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."[412]

When Blocking (off) the Doors [to the Mosque]

78. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Some men upset that I lodged ʿAlī in the mosque. By Allah, neither I moved them out, nor did I lodge him from myself. Allah, the Sublime and Mighty, revealed unto Moses and his brother: "*Settle your people in houses in Egypt,*[413] *and make your houses places of worship, and maintain the prayer.*" [414], and He ordered Moses to allow no one to dwell in his mosque, to have sexual intercourse in it, or to enter it, to the exclusion of Aaron and his progeny. ʿAlī is in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses. From among all my family, only he is my brother; and it is not permissible for anyone to have sexual intercourse in my mosque, except ʿAlī and his progeny. Whosoever feels unhappy about that, they can go that way – and he pointed towards Syria."[415]

The Conquest of Khaibar

79. **Al-Manāqib, by Ibn al-Maghāzilī, narrating from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullah al-Anṣārī, who said:** "When ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib came back after the conquest of Khaibar, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said to him: "O ʿAlī, if it was not that a group of my nation might say about you what the Christians said about Jesus son of Mary, I would have uttered about you words whenever you pass by a number of

فَأعادَ الكَلامَ عَلَيهِم ثَلاثَ مَرّاتٍ، وقالَ: وَاللّهِ، لَيَقومَنَّ قائِمُكُم أو يَكونُ في غَيرِكُم، ثُمَّ لَتُذَمُّنَّ !

قالَ: فَقامَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام وهُم يَنظُرونَ كُلُّهُم إلَيهِ، فَبايَعَهُ، وأجابَهُ إلى ما دَعاهُ.

2. يَومُ المُؤاخاةِ

77. **فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن محدوج بن زيد:** إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله آخىٰ بَينَ المُسلِمينَ، ثُمَّ قالَ: يا عَلِيُّ، أنتَ أخي، وأنتَ مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسىٰ، غَيرَ أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدي.

3. عِندَ سَدِّ الأَبوابِ

78. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** إنَّ رِجالاً يَجِدونَ في أنفُسِهِم في أنّي أسكَنتُ عَلِيّاً فِي المَسجِدِ، وَاللهِ ما أخرَجتُهُم، ولا أسكَنتُهُ، إنَّ اللّهَ عزّوجلّ أوحىٰ إلىٰ موسىٰ وأخيهِ: ﴿أَن تَبَوَّءَا لِقَوْمِكُمَا بِمِصْرَ بُيُوتًا وَ اجْعَلُوا بُيُوتَكُمْ قِبْلَةً وَ أَقِيمُوا الصَّلَوةَ﴾، وأمَرَ موسىٰ ألّا يَسكُنَ مَسجِدَهُ، ولا يَنكِحَ فيهِ، ولا يَدخُلَهُ إلّا هارونُ وذُرِّيَّتُهُ، وإنَّ عَلِيّاً مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسىٰ، وهُوَ أخي دونَ أهلي، ولا يَحِلُّ مَسجِدي لِأَحَد يَنكِحُ فيهِ النِّساءَ إلّا عَلِيٌّ وذُرِّيَّتُهُ، فَمَن ساءَهُ فَهاهُنا ـ وأومَأَ بِيَدِهِ نَحوَ الشّامِ ـ

4. فَتحُ خَيبَرَ

79. **المناقب لابن المغازلي عن جابر بن عبد اللّه:** لَمّا قَدِمَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ بِفَتحِ خَيبَرَ قالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله: يا عَلِيُّ، لَولا أن تَقولَ طائِفَةٌ مِن أُمَّتي فيكَ ما قالَتِ النَّصارى في عيسَى بنِ مَريَمَ لَقُلتُ فيكَ مَقالاً لا تَمُرُّ بِمَلَإٍ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ إلّا أخَذُوا التُّرابَ مِن تَحتِ رِجلَيكَ،

Muslims, they would take the dust from under your feet and the remainder of your ablution, healing themselves with it. But it is sufficient for you to be in relation to me... as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."[416]

The Battle of Tabūk

80. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, narrating from Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) went forth for the Battle of Tabūk[417] and appointed ʿAlī as his vicegerent. ʿAlī said: "Do you leave me with the women and children?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Would you not be well pleased to be in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"[418]

وفَضلِ طَهورِكَ؛ يَستَشفونَ بِهِما، ولكِن حَسبُكَ أن تكونَ مِنّي... بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسى، غَيرَ أنَّهُ لا نَبِيَّ بَعدي.

5. غَزوَةُ تَبوكَ

80. **صحيح البخاري عن سعد بن أبي وقّاص:** إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ ﷺ خَرَجَ إلى تَبوكَ وَاستَخلَفَ عَلِيّاً، فَقالَ: أ تُخَلِّفُني فِي الصِّبيانِ وَالنِّساءِ ؟! قالَ: أ لا تَرضىٰ أن تكونَ مِنّي بِمَنزِلَةِ هارونَ مِن موسىٰ، إلّا أنَّهُ لَيسَ نَبِيٌّ بَعدي!!

A Study about the Tradition of Rank

The Tradition of the Rank (al-manzilah) which we have quoted in different forms represents one of the lofty virtues of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and one of his noble traits. It becomes clear from what we have mentioned that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) spoke of this merit on many occasions. Even though that which was uttered by his holy mouth in the Battle of Tabūk was the most well-known, it was not limited to that event alone. The numerous chains of transmission and ample reports of this tradition do now allow any place for doubt in its absolute issuance. The wide scale of its narration and the multiplicity of its chains of transmission have led scholars and great Sunni muḥadiths to categorise it as a recurrent successive tradition (mutawātir) and that it has been narrated through different chains and various paths. They also emphasise that this tradition is one of the most established traditions among the sourses narrated from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), explaining the consensus of the narrators of the tradition upon its validity.

Al-Ḥasakānī has written in respect to the chain of its transmission as follows:

> "Concering the Tradition of Rank, our teacher Abū Ḥāzim al-Ḥāfiẓ would say: I have recorded it from five thousand chains of transmission!"[419]

Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Birr has said:

"A group of companions have narrated his words: 'You are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses,' one of the most established of traditions and the most authentic of them.

Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ has narrated it from the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), and the chains of Saʿd's transmission are numerous. Ibn Abī Khaythama, among others, has mentioned these chains, even as it has been reported by Ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Um Salamah, Asmā' bint ʿUmays, Jābir ibn ʿAbdullah and a group of the companions mentioning whose names makes this report lengthy."[420]

Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Ganjī has written:

> "There is a consensus regarding the authenticity of this tradition: such authorities and the hadith memorizers as Abū ʿAbdullah al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Abī Dāwūd in his *Sunan*, Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī in his *Jāmiʿ*, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī in his *Sunan*, and Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī in his *Sunan* have recorded it. They have all agreed upon the authenticity of this tradition, to the extent that it has become a consensus among them. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī said: "This tradition has been included in the categorization of wide-scale transmission (*tawātur*)."[421]

Al-Suyūṭī has cited the Tradition of Rank in his book which he dedicated in narrating the widely transmitted traditions, that he called *al-Azhār al-Mutanāthira fi al-Akhbār al-Mutawātira*, [422] declaring its wide-scale transmission.

That which is mentioned here reflects only a number of the opinions regarding the chain of transmission of this tradition. Without doubt delving into the sources of traditions would eradicate any attempt to doubt the certitude of its issuance.

As for its purport, we can see that it gives ʿAlī (a.s.) all the ranks held by Aaron (a.s.) at the time of Moses (a.s.), except for prophethood.

The holy Qur'ān mentions the ranks of Aaron in the following way: "*Appoint for me a agent from my family, Aaron my brother. Strengthen my back through him, and make him my associate in my affair.*"[423]

These ranks have been established for ʿAlī (a.s.) in the clear Prophetic traditions.

The holy Qur'ān also quotes other qualities of Aaron, as in His words: "*Be my successor among my people, and set things right and do not follow the way of the agents of corruption.*"[424]

The reality of the life of ʿAlī (a.s.) and his incomparable defence of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and his unique presence in all of the battles are all signs showing that Allah Almighty has appointed to ʿAlī (a.s.) a position in relation to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) similar to the position held by Aaron (a.s.) in relation to Moses (a.s.).

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) undertook to communicate His message according to the natural course of things, and ʿAlī (a.s.) was the best and firmest of his supporters in this regard. Sleeping in the Prophet's bed, his amazing defence at the Battle of Badr that was the first test of the Muslims, which also had a wonderful outcome, his great support of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) in Uḥud where many who claimed to be Muslims had fled, his fighting with ʿAmr ibn ʿAbd Wadd at the Battle of Khandaq after the dreadful siege of the Polytheists, the self-disclousure of his strength in Khaibar when the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and his companions were kept behind its walls, and many other cases, are all signs of his decisive support of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).

In addition to what we have mentioned, these traditions indicate that ʿAlī (a.s.) was unique among the companions, such that none of them were similar to him, Aaron was in relation Banī Isrā'īl (Children of Israel). Consider the following reports:

- Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "Verily, Allah, has....strengthened the back of His Messenger through me, honoured me by

supporting him, gave me virtue with his knowledge, singled me out with [knowing] his laws, selected me by executorship, and chose me by becoming his successor in his *ummah*. When he (ṣ.a.w.) gathered all the Muhājirīn and Anṣār, he said: "O people, ʿAlī in relation to me is as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me." The true believers understood the words of the Messenger, when they knew that I was not his brother from his father and mother as Aaron was the brother of Moses from his father and mother, nor was I a prophet. However, it was a sign of appointing me as a successor as Moses appointed Aaron his successor. He said: "*Be my successor among my people, and set things right and do not follow the way of the agents of corruption.*"[425]

- Abū Khālid al-Kābulī said: "It was said to the master of worshippers ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain (a.s.): "The people say: "The best of people after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, then ʿUthmān and then ʿAlī (a.s.)." He said: "Then what will they do with the tradition reported by Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib from Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ from the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) that he had said to ʿAlī (a.s.): "You are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."? Who was similar to Aaron during the lifetime of Moses?"[426]
- Abū Hārūn al-ʿAbdī said: "I asked Jābir ibn ʿAbdullah al-Anṣārī about the meaning of Prophet's words to ʿAlī (a.s.): "You are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me." He [Jābir] said: "By Allah, he (ṣ.a.w.) appointed him thereby a successor over his *ummah* during his lifetime and after his death. He (ṣ.a.w.) also made it incumbent to follow him, so whoever does not testify to his succession has truely done wrong to his soul."[427]

- Salam ibn Waḍḍāḥ said: "We were with Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdullah, when Muʿallā ibn Sulaymān asked him about what the Prophet's words: "You are in relation to me as Aaron was in relation to Moses" meant. He said: "Thereby he meant that he [ʿAlī] is to be obeyed after him as the Prophet was to be obeyed during his lifetime."[428]

Chapter Five

The Traditions of Commandership

A) The Meaning of 'The Holders of Authority'

"*O you who have faith! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and the holders of authority among you.*"[429]

81. **Kamāl al-Dīn, narrating from Jābir ibn ʿAbdullah al-Anṣārī, who said:** "When Allah revealed unto his Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) the verse: "*O you who have faith! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and the holders of authority among you,*" I said: "O Messenger of Allah, we know Allah and his Messenger, so who are the holders of authority whose obedience God has associated with your obedience?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "O Jābir, they are my successors and the Imāms of the Muslims after me. The first of them is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[430]

82. **Imām al-Sajjād (a.s.) said:** "The holders of authority, whom Allah appointed as leaders over the people and made incumbent their obedience are the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, then Ḥasan, then Ḥusain, the two sons of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, until the matter came to us."[431]

B) The Commander after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

83. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Allah the Exalted has sent me forth as a messenger to you and has commanded me to appoint ʿAlī a commander over you after me."[432]

الفصل الخامس

أحاديث الإمارة

أ ـ مَعنى أُولي الأَمرِ

﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ أَطِيعُواْ اللَّه وَأَطِيعُواْ الرَّسُولَ وَأُوْلِى الأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ﴾.

81. **كمال الدين عن جابر بن عبد اللّه الأنصاري:** لَمّا أنزَلَ اللّهُ عزّوجلّ عَلى نَبِيِّهِ مُحَمَّدٍ ﷺ: ﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ أَطِيعُواْ اللَّه وَأَطِيعُواْ الرَّسُولَ وَأُوْلِى الأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ﴾، قُلتُ: يا رَسولَ اللّه، عَرَفنَا اللّهَ ورَسولَهُ، فَمَن أُولُو الأَمرِ الَّذين قَرَنَ اللّهُ طاعَتَهُم بِطاعَتِكَ؟ فَقالَ ﷺ: هُم خُلَفائي يا جابِرُ، وأئِمَّةُ المُسلِمينَ مِن بَعدي، أوَّلُهُم عَلِيُّ ابنُ أبي طالِبٍ.

82. **الإمام زين العابدين** عليه السلام: إنَّ أُولِي الأَمرِ الَّذينَ جَعَلَهُمُ اللّهُ عزّوجلّ أئِمَّةً لِلنّاسِ وأوجَبَ عَلَيهِم طاعَتَهُم: أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ عليه السلام، ثُمَّ الحَسَنُ، ثُمَّ الحُسَينُ ابنا عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ، ثُمَّ انتَهَى الأَمرُ إلَينا.

ب ـ الأَميرُ بَعدَ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ

83. **رسول الله** ﷺ: إنَّ اللّهَ عزّوجلّ بَعَثَني إلَيكُم رَسولاً، وأمَرَني أن أستَخلِفَ عَلَيكُم عَلِيّاً أميراً.

84. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Whoever has me as his prophet, ʿAlī is his commander."[433]

C) The Commander of the Pious

85. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said,** –on the day of al-Ḥudaibiyah, holding the hand of ʿAlī (a.s.)–: "This is the commander of the pious and the killer of the debauched. He who supports him will be supported, and he who disappoints him will be disappointed –raising his voice while saying it."[434]

D) The Origin of Imām ʿAlī's Appellation as the Commander of the Faithful

86. **Al-Kāfī, narrating from Jābir:** "I asked Abū Jaʿfar [al-Bāqir] (a.s.): "Why was he [ʿAlī (a.s.)] named the Commander of the Faithful?" He said: "It was Allah who named him."[435]

E) This Title is Exclusive to Imām ʿAlī

87. **Imām al-Sadiq (a.s.) said,** –when he was asked about the Awaited Saviour, al-Qā'im (a.s.), and whether he should be greeted and addressed as the Commander of the faithful–: "Nay. That is a name by which Allah named the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.); no one has been named by it before, nor will anyone be named by it after him."[436]

84. **عنه**ﷺ: مَن كُنتُ نَبِيَّهُ فَعَلِيٌّ أميرُهُ.

ج ـ أميرُ البَرَرَة

85. **رسول الله**ﷺ ـ يَومَ الحُدَيبِيَّةِ وهُوَ آخِذٌ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام ـ: هذا أميرُ البَرَرَةِ، وقاتِلُ الفَجَرَةِ، مَنصورٌ مَن نَصَرَهُ، مَخذولٌ مَن خَذَلَهُ ـ يَمُدُّ بِها صَوتَهُ ـ.

د ـ مَبدَأُ تَسمِيَةِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام بِأَميرِ المُؤمِنينَ

86. **الكافي عن جابر:** قُلتُ لِأَبي جَعفَرٍ عليه السلام: لِمَ سُمِّيَ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ؟ قالَ: اللّه سَمّاهُ.

هـ ـ اِختِصاصُ هذَا الاِسمِ بِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام

87. **الإمام الصادق** عليه السلام ـ وسُئِلَ عَنِ القائِمِ عليه السلام يُسَلَّمُ عَلَيهِ بِإمرَةِ المُؤمِنينَ؟ فَقالَ ـ: لا، ذاكَ اسمٌ سَمَّى اللّه بِهِ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، لَم يُسَمَّ بِهِ أحَدٌ قَبلَهُ ولا يَتَسَمّى بِهِ بَعدَهُ.

Chapter Six

The Traditions of Imāmah

A) His Imamate is from Allah

88. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O people! Who is better than Allah in words, or more truthful than Allah in discourse? O people! Your Lord ordered me to appoint ʿAlī over you as an authority, an Imām, a vicegerent and an executor, and that I take him as a brother and an agent."[437]

B) The Leader of the God-wary

89. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Three traits have been revealed to me regarding ʿAlī: He is the master of the Muslims, the Imām of the god-wary, and the Leader of the Unique Ones."[438]

C) The Imām of Every Believer after the Prophet

90. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said,** –to ʿAlī (a.s.)–: "You are the Imām of every believer –male and female–, and the friend of every believer –male and female– after me."[439]

91. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O people! Indeed, ʿAlī is your Imām after me.....Whoever a acknowledges his leadership has indeed acknowledged my prophethood, and whoever acknowledges my prophethood has indeed acknowledged the Unicity of Allah Allah, the Great and Almighty."[440]

الفصل السادس

أحاديث الإمامة

أ ـ إمامتُهُ مِنَ اللّهِ

88. **رسول الله**ﷺ: مَعاشِرَ النّاسِ! مَن أحسَنُ مِنَ اللّهِ قيلاً، وأصدَقُ مِنَ اللّهِ حَديثاً؟ مَعاشِرَ النّاسِ! إنَّ رَبَّكُم جَلَّ جَلالُهُ أمَرَني أن أُقيمَ لَكُم عَلِيّاً علماً وإماماً، وخَليفَةً ووَصِيّاً، وأن أتَّخِذَهُ أخاً ووَزيراً.

ب ـ إمامُ المُتَّقينَ

89. **رسول الله**ﷺ: أُوحِيَ إلَيَّ في عَلِيٍّ ثَلاثٌ: أنَّهُ سَيِّدُ المُسلِمينَ، وإمامُ المُتَّقينَ، وقائِدُ الغُرِّ المُحَجَّلينَ.

ج ـ إمامُ كُلِّ مُؤمِن بَعدَ النَّبِيِّﷺ

90. **رسول الله**ﷺ ـ لِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام ـ: أنتَ إمامُ كُلِّ مُؤمِنٍ ومُؤمِنَةٍ، ووَلِيُّ كُلِّ مُؤمِنٍ ومُؤمِنَةٍ بَعدي.

91. **رسول الله**ﷺ: أيُّهَا النّاسُ! إنَّ عَلِيّاً إمامُكُم مِن بَعدي... مَن أقَرَّ بِإمامَتِهِ فَقَد أقَرَّ بِنُبُوَّتي، ومَن أقَرَّ بِنُبُوَّتي فَقَد أقَرَّ بِوَحدانِيَّةِ اللّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ.

D) The Imām of the Nation

92. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAlī, you are my executor and the Imām of my nation. Whoever obeys you obeys me and whoever disobeys you disobeys me."[441]

93. **al-Maḥāsin, narrating from Bashīr al-ʿAṭṭār, who said:** "Abū ʿAbdullah [al-Ṣādiq] (a.s.) recited: "The day We shall summon every group of people with their leader (imām)"[442], Then he said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "And ʿAlī is your Imām."[443]

د ـ إمامُ الأُمَّةِ

92. **رسول الله**ﷺ: يا عَلِيُّ، أنتَ وَصِيّي وإمامُ أُمَّتي؛ مَن أطاعَكَ أطاعَني، ومَن عَصاكَ عَصاني.

93. **المحاسن عن بشير العطّار:** قالَ أبو عَبدِ اللّهِ عليه السلام: ﴿يَوْمَ نَدْعُوا كُلَّ أُنَاسٍ بِإِمَـٰمِهِمْ﴾ ثُمَّ قالَ: قالَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ: وعَلِيٌّ إمامُكُم.

Chapter Seven

The Traditions of Guardianship (Wilāyah)

A) The Guardianship of ʿAlī is the Guardianship of Allah and the Prophet

"*Your guardian is only Allah, His Messenger, and the faithful who maintain the prayer and give the zakāt while bowing down.*"[444]

94. **Al-Durr al-Manthūr, narrating from Abū Rāfiʿ, who said:** "I visited the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) while he was sleeping and receiving revelation... I stayed for a while when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) woke up, saying: "*Your guardian is only Allah, His Messenger, and the faithful who maintain the prayer and give the zakāt while bowing down.*"[445] Praise be to Allah who completed His blessings to ʿAlī, and congratulations to ʿAlī for the virtue Allah bestowed upon him."[446]

95. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "I was praying in the mosque when a beggar came and asked. I was bowing, so I gave him my ring out of my finger, when Allah revealed the following concering me: "*Your guardian is only Allah, His Messenger, and the faithful who maintain the prayer and give the zakāt while bowing down.*"[447] [448]

96. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said,** regarding His word *"Your master is only Allah, His Messenger, and the faithful"*: "This means they have a better claim to you and they are more worthy of you, your affairs,

الفصل السابع

أحاديث الولاية

أ ـ ولايةُ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام ولايةُ اللّهِ والرَّسولِ صلى الله عليه وآله

﴿إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُواْ الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَوةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَوةَ وَهُمْ راكِعُونَ﴾.

94. **الدرّ المنثور عن أبي رافع:** دَخَلتُ عَلىٰ رَسولِ اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله وهُوَ نائِمٌ يوحى إلَيهِ ... فَمَكَثتُ ساعَةً، فَاستَيقَظَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله وهُوَ يَقولُ: ﴿إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللّه وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَوةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَوةَ وَهُمْ رَ كِعُونَ﴾، الحَمدُ للّهِ الَّذي أتَمَّ لِعَلِيٍّ نِعَمَهُ، وهَنيئاً لِعَلِيٍّ بِفَضلِ اللّهِ إيّاهُ.

95. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام:** إنّي كُنتُ أُصَلّي فِي المَسجِدِ، فَجاءَ سائِلٌ فَسَأَلَ وأنَا راكِعٌ، فَناوَلتُهُ خاتَمي مِن إصبَعي، فَأَنزَلَ اللّهُ تَبارَكَ وتَعالى فِيَّ: ﴿إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَوةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَوةَ وَهُمْ راكِعُونَ﴾.

96. **الإمام الصادق عليه السلام** في قَولِهِ تَعالى: ﴿إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللّه وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا﴾ ـ: إنَّما يَعني:

your selves and your wealth. These are Allah, His Messenger and the faithful, meaning ʿAlī and his children: the Imāms (a.s.) until Judgment Day."[449]

B) ʿAlī's Guardianship (Wilāyah)

97. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī now is his master."[450] [451]

98. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Whoever has adopted me as his master, indeed ʿAlī is his master."[452]

99. **Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal, narrating from Burayda, who said:** "I was fighting together with ʿAlī in Yemen, when I saw some rudeness from him; when I returned to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), I mentioned ʿAlī and spoke ill of him. I saw the face of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) changing, and he said: "O Burayda, am I not closer to the faithful than their own souls?"[453] I said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah." He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī now is his master."[454]

100. **Usd al-Ghāba, narrating from Zarr ibn Ḥubaysh who said:** "ʿAlī left the government house, when a group of horsemen with swords came to him and said: "Peace be with you, O Commander of the Faithful. Peace be with you, O our master, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings." So ʿAlī said: "Which of you are among the companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)?" Twelve of them came forward, including: Qays ibn Thābit ibn Shammās, Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah, and Ḥabīb ibn Budayl ibn Warqā', and they testified that they heard the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) say: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī now is his master."[455]

C) His Wilāyah is Obligatory

101. **Al-Kāfī, narrating from Abū Baṣīr from Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.), who said:** "I was sitting with him [al-Bāqir (a.s.)] when a man said to him: "Tell me about the *Wilāyah* of ʿAlī. Is it from Allah or is it from His Messenger?" He (a.s.) got angry and said: "Woe unto

أولىٰ بِكُم؛ أي أحَقُّ بِكُم، وبِأمورِكُم، وأنفُسِكُم، وأموالِكُم، اللّه ورسولُهُ وَالَّذينَ آمَنوا؛ يَعني عَلِيّاً وأولادَهُ الأَئِمَّةَ عليهم السلام إلى يَومِ القِيامَةِ.

ب ـ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام مَولى مَن كانَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وآله مَولاه

97. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ.

98. **عنه صلى الله عليه وآله:** مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَإنَّ عَلِيّاً مَولاهُ.

99. **مسند ابن حنبل عن بريدة:** غَزَوتُ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ اليَمَنَ، فَرَأَيتُ مِنهُ جَفوَةً، فَلَمّا قَدِمتُ عَلى رَسولِ اللّه صلى الله عليه وآله ذَكَرتُ عَلِيّاً فَتَنَقَّصتُهُ. فَرَأَيتُ وَجهَ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله يَتَغَيَّرُ؛ فَقالَ: يا بُرَيدَةُ، أ لَستُ أولى بِالمُؤمِنينَ مِن أنفُسِهِم ؟! قُلتُ: بَلىٰ يا رَسولَ اللّهِ. قالَ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ.

100. **أُسد الغابة عن زرّ بن حبيش:** خَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ مِنَ القَصرِ، فَاستَقبَلَهُ رُكبانٌ مُتَقَلِّدُو السُّيوفِ، فَقالوا: السَّلامُ عَلَيكَ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، السَّلامُ عَلَيكَ يا مَولانا ورَحمَةُ اللّهِ وبَرَكاتُهُ. فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: مَن هاهُنا مِن أصحابِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله؟ فَقامَ اثنا عَشَرَ، مِنهُم: قَيسُ بنُ ثابِتِ بنِ شَمّاسٍ، وهاشِمُ بنُ عُتبَةَ، وحَبيبُ بنُ بُدَيلِ بنِ وَرقاءَ، فَشَهِدوا أنَّهُم سَمِعُوا النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ.

ج ـ وِلايَتُهُ فَريضَةٌ

101. **الكافي عن أبي بصير عن الإمام الباقر عليه السلام:** كُنتُ عِندَهُ جالِساً، فَقالَ لَهُ رَجُلٌ: حَدِّثني عَنِ وِلايَةِ عَلِيٍّ، أمِنَ اللّه، أو مِن رَسولِهِ ؟! فَغَضِبَ، ثُمَّ قالَ: وَيحَكَ، كانَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله

you, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was more fearing of Allah than he should say what Allah has not commanded him to say! Rather, Allah made it obligatory as He made prayer, Zakāt, fasting and Ḥajj obligatory."[456]

D) The Blessings of His Wilāyah

102. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said,** quoting from Gabriel from Michael from Isrāfīl from the Tablet from the Pen: "Allah the Exalted the Almighty, says: "The Wilāyah of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is My fortress; whoever enters My fortress will be safe from My Fire."[457]

103. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Whoever desires to live my life and die my death, and dwell in the everlasting Heaven that my Lord has promised me, then befriend ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (and adopt him as his master), for he will never take you away from guidance or lead you to misguidance."[458]

أخوَفَ لِلّهِ مِن أنَ يَقولَ ما لَم يَأمُرهُ بِهِ اللّه! ! بَلِ افتَرَضَهُ كَمَا افتَرَضَ اللّهُ الصَّلاةَ وَالزَّكاةَ وَالصَّومَ وَالحَجَّ.

د ـ بَرَكاتُ وِلايَتِهِ

102. **رسول اللهﷺ عن جبرئيل عن ميكائيل عن إسرافيل عن اللوح عن القلم:** يَقولُ اللّهُ تَبارَكَ وتَعالى: وِلايَةُ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِب حِصني، فَمَن دَخَلَ حِصني أمِنَ ناري.

103. **عنهﷺ:** مَن يُريدُ أن يَحيا حَياتي، ويَموتَ مَوتي، ويَسكُنَ جَنَّةَ الخُلدِ الَّتي وَعَدَني رَبّي، فَلْيَتَوَلَّ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ؛ فَإنَّهُ لَن يُخرِجَكُم مِن هُدىً، ولَن يُدخِلَكُم في ضَلالَةٍ.

Chapter Eight

The Traditions of Guidance

A) ʿAlī is the Guide

"*You are only a warner, and there is a guide for every people.*"[459]

104. **Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī, narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said:** "When the verse "*You are only a warner, and there is a guide for every people,*"[460] was revealed, he (ṣ.a.w.) put his hand on his chest and said: "I am the warner, and there is a guide for every people." He then pointed to the shoulder of ʿAlī and said: "O ʿAlī, you are the guide. Those who are guided will be guided by you after me."[461]

105. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "When the verse, '*You are only a warner, and there is a guide for every people,*'[462] was revealed, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: 'I am the warner, and you O ʿAlī are the guide.'"[463]

B) ʿAlī is Always on the Right Way

106. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAmmār, indeed ʿAlī never ceases to be on the right way."[464]

107. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAmmār, the oppressing group will slay you, when you will be then with the truth and the truth will be with you. O ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, when you see ʿAlī takes a path and the rest of the people take another path, proceed with ʿAlī, for he will never take you to destruction, nor will he lead you away from guidance."[465]

الفصل الثامن

أحاديث الهداية

أ ـ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام الهادي

﴿إِنَّمَآ أَنتَ مُنذِرٌ وَ لِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ﴾.

104. **تفسير الطبري عن ابن عبّاس:** لَمّا نَزَلَت: ﴿إِنَّمَآ أَنتَ مُنذِرٌ وَ لِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ﴾ وَضَعَ صلى الله عليه وآله يَدَهُ عَلى صَدرِهِ فَقالَ: أنَا المُنذِرُ ولِكُلِّ قَومٍ هادٍ، وأومَأَ بِيَدِهِ إلىٰ مَنكِبِ عَلِيٍّ فَقالَ: أنتَ الهادي يا عَلِيُّ، بِكَ يَهتَدِي المُهتَدونَ بَعدي.

105. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام:** فينا نَزَلَت هذِهِ الآيَةُ: ﴿إِنَّمَآ أَنتَ مُنذِرٌ وَ لِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ﴾ فَقالَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله: أنَا المُنذِرُ، وأنتَ الهادي يا عَلِيُّ.

ب ـ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام لا يَزالُ عَلى هُدىً

106. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** يا عَمّارُ، إنَّ عَلِيّاً لا يَزالُ عَلى هُدىً.

107. **عنه صلى الله عليه وآله:** يا عَمّارُ، تَقتُلُكَ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ، وأنتَ إذ ذاكَ مَعَ الحَقِّ وَالحَقُّ مَعَكَ. يا عَمّارَ بنَ ياسِرٍ، إن رَأَيتَ عَلِيّاً قد سَلَكَ وادِياً وسَلَكَ النّاسُ وادِياً غَيرَهُ فَاسلُك مَعَ عَلِيٍّ؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَن يُدلِيَكَ في رَدىً، ولَن يُخرِجَكَ مِن هُدىً.

Chapter Nine

The Traditions of Infallibility

A) ʿAlī is with the Qur'ān

108. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "'Alī is with the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān is with him. They will not separate until they join me at the Pond."[466]

109. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Allah, the Exalted the Almighty, purified us and made us immune. He appointed us as witnesses against His creation and His proof on His earth. He appointed us with the Qur'ān and appointed the Qur'ān with us. We will not be separated from it, nor will it be separated from us."[467]

B) ʿAlī is with the Truth

110. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "'Alī is with the truth and the truth is with ʿAlī: it turns with him whichever way he turns."[468]

111. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O Ibn ʿAbbās, the people will soon go left and right; when this happens, you should follow ʿAlī and his group, for he is with the truth and the truth is with him, and they will not be separated from each other until they join me at the Pond."[469]

C) ʿAlī is the Clarifier of What the Nation Differs on

112. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAlī, you are the one who will clarify for my ummah that which they differ on after me. You will take my

الفصل التاسع

أحاديث العِصمَة

أ ـ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام مَعَ القُرآنِ

108. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** عَلِيٌّ مَعَ القُرآنِ وَالقُرآنُ مَعَهُ، لا يَفتَرِقانِ حَتّىٰ يَرِدا عَلَيَّ الحَوضَ.

109. **الإمام علي عليه السلام:** إنَّ اللّهَ تَبارَكَ وتَعالىٰ طَهَّرَنا وعَصَمَنا، وجَعَلَنا شُهَداءَ عَلى خَلقِهِ، وحُجَّتَهُ في أرضِهِ، وجَعَلَنا مَعَ القُرآنِ وجَعَلَ القُرآنَ مَعَنا، لا نُفارِقُهُ ولا يُفارِقُنا.

ب ـ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام مَعَ الحَقِّ

110. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** عَلِيٌّ مَعَ الحَقِّ وَالحَقُّ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ، يَدورُ مَعَهُ حَيثُما دارَ.

111. **عنه صلى الله عليه وآله:** يَا بنَ عَبّاسٍ، سوفَ يَأخُذُ النّاسُ يَميناً وشِمالاً، فَإذا كانَ كَذلِكَ فَاتَّبِع عَلِيّاً وحِزبَهُ؛ فَإنَّهُ مَعَ الحَقِّ وَالحَقُّ مَعَهُ، ولا يَفتَرِقانِ حَتّى يَرِدا عَلَيَّ الحَوضَ.

ج ـ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام مُبَيِّنٌ مَا اختَلَفَت فيهِ الأُمَّةُ

112. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله:** يا عَلِيُّ، أنتَ الَّذي تُبَيِّنُ لِأُمَّتي ما يَختَلِفونَ فيهِ بَعدي، وتَقومُ فيهِم مَقامي،

place among them. Your word is my word, your command is my command, obedience to you is obedience to me and obedience to me is obedience to Allah, and disobedience to you is disobedience to me, and disobedience to me is disobedience to Allah, may He be Glorified and Exalted."[470]

113. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "If you differ on something, then be with ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[471]

قَولُكَ قَولي، وأمرُكَ أمري، وطاعَتُكَ طاعَتي؛ وطاعَتي طاعَةُ اللّهِ، ومَعصِيَتُكَ مَعصِيَتي؛ ومَعصِيَتي مَعصِيَةُ اللّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ.

113. عنه ﷺ: إذَا اختَلَفتُم في شَيءٍ فكونوا مَعَ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ.

Chapter Ten

The Tradition of Ghadīr

A) The Event of Ghadīr

"*O Messenger! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message, and Allah shall protect you from the people. Indeed Allah does not guide the disbelieving.*"[472]

114. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said,** regarding His words: 'O Messenger! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message'[473]: "These words refer to guardianship (*wilāyah*)."[474]

115. **Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah:** "When he (ṣ.a.w.) journeyed to the valley of Khumm, the revelation was revealed upon him regarding the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), the verse of immunity from people; the command would come to him but he was hesitant, waiting for the words of Allah the Almighty: "*And Allah shall protect you from the people.*"[475] When it was revealed, he stood up to deliver a sermon. He praised Allah and extolled Him, and then he appointed the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) as leader and guardian. He mentioned what men have recorded with respect to in the tradition of Ghadīr Khumm, and then he left [to Medina] at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah."[476]

الفصل العاشر

حَدِيثُ الغَدِيرِ

أ ـ واقِعَةُ الغَدِيرِ

﴿يَـأَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللّه لاَ يَهْدِى الْقَوْمَ الْكَـفِرِينَ﴾.

114. **الإمام الباقر**عليه السلام ـ في قَولِهِ تَعالى: ﴿يَـأَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَآ أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ﴾ ـ : هِيَ الوِلايَةُ.

115. **إثبات الوصيّة:** لَمّا صارَ [صلى الله عليه وآله] بِوادي خُمٍّ نَزَلَ عَلَيهِ الوَحيُ في أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام آيَةُ العِصمَةِ مِنَ النّاسِ، وقَد كانَ الأَمرُ قَبلَ ذلِكَ يَأتيهِ فَيَتَوَقَّفُ؛ اِنتِظاراً لِقَولِ اللّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ: ﴿وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ﴾.

فَلَمّا نَزَلَت قامَ خَطيباً، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنى عَلَيهِ كَثيراً، ثُمَّ نَصَبَ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام عَلَماً وقَيِّماً مَقامَهُ بَعدَهُ. وكانَ مِن حَديثِ غَديرِ خُمٍّ ما رَواهُ النّاسُ، ثُمَّ انصَرَفَ في آخِرِ ذِي الحِجَّةِ.

A Study on the Verse of Communication

"*O Messenger! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message, and Allah shall protect you from the people. Indeed Allah does not guide the disbelieving.*"[417]

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) intended to travel to Ḥajj in the year 10 AH. Before journeying towards the Divine Sanctuary, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) ordered to inform every one of his decision to go for pilgrimage, so the people would prepare themselves to visit the Ancient House. They gathered from all different places, and a very large group of people were brought togehter.

The holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) would deliver sermons to people during this majestic season, and then he delivered his long sermon on the day of ʿArafa where he criticized the last remnants of the culture of the pre-Islamic Age of Ignorance to throw away into a deep hole any of its practices. He invited people to stay firm on the truth and build their lives according to the divine teaching and heavenly values. He also urged them to cling on to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the pure Prophetic Household.

On his way, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) would continually assert what he had previously announced to the ummah in that year indirectly or directly, saying that that year would be the last year of his honourable life.

A flaming fire began to relieve the souls and a tormenting agony began to push the chests of the people towards this awaited announcement. The Muslims were full of anticipation and yearning for their Prophet, to derive benefit, learn and be enlightened by their great teacher.

The Prophet himself was also enthusiastic among scores of Muslims in that momentous gathering. He was waiting to inform the words of Heaven and to convey the most complete and crucial message.

There was an overwhelming enthusiasm in the ummah and an anticipation from the Prophet filling him while awaiting the great news. This was the scene with which the farewell pilgrimage ended.

When the Muslims returned after the end of the season, every group was taking their path that led to their family and home. However, at the valley of Ghadīr Khumm, a sound from the Heaven came to the Prophet's heart, giving him the decisive command of: "*O Messenger! Communicate....*"[478]

Considering the context of the verse and the intensity it stresses, how it expresses the serious warning, does not allow any place to doubt the significance of the message.

So, what is that issue that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had to convey? And what was the message that brought about much reverence and awe within the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), despite that he would endure a lot for the sake of communicating the words of Allah and His message? He had a firm determination in announcing the truth, and he was a lofty mountain that confronted polytheism by himself.

The statements of great Shī'a scholars, traditionists, exegetes, historians and theologians have agreed, without the least of doubt, that the verse is related to the event on the day of Ghadīr, and that the content and meaning of the Message is guardianship (wilāyah) and the leadership of Imām 'Alī (a.s.).

They have also maintained that the holy verse was revealed on the eighteenth of Dhul Hijjah, 10 AH, in order to confirm the guardianship (wilāyah) of 'Alī (a.s.) for the last time.

As for Sunni scholars, they took different paths, as their views were not consistent regarding the time of the revelation of the verse and its content.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī recorded these opinions and concluded with ten views, the last of which agrees with the Shīʿa point of view. However, it is easy to see the inconsistency of what he has mentioned, even though there are statements by Companions or Successors that confirm our approach, but he failed to cite them.

Before we go through the views surrounding the verse, it is important to have a look at its meaning with depth and analysis, through the following points:

1. His words: "*communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord.*"

This sentence declares that the person who is being addressed is the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), even as it indicates that the content of the message is liked to him. He was ordered to convey this message, but, there was a state of hesitation and fear that prevented him from announcing. All of the Shīʿa narrators have mentioned this reality, and a number of Sunni traditions have confirmed this as well.[479]

2. His words: "*and if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message.*"

This part of the verse is full of indications showing that when this verse was revealed, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had already finished conveying the Message and fulfilled the right of this religion, and that the Prophet communicated to the people the words of Allah and the divine guidance and its teachings. But now he is confronted with a command that is so great and extremely critical that if he failed to announce, the whole Message would be subject to loss, to the extent that it would be like as if he had not conveyed any part of the Message.

This, in turn, confirms the validity of the traditions that state that the revelation of the verse came down within the context of Sūrah al-Mā'ida[480], and it was among the last of the verses that came down in Medina.

3. His words: "*and Allah shall protect you.*"

What is it that the Prophet feared? Is it being killed or hurt and tortured? Or is it the incitement of the polytheists and the Jews and the explosion of their discontent?

The life of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) shows that no fear would penetrate his heart.

Moreover, listen to what the revelation says, in order to see how it describes the firmness of the messengers of Allah and the loftiness of the holders of Messages and their steadfastness: "*Those who deliver the messages of Allah and fear Him, and fear no one except Allah, and Allah suffices as reckoner.*"[481] After that, is it conceivable to describe the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) as frightened of violence and hurt, or scared of being killed and tortured? He is the best of the honourable messengers, and the Seal of the prophets and the last chain of the holders of truth and Divine messages.

Therefore, it is fear, but of another kind. What the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) feared was that the 'communication' would not bring its required results, seeing the nature of the ruling environment at that time, that may hinder any desired effects. This is what the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) feared and nothing else.

4. His words: "*from the people.*"

Without doubt, the word 'people' is general, and the text implies God's protection for the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.); protecting him from the conspiracies of those who spare no effort to prevent the communication to people and to thwart his mission.

Therefore, it becomes clear that the meaning of 'disbelief' (*kufr*) in His words: "*the disbelieving,*" is disbelief in Lordly signs, even as His words: "*Indeed Allah does not guide,*" mean that the conspiracy of those people will not be successful and what they plot to prevent the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) form communicating 'what was revealed' will fail.

Or else, if 'lack of guidance' meant lack of guidance into faith, it would contradict the principle and task of communication, and it

would not be at all in concordance with the philosophy of invitation and guidance, as if Allah the Almighty were to say: "Invite these people to the judgement of Allah, but I will never guide them!"

Therefore, without doubt, what is meant in this part of the verse is that the efforts of these people in extinguishing this light will be a failure, and their efforts to defame the Prophet will end in loss. Their attempts to thwart this communication all went to waste, and they were not successful in their accusing the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) of inclination to his household and close kin.

As a result, the meaning is: all of the hopes of those people to prevent the announcing of this communication will fail, and these will be like straw dispersed by violent winds.

This verse carries enlightened points and lessons that are much more than what we have quoted here. Nonetheless, what we have stated of opinions aims at building the outlines of the historical scene of the event and manifesting the environment of the revelation of the verse rather than explaining the meaning of the verse.

We will now go through a number of the statements regarding the verse in light of the two following perspectives:

1. The revelation of the verse at the beginning of the Mission and the fear of communication.

It seems that the first person to take this view even though he did not announce it with certainty was Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī. According to what he has said, after this words, "*Read in the name of your Lord who created,*"[482] were revealed that was difficult for the Prophet, so he was scared of being accused of lying and facing hurt from the Polytheists; thereafter the verse: "*O Messenger! Communicate*", was revealed this was a sort of immunity for him from Allah, the Almighty, so that he can continue to propagate what he was commanded to do with strength and without fear.[483]

In light of this viewpoint, it is narrated that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "When Allah the Almighty sent me with His Message, it became very difficult for me, and I knew some

people would deny me."[484] So he desisted from communicating until the verse was sent down to him.

We have previously mentioned that Sūrah al-Mā'ida is one of the last Sūrahs revealed upon the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), let not the last one.[485] Moreover, what is it that Allah the Almighty desired by His words: "*communicate that which has been sent down to you*," when nothing was revealed upon the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)? What is it that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) feared and prevented him from communicating, when he has not yet confronted the Polytheists with any of he divine signs?

What they claim is not fit for even a normal propagator at the beginning of the path. Is it conceivable for the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) to act accordingly, when his heart was interwoven with heaven and connected to Allah? Is this in concordance with his firmly established steps and strong willpower?

As for what they have mentioned to the effect that the reason for the revelation of this verse is Abū Ṭālib's protecting for the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), for with the revelation of the verse the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) requested from him to stop guarding him, in that Allah promised to guard him;[486] the objection to this view - in addition to what was mentioned when criticizing the previous view - is that such view contradicts the true historical reality. This fact is the best evidence (to prove) that the Messenger of Allah kept enjoying the protection in Medina for certain years; and there exists no evidence (to be) stronger than this one for existence of Usṭuwānat al-Ḥaras (Pillar of Guards)[487].

2. Hiding the Qur'ān out of Fear of the Polytheists

It is said that when the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) resided in Mecca, he would publicly quote some of the Qur'ān and conceal some of it, having pity on himself out of fear of the Polytheists or the Jews.

What is unfortunate is that some people may adopt unsubstantial views and inappropriate opinions like this one. Is it conceivable to have such an opinion about the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)? His life was full of vitality and liveliness; his way of life was accompanied by firmness, dedication and confrontation to the signs of polytheism. So,

can that be in harmony with such a feeble supposition? Does the life of the Prophet of Allah deserve such words?

The statements and views within the Sunni exegesis books and their ḥadīth collections regarding this verse do not exceed what al-Fakhr al-Rāzī has recorded in this issue; when we look at the rest of the views al-Rāzī has compiled, we can see that they are even weaker than the view we have just mentioned.

As for the last of the views, al-Fakhr al-Rāzī has mentioned it in the following way:

"The verse was revealed in laudation of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; when this verse was revealed, he took his hand and said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is his master. O Allah, befriend whoever befriends him and show enmity towards whoever shows enmity towards him." Then ʿUmar met ʿAlī and said: "Congratulations O son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become my master and the master of every believer, male and female." This opinion was also held by Ibn ʿAbbās, al-Barāʾ ibn ʿAzib and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī [al-Bāqir] (a.s.).[488]

Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī then turned and said: "Know that these traditions, even though they are numerous, it is more befitting to interpret them as follows: He, the Almighty, guarded him against the deceptions of the Jews and the Christians, so He ordered him to convey the Message without worry."[489]

What al-Fakhr al-Rāzī declared when saying that these traditions are numerous is correct. However, what is surprising is the state of those exegetes, traditionists and theologians who do not yield to such a large number of traditions and do not accept them. Rather, they turn to excuses and explanations that are far from historical reality or are not concordant with the personality of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) or not fitting with his radiant history and his firm steps in conveying the Truth.

The Revelation of the Verse in the Event of al-Ghadīr

From what has been explained according to the traditions and

narrations it becomes clear that the verse of communication was revealed at Ghadīr Khumm on the eighteenth of Dhu 'l-Hijjah 10 AH, in connection with what the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had already announced, emphasising more than once what was revealed upon the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) in the Qur'ān.

It is important to assert that His words: "That which has been sent down to you," encompasses all that was revealed upon the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in this regard, throughout the years of the Message, whether it was a Qur'ānic revelation or an explanatory revelation.

Now, the Prophet is in front of lines crowded amouting to tens of thousands Muslims from all over the Islamic world after they had completed their pilgrimage to Mecca. The sound of revelation immediately came down to him, ordering him, in his last year of his holy life, to declare the succession of Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) and his leadership in a way that would not allow any doubt for interpretation or justification, whatever it may be.

The Prophet is worried about the issue, but his fear is not for himself, after he held his soul on his palm and dedicated it for the sake of the Truth from the early days of the Message. He would overcome hardships and subdue the impossible.

He is not afraid of the Polytheists, because he had broken their force.

He is not afraid of the Jews or the Christians, since they maintained silence towards the greatness of the Muslims and the loftiness of their rank.

What made the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) worried and concerned was within the ummah, and it was the hypocrisy concealed in Muslims. He was worried about the misconceptions spread by people who pretended to be Muslims about the Message itself. He was worried about accusations of tribal fanaticism and favouritism towards his close kin.

The language of the verse and traditions already mentioned also show that the guardian of revelation Gabriel (a.s.) had brought from

Allah in the last days to the guardian of the Message (ṣ.a.w.) the importance of this communication and emphasised its significance on numerous occasions. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had also spoken about his concern and fear; now the final communication is knocking at him, saying: "O Messenger! Communicate."[490]

- His words: "*O Messenger! Communicate.*"

Addressing the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) by the Message is the most befitting address for communicating.

O Prophet of Allah, are you hesitant? Are you overcome by apprehension and fear? You are only to convey and invite? Do you have any other responsibility other than the declaration of the words of Allah? Therefore, invite, announce and convey with absolute precision and in an effective and firm way. "The Messenger's duty is only to convey [the Message]."[491]

- His words:"*That which has been sent down to you from your Lord.*"

What is it that "has been sent down to you"? Why was it not clearly stated? This shows the importance this issue has. It came down in this form out of glorification and reverence, even though his duty is only to convey [the Message].

From another angle, the wording in this verse refers to the depth of the Prophet's insight and his expectation of reactions, which made Allah render this issue in a veil of ambiguity and vagueness, and it will not manifest itself until the time arrives for the Prophet to proclaim words of the Heaven.

- His words: "*and if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message.*"

One is bewildered by those who try to interpret the verse to mean something else, when they covered the 'truth' and adopted a baseless path that will not lead to deliverance.

How do they interpret this part of the verse? And what is the true meaning thereof if we put into consideration what has been clearly stated about the consequence of concealing Divine teachings?

What is it that if concealed or not proclaimed, it would be equal to the Prophet failing to perform his duty in its essentials?

This surprising statement refers from one perspective to the great status this Message has, and from another aspect, it points to a reality that says that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) has no other choice but to convey this Message, as his Lord has warned him that if he fails to convey it, all his efforts will be a failure, all the pains and hardships the twenty three years of the Message carried will be lost, and all the attempts and struggle will go to waste.

- His words: "*and Allah shall protect you from the people.*"

The eyes of Allah are protecting you, and you are under His guard and protection. O Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), you are hesitant about this issue, and you are worried about the reactions of the dark souls. However, know that Allah is powerful over everything.

He will remove all their plots, and they will be like chaff which the wind scatters,[492] so the deceiving plots of 'people' will come to nothing.

Allah, the Almighty, emphasises here the magnificence of communication, as same as He refers to the people of doubt and dark souls. But who are they?

The text does not clarify anything, but it asserts the eradication of all kinds of plots and the disappearance of all deceptions.

Indeed, every word in the verse indicates the greatness and loftiness of this communication, as same as it points to fears and hesitations, and to the souls of people who carry rancour and are full of hatred and anger!

So, if those exegetes and researchers of the Qur'ān who incline to baseless opinions look with contemplation at His words: "That which has been sent down" and the meanings of fear and hesitation? Why did they excite insolence and hatred?

Moreover, they must contemplate on the reality of the history of Islam and its true events in order for them to see what has provoked this hatred and dissension and created all that tension.

B) The Completion of Religion

"*Today the faithless have despaired of your religion. So do not fear them, but fear Me. Today I have perfected your religion for you and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion.*"[493]

116. **Tārīkh Dimashq, narrating from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī:** "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) appointed ʿAlī at Ghadīr Khumm and announced his guardiandship (wilāyah), Gabriel (a.s.) revealed to him this verse: "Today I have perfected your religion for you and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion."[494] [495]

117. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "It is said that the last verse revealed upon him [the Prophet] (ṣ.a.w.) was: "*Today I have perfected your religion for you and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion.*"[496] This is the correct, authentic and explicit narration. The time for its revelation was the day of the explicit designation of the Commander of the faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib at Ghadīr Khumm."[497]

ب ـ إكمالُ الدّينِ

﴿الْيَوْمَ يَـئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ مِن دِينِكُمْ فَلاَ تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِى وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلَـمَ دِينًا﴾.

116. **تاريخ دمشق عن أبي سعيد الخدري:** لَمّا نَصَبَ رَسولُ اللّهﷺ عَلِيّاً بِغَديرِ خُمٍّ فَنادى لَهُ بِالوِلايَةِ، هَبَطَ جِبريلُ عليه السلام عَلَيهِ بِهذِهِ الآيَةِ: ﴿الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِى وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلَـمَ دِينًا﴾.

117. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** قَد قيلَ إنَّ آخِرَ ما نَزَلَ عَلَيهِ [النَّبِيِّﷺ]: ﴿الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِى وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلَـمَ دِينًا﴾، وهِيَ الرِّوايَةُ الصَّحيحَةُ الثّابِتَةُ الصَّريحَةُ. وكانَ نُزولُها يَومَ النَّصِّ عَلى أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ بِغَديرِ خُمٍّ.

A Study on the Day of the Completion of Religion

"*Today the faithless have despaired of your religion. So do not fear them, but fear Me. Today I have perfected your religion for you and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion.*"[498]

This verse speaks about a day that is characterized by four important features:

1. It is a day in which the disbelievers lost hope of causing any damage to the foundation of Islam or spoiling its pillars.
2. It is a day in which the Islamic religion became perfect.
3. It is a day in which Allah completed His blessings over the Islamic nation.
4. It is a day in which Allah approved this religion as the last religion for all mankind.

When these notable features come together on that day, it shows that it is the greatest day that plays a role in the destiny and the history of the Prophetic Message or the history of Islam. Here lies meaning of the statement made by a Jewish person to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb referring to the exaltedness of this day if celebrated by the Jews.

It is narrated by Ṭāriq ibn Shahāb from ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb that he said that a man came to him and said: "O Commander of the

Faithful, there is a verse in your Book that you recite; if it was revealed to us Jews, we would take that day as a day of celebration!" 'Umar asked: "Which verse is it?" He said: "*Today I have perfected your religion for you.....*"[499]

It is necessary for us to have a look at the history of Islam to see which day has all these four features which Muslim society should take as a day of celebration!

There are many probabilities regarding the definition of this day, but most of them are not based on historical or traditional documents, so we will desist from referring to them in this discussion.[500]

Two theories are left, each of which is based on a group of historical texts and traditions recorded by Shī'a and Sunni sources. We will study these two groups of texts to see if there is a conflict between them or there is an aspect of reconciliation between them.

These two theories are:

(b) The Day of Ghadīr Khumm

There are many narrations in the Shī'a hadith colleltions that assert the subject of the verse is related to the Prophet's designation of Imām 'Alī (a.s.) as the leader of the ummah after him, without referring to any mention of the day of Ghadīr or any other day. However, there are more than twenty traditions that state firmly the revelation of the verse on the day of Ghadīr.[501]

There are also traditions recorded in Sunni books that trace back to Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, referring to its revelation on the day of Ghadīr, on the eighteenth of Dhu 'l-Hijjah, 10 AH. These traditions are in concordance with the holy Qur'ān, and we have to accept them, otherwise there is no day in the life of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) that has these features mentioned by the holy Qur'ān other than the day of Ghadīr.

By appointing the future leader of the Islamic ummah on this day, the disbelievers were defeated. They were exterminated, their hope turned into grief; they had thought that this religion rested upon the

Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) himself and his holy presence; if he was to leave, Islam would fall apart and disappear.

On this day the system of Islam became perfect, and its plan to manage the future of mankind became complete.

By undertaking this role by such a great personality as the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) who is the equal of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to the exclusion of prophethood, the blessing, of Allah on the Islamic ummah became perfect.

By perfecting the system of Islam and its program with respect to its material and spiritual sides, Allah Almighty approved Islam as a religion for the perfection of the human being.

There are many evidential examples that indicate that the day of perfection of religion was the day of Ghadīr. On the day of Ghadīr 10 AH, the hands of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) put the turban on ʿAlī's head during a majestic ceremony. It was the Prophet himself that held a special ceremony to congratulate the Imām and Leader on that day. So, the honourable companions rushed towards the Imām with acknowledgment and congratulation. Ḥassān ibn Thābit stood up from among the ranks and recited a poem that documents the event; after that the day of Ghadīr became a feast day, one of the greatest Islamic festivals.

Is there any doubt therefore, that the day of the perfecting of religion was the day of Ghadīr, especially when many more such historical and traditional evidential examples are added to this?

(c) The Day of ʿArafa

Opposite to the texts already mentioned, there are texts that state that the verse of 'The Perfection of Religion' was revealed on the day of ʿArafa in ʿArafāt.

This view is the most common among the Sunnis, and it is what they depend on. This has been narrated by some companions, but it is mainly attributed to ʿUmar and his previously mentioned conversation with the Jew, as recorded by Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī .

This statement has also been mentioned in some Shī'ah books and traditions. The following are two traditions narrated from Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (a.s.) and Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (a.s.).

The first tradition has been cited by al-Kulaynī[502] as:

"Abū al-Jārūd said: "I heard Abū Ja'far (a.s.) say: "Allah has made five things obligatory for His servants. They took four and left one." I asked: "May I be sacrificed for you, can you name them for me?" He (a.s.) said: "Prayer. People did not know how to pray, so Gabriel (a.s.) descended and said: "O Muḥammad, inform them of the times of prayer." Then Zakāt was legislated, so he said: "O Muḥammad, inform them of their Zakāt as you informed them of their prayer." Then fasting was revealed; on the day of 'Āshūrā', the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) would send for those living in the villages, and they would fast that day, then the fast of the month of Ramaḍān was revealed between Sha'bān and Shawwāl. Then Ḥajj was revealed, and Gabriel (a.s.) descended and said: "Inform them of their Ḥajj pilgrimage as you informed them of their prayer, their Zakāt and their fasting."

Then guardianship (wilāyah) was revealed to him on Friday in 'Arafa, where Allah sent down: "*Today I have perfected your religion for you and I have completed My blessing upon you.*" The perfection of religion was through the guardianship of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). At that time the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "My ummah have already abandoned the teachings of the Age of Ignorance, so when I inform them of this judgement regarding my cousin, someone will say such and such and another will say such and such. Then a determination came to me from Allah the Almighty with devotion and promised me that if I do not convey the message, He will punish me. Then the following verse was revealed: "*O Messenger! communicate which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message, and Allah shall protect you from the people. Indeed Allah does not guide the disbelieving.*"[503]

Then the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) took 'Alī's hand and said: "O

people! There was no prophet among the prophets before me without Allah giving him a long lifespan, and He would then invite him and he would respond. I am about to be invited and I will respond. I am responsible and you are responsible, so what do you have to say?" They said: "You have indeed conveyed the message and fulfilled your duty, so may Allah reward you with the best reward of the messengers."

He (ṣ.a.w.) then said: "O Allah, bear witness." He repeated this three times, and then said: "O groups of Muslims, this is your guardian after me, so let those present among you inform those absent."[504]

- The second tradition has been recorded by al-ʿAyyāshī, from Muḥammad al-Khuzāʿī, from Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.), who said: "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) arrived at ʿArafāt on Friday, Gabriel (a.s.) came to him and said: O Muḥammad, Allah sends His greetings to you and says to you: "Say to your ummah: "Today I have perfected your religion for you", through the guardianship of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), "and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion.", and I will not reveal anything unto you after this. I have revealed to you prayer, Zakāt, Fasting and Ḥajj, and this is the fifth, and I will not accept these four without it (wilāyah)."[505]

Question: Do these two groups of narrations contradict each other, so much that it is not possible to reconcile them, or is it possible to reconcile them?

When we ponder on these two groups of narrations and study them with accuracy, we conclude that there is no substantial contradiction between them, or rather, each one confirms the other in principle.

In explaining this, ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī says: "When we reflect on the two holy verses: *"O Messenger! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have conveyed His message....."* and: *"Today I have perfected your religion for you...."* as well as the traditions recorded by both Schools of thoughts, the widely transmitted traditions of al-Ghadīr, and study the internal conditions of the Islamic society at the final years the end of the era of

Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), we come to the conclusion that the affair of guardianship (*wilāyah*) was revaled a few days before al-Ghadīr.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) would be wary of people and fear that they would not receive it with acceptance or would disrespect him, so the affair of the invitation would be violated. So, he continued to delay conveying it to the people day after day until His words were revealed: "*O Messenger! Communicate.....*""[506]

In reality, there was a nine-day interval between the issuance of the Divine command of Imām ʿAlī's appointment as the leader of the ummah after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and the day of the communication of this command. Therefore, the command of the guardianship of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) was issued on the day of ʿArafa in ʿArafāt, but the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) delayed its communication to the people until the day of Ghadīr for the reasons previously mentioned.

It becomes clear that the narrations speaking about the revelation of the Verse of Perfection on the day of ʿArafa refer to the history of the issuance of guardianship. As for the narrations speaking about its revelation on the day of Ghadīr Khumm, they are referring to the history of the communication of the command of guardianship.

D) Coronation on the Day of Ghadīr

118. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) put a turban on my head on the day of Ghadīr Khumm, and it was a black turban whose end fell onto my shoulder."[507]

119. **Imām al-Sajjād (a.s.) said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) put his turban ʿal-Saḥābah'[508] on the head of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) and hung the end of it in front of him and over his back. He then said: "Come forward", and ʿAlī came forward. The Prophet then said: "Go back", and ʿAlī stepped back. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Thus came to me the angels." He continued to say: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is his master. O Allah, befriend whomever befriends him and show enmity towards whomever shows enmity towards him. Help whoever helps him and abandon whomever abandons him."[509]

E) Congratulation for the Leadership

120. **Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal, narrating from al-Barā' ibn ʿĀzib, who said:** "We were with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) on a trip when we stopped at Ghadīr Khumm. It was called out to us: "The congregation prayer will be conducted." They swept the area for the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), so he performed the noon prayer, and then took the hand of ʿAlī (a.s.) and said: "Do you not know that I have better right to the believers than their own selves?" They said: "Yes." He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Do you not know that I have better right to every believer than his own self?" They said: "Yes." He then took the hand of ʿAld said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is his master. O Allah, befriend whomever befriends him and show enmity to whomever shows enmity towards him." ʿUmar then met him and said to him: "Congratulations, O son of Abū Ṭālib, you have become the master of every believer, male and female."[510]

F) The Recollections of the Companions of the Prophet

1. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī

121. **Tārīkh Dimashq,** narrating from ʿAbdullah ibn Sharīk, from

ج ـ التَّتويجُ يَومَ الغَديرِ

118. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: عَمَّمَني رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله يَومَ غَديرِ خُمٍّ بِعِمامَة سَوداءَ، طَرَفُها عَلى مَنكِبي.

119. **الإمام زين العابدين**عليه السلام: إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ عَمَّمَ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ عِمامَتَهُ السَّحابَةَوأرخاها مِن بَينِ يَدَيهِ ومِن خَلفِهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: أقبِل فَأقبَلَ، ثُمَّ قالَ: أدبِر فَأدبَرَ. فَقالَ: هكَذا جائَتني المَلائِكَةُ، ثُمَّ قالَ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَليٌّ مَولاهُ، اللّهمَّ والِ مَن والاهُ، وعادِ مَن عاداهُ، وَانصُر مَن نَصَرَهُ، وَاخذُل مَن خَذَلَهُ.

د ـ التَّهنِئَةُ القِيادِيَّةُ

120. **مسند ابن حنبل عن البراء بن عازب:** كُنّا مَعَ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله في سَفَرٍ، فَنَزَلنا بِغَديرِ خُمٍّ، فَنودِيَ فينا: الصَّلاةَ جامِعَةً، وكُسِحَ لِرَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله تَحتَ شَجَرَتَينِ، فَصَلَّى الظُّهرَ، وأخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّعليه السلام فَقالَ: أ لَستُم تَعلَمونَ أنّي أولىٰ بِالمُؤمِنينَ مِن أنفُسِهِم؟ قالوا: بَلى. قالَ: أ لَستُم تَعلَمونَ أنّي أولى بِكُلِّ مُؤمِنٍ مِن نَفسِهِ؟ قالوا: بَلى.

قالَ: فَأخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ فَقالَ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ، اللّهُمَّ والِ مَن والاهُ وعادِ مَن عاداهُ.

قالَ: فَلَقِيَهُ عُمَرُ بَعدَ ذلِكَ، فَقالَ لَهُ: هَنيئاً يَا بنَ أبي طالِبٍ! أصبَحتَ وأمسَيتَ مَولىٰ كُلِّ مُؤمِنٍ ومُؤمِنَةٍ.

هـ ـ ذِكرَياتُ أصحابِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله مِن واقِعَةِ الغَديرِ

1. أبو سَعيد الخُدرِيُّ

121. **تاريخ دمشق عن عبد الله بن شريك عن سهم بن حصين الأسدي:** قَدِمتُ إلىٰ مَكَّةَ

Sahm ibn Ḥuṣain al-Asadī, who said: "I and ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAlqama entered Mecca. ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAlqamah used to swear at ʿAlī for a decade. I said to him: "Would you like to visit Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī?" He said: "Yes." So, we went to visit him, and ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAlqama said: "Have you heard any excellence regarding ʿAlī – may Allah be pleased with him–?" He said: "Yes. When I narrate it to you, ask the Muhājirīn, the Anṣār and Quraish about it:

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) stood up on the day of Ghadīr Khumm and conveyed the message. He then said: "O people! Do I not have better right to the believers than their own souls?" They said: "Yes." He repeated this three times, and then said: "O ʿAlī, come here." The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) raised his hands until I was able to see the whiteness of his armpits, and he (ṣ.a.w.) then said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī now is his master", repeating it three times."

ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAlqama then said: "Did you hear this from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) yourself?" Abū Saʿīd said: "Yes", pointing to his ears and his chest, saying: "My ears heard it and my heart memorised it."

ʿAbdullah ibn Sharīk then said: "So ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAlqama and Sahm ibn Ḥuṣain came to us. We performed the noon prayer and then ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAlqamah stood up and said: "I repent to Allah and seek His forgiveness for my cursing ʿAlī", repeating this three times."[511]

2. Jābir ibn ʿAbdullah

122. **Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalā'**, narrating from ʿAbdullah ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAqīl who said: "I was with Jābir in his house accompanied by ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusain, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah and Abū Jaʿfar. A man from Iraq came in and said: "I implore you by Allah to tell me what you had heard and seen from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)." Jābir said: "We were at al-Juḥfa at Ghadīr Khumm when there were many people from the Juhayna, Muzayna and Ghifār tribes. Then the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) came out from a tent

أنَا وعَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عَلقَمَةَ وكانَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عَلقَمَةَ سَبّابَةً لِعَلِيٍّ دَهراً قالَ: فَقُلتُ لَهُ: هَل لَكَ في هٰذا ـ يَعني أبا سَعيدٍ الخُدرِيَّ ـ نُحدِثُ بِهِ عَهداً؟ قالَ: نَعَم، قالَ: فَأَتَيناهُ، فَقالَ: هَل سَمِعتَ لِعَلِيٍّ رِضوانُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ مَنقَبَةً؟ قالَ: نَعَم، إذا حَدَّثتُكَ فَسَل عَنهَا المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارَ وقُرَيشاً:

إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ ﷺ قامَ يَومَ غَديرِ خُمٍّ فَأَبلَغَ، ثُمَّ قالَ: يا أيُّهَا النّاسُ! أ لَستُ أولىٰ بِالمُؤمِنينَ مِن أنفُسِهِم؟ قالوا: بَلىٰ قالَها ثَلاثَ مَرّات ـ ثُمَّ قالَ: اُدنُ يا عَلِيُّ. فَرَفَعَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ يَدَيهِ حَتّى نَظَرتُ إلىٰ بَياضِ آباطِهِما؛ قالَ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ ـ ثَلاثَ مَرّاتٍ ـ.

قالَ: فَقالَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عَلقَمَةَ: أنتَ سَمِعتَ هذا مِن رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ؟ قالَ أبو سَعيدٍ: نَعَم، وأشارَ إلىٰ أُذُنَيهِ وصَدرِهِ؛ قالَ: سَمِعتهُ أُذُنايَ ووَعاهُ قَلبي.

قالَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ شَريكٍ: فَقَدِمَ عَلَينا عَبدُ اللّه بنُ عَلقَمَةَ وسَهمُ بنُ حُصَينٍ، فَلَمّا صَلَّينَا الهَجيرَ، قامَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عَلقَمَةَ فَقالَ: إنّي أتوبُ إلَى اللّه وأستَغفِرُهُ مِن سَبِّ عَلِيٍّ ـ ثَلاثَ مَرّات ـ.

2. جابِرُ بنُ عَبدِ اللّهِ

122. **سير أعلام النبلاء عن عبد اللّه بن محمّد بن عقيل:** كُنتُ عِندَ جابِرٍ في بَيتِهِ، وعَلِيُّ بنُ الحُسَينِ، ومُحَمَّدُ ابنُ الحَنَفِيَّةِ، وأبو جَعفَرٍ، فَدَخَلَ رَجُلٌ مِن أهلِ العِراقِ، فَقالَ: أنشُدُكَ بِاللّهِ إلّا حَدَّثتَني ما رَأَيتَ وما سَمِعتَ مِن رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ! فَقالَ: كُنّا بِالجُحفَةِ بِغَديرِ خُمٍّ، وثَمَّ ناسٌ كَثيرٌ مِن جُهَينَةَ ومُزَينَةَ وغِفارٍ، فَخَرَجَ عَلَينا رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ مِن خِباءٍ أو فُسطاطٍ،

or from behind a canopy and pointed three times, and then took ʿAlī's hand and said: "Whoever has me as his protecting friend, ʿAlī is his master."[512]

3. Zaid Ibn Arqam

123. **Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥiḥain,** narrating from Zaid ibn Arqam, who said: "We went out with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) until we got to Ghadīr Khumm where he ordered us to sweep under a large tree; it was an extremely hot day. He (ṣ.a.w.) praised Allah and lauded Him, and then said: "O People! No prophet has been sent without living half the lifetime of the prophet before him; I am about to be invited and I will answer. I have left among you that after which you will never go astray: the Book of Almighty Allah."

He (ṣ.a.w.) then stood up and took ʿAlī's hand and said: "O people! Who is more worthy of you than yourselves?" They said: "Allah and His Messenger know more."

He said: "Whoever has adopted me as his mater, ʿAlī now is his master."[513]

G) The Recollections of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

124. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) left for the Farewell Pilgrimage; on his way back he reached Ghadīr Khumm. something like a pulpit was made at his request, and then he ascended it, pulling my arm up until the whiteness of his underarm was seen. He raised his voice saying: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is his master. O Allah, befriend whomever befriends him and show enmity towards whomever has enmity to him." Therefore, my friendship is friendship to Allah and enmity towards me is enmity towards Allah. Allah revealed the following verse on that day: "*Today I have perfected your religion for you and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion.*"[514]

So, my guardianship has constituted the perfection of religion and the approval of the Lord."[515]

فَأَشارَ بِيَدِهِ ثَلاثاً، فَأَخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ(رضي اللّه عنه) فَقالَ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ.

3. زَيدُ بنُ أرقَمَ

123. **المستدرك على الصحيحين عن زيد بن أرقم:** خَرَجنا مَعَ رَسولِ اللّهِﷺ حَتّى انتَهَينا إلى غَديرِ خُمٍّ، فَأَمَرَ بِدَوحٍ فَكُسِحَ، في يَومٍ ما أتى عَلَينا يَومٌ كانَ أشَدَّ حَرّاً مِنهُ! فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنى عَلَيهِ، وقالَ: يا أيُّهَا النّاسُ! إنَّهُ لَم يُبعَث نَبِيٌّ قَطُّ إلّا ما عاشَ نِصفَ ما عاشَ الَّذي كانَ قَبلَهُ، وإنّي أُوشِكُ أن أُدعى فَأُجيبَ، وإنّي تارِكٌ فيكُم ما لَن تَضِلّوا بَعدَهُ؛ كِتابَ اللّهِ عَزَّوَجَلَّ.

ثُمَّ قامَ فَأَخَذَ بِيَدِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام فَقالَ: يا أيُّهَا النّاسُ! مَن أولى بِكُم مِن أنفُسِكُم؟ قالوا: اللّهُ ورَسولُهُ أعلَمُ!

قالَ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ.

و ـ ذِكرَياتُ الإمامِ عليه السلام

124. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام:** خَرَجَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ إلى حِجَّةِ الوَداعِ، ثُمَّ صارَ إلىٰ غَديرِ خُمٍّ، فَأَمَرَ فَأُصلِحَ لَهُ شِبهُ المِنبَرِ، ثُمَّ عَلاهُ وأخَذَ بِعَضُدي حَتّى رُئِيَ بَياضُ إبطَيهِ، رافِعاً صَوتَهُ قائِلا في مَحفِلِهِ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ، اللّهمَّ والِ مَن والاهُ وعادِ مَن عاداهُ.

فَكانَت عَلىٰ وِلايَتي وِلايَةُ اللّهِ، وعَلىٰ عَداوَتي عَداوَةُ اللّهِ.

وأنزَلَ اللّه عَزّ وَجَلّ في ذلِكَ اليَومِ: ﴿الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلَـمَ دِينًا﴾.

H) The Argumentation of Imām ʿAlī

125. **Al-Iḥtijāj:** "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) said [after the death of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and the election of Abū Bakr]: "O groups of Muhājirīn and Anṣār, keep Allah in mind and do not forget your Prophet's covenant with you regarding my affair. Do not take the authority of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) out from his residence and out of his house into your residence and your houses. Do not repel his family from their right and their status among people! By Allah, O group of people! Allah has judged and decreed, and His Prophet knows best, as you know, that we the Ahlul Bayt have better right to this affair than you have. Is there not a reader of the Book of Allah among you, or a scholar in the religion of Allah who knows the affairs of the citizens? By Allah, it is with us but not with you! So, do not follow caprice, or you will increase in your distance away from the truth and you will corrupt your past with what is worse than your present."

Bashīr ibn Saʿd al-Anṣārī who prepared the grounds for Abū Bakr said, even as a group of the Anṣār said: "O Abū al-Ḥasan, if the Anṣār had heard this affair from you before their pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr, even two people would not have disputed about you."

ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "O people! Should I have left the Messenger of Allah lying down without a shroud and come out and fight over his ruling [caliphate]? By Allah, I never thought that someone would appoint himself and fight with us the Ahlul Bayt over it. I would not see the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) leave any excuse for anyone on the day of Ghadīr Khumm or for a speaker to make a statement."[516]

I) The Argumentation of Fāṭimah

126. **Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'(a.s.) said** - after Fadak was usurped from her and she spoke to the Anṣār, who said: "O daughter of Muḥammad, if we had heard these words from you before our pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr, we would not have replaced ʿAlī with anyone" -: "Did my father leave an excuse for anyone on the day of Ghadīr Khumm?"[517]

فَكانَت وِلايَتي كَمالَ الدّينِ، ورِضَى الرَّبِّ جَلَّ ذِكرُهُ.

ز ـ إحتِجاجُ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام

125. **الاحتجاج:** قالَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام [بَعدَ وَفاةِ الرَّسولِ صلى الله عليه وآله وَانتِخابِ أبي بَكر]: يا مَعاشِرَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ، اللّهَ اللّهَ لاتَنسَوا عَهدَ نَبِيِّكُم إلَيكُم في أمري، ولا تُخرِجوا سَلطانَ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه وآله مِن دارِهِ وقَعرِ بَيتِهِ إلىٰ دورِكُم وقَعرِ بُيوتِكُم، ولاتَدفَعوا أهلَهُ عَن حَقِّهِ ومَقامِهِ في النّاسِ! فَوَاللّهِ يا مَعاشِرَ الجَمعِ! إنَّ اللّهَ قَضىٰ وحَكَمَ ونَبِيُّهُ أعلَمُ وأنتُم تَعلَمونَ أنّا أهلَ البَيتِ أحَقُّ بِهذَا الأَمرِ مِنكُم، أ ما كانَ القارِئُ مِنكُم لِكِتابِ اللّهِ، الفَقيهُ في دينِ اللّهِ، المُضطَلِعُ بِأمرِ الرَّعِيَّةِ؟ وَاللّهِ إنَّهُ لفينا لا فيكُم! فَلا تَتَّبِعُوا الهَوى فَتَزدادوا مِنَ الحَقِّ بُعداً، وتُفسِدوا قَديمَكُم بِشَرٍّ مِن حَديثِكُم.

فَقالَ بَشيرُ بنُ سَعد الأَنصارِيُّ الَّذي وَطَّأَ الأَرضَ لِأَبي بَكر، وقالَت جَماعَةٌ مِنَ الأَنصارِ: يا أبَا الحَسَنِ، لَو كانَ هذَا الأَمرُ سَمِعَتهُ مِنكَ الأَنصارُ قَبلَ بَيعَتِها لِأَبي بَكر مَا اختَلَفَ فيكَ اثنانِ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام: ياهؤُلاءِ! أكُنتُ أدَعُ رَسولَ اللّه مُسَجّىً لا أُواريهِ وأخرُجُ أُنازِعُ في سُلطانِهِ؟ وَاللّهِ ماخِفتُ أحَداً يَسمو لَهُ ويُنازِعُنا أهلَ البَيتِ فيهِ، ويَستَحِلُّ مَا استَحلَلتُموهُ، ولا عَلِمتُ أنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله تَرَكَ يَومَ غَديرِ خُمٍّ لِأَحَدٍ حُجَّةً، ولا لِقائِلٍ مَقالاً.

ح ـ احتجاج فاطمة عليها السلام بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله

126. **فاطمة عليها السلام بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله** ـ لَمّا مُنِعَت فَدَكَ وخاطَبَتِ الأَنصارَ، فَقالوا: يا بِنتَ مُحَمَّدٍ، لَو سَمِعنا هذَا الكَلامَ مِنكَ قَبلَ بَيعَتِنا لِأَبي بَكرٍ ما عَدَلنا بِعَلِيٍّ أحَداً، فَقالَت ـ : وهَل تَرَكَ أبي يَومَ غَديرِ خُمٍّ لِأَحَدٍ عُذراً ؟

127. **Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'(a.s.) said:** "Have you forgotten the statement of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) on the day of Ghadīr Khumm: "Whoever has has me as his master, ʿAlī is his master?"[518]

J) The Imploration of Imām ʿAlī

128. **Masnad Ibn Ḥanbal, narrating from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said:** "'Alī (a.s.) gathered the people in al-Raḥbah and then said to them: "I implore by Allah every Muslim who heard from the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) his words on the day of Ghadīr Khumm to stand forth. Then thirty people from among them stood up, and Abū al-Naʿīm said: "Many people stood up and bore witness that when he (ṣ.a.w.) took ʿAlī's hand he said to the people: "Do you know that I have better right to people than their own souls?" They all said: "Yes, O Messenger of Allah." He said: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is his master. O Allah, befriend whoever befriends him and show enmity towards whoever has enmity to him."

I then left having a feeling of hesitation. I met Zaid ibn Arqam, so I said to him: "I heard ʿAlī (a.s.) say such and such." Zaid said: "Then what do you deny? I myself heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say that in favour of him."[519]

129. **Al-Sunnah,** narrating from al-Muhājir ibn ʿUmayra, or ʿUmayra ibn al-Muhājir who said: "I heard ʿAlī (a.s.) implore people on the pulpit, saying: "Who heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say: "Whoever has adopted me as his master, ʿAlī is his master?" Twelve men stood up and said: "We heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say that."[520]

K) The Festival of Ghadīr in Islam

130. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "The day of Ghadīr Khumm is the best of the festivals of my ummah. It is the day in which Allah commanded me to appoint my brother ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib as a sign for my ummah by whom they will be guided after me. It is the day in which Allah perfected His religion, completed the blessings over my ummah, and He approved for them Islam as their religion."[521]

127. **عنها**ﷺ: أنَسيتُم قَولَ رَسولِ اللّهﷺ يَومَ غَديرِ خُمٍّ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ ؟

ط ـ مُناشَداتُ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام

128. **مسند ابن حنبل عن أبي الطفيل**: جَمَعَ عَلِيٌّ(رضي اللّه عنه) النّاسَ فِي الرَّحبَةِ، ثُمَّ قالَ لَهُم: أنشُدُ اللّهَ كُلَّ امرِئٍ مُسلِمٍ سَمِعَ رَسولَ اللّهﷺ يَقولُ يَومَ غَديرِ خُمٍّ ما سَمِعَ لَمّا قامَ. فَقامَ ثَلاثونَ مِنَ النّاسِ وقالَ أبو نَعيمٍ: فَقامَ ناسٌ كَثيرٌ فَشَهِدوا حينَ أخَذَهُ بِيَدِهِ فَقالَ لِلنّاسِ: أ تَعلَمونَ أنّي أولى بِالمُؤمِنينَ مِن أنفُسِهِم؟ قالوا: نَعَم يا رَسولَ اللّهِ. قالَ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَهذا مَولاهُ، اللّهمَّ والِ مَن والاهُ وعادِ مَن عاداهُ.

قالَ: فَخَرَجتُ وكَأنَّ في نَفسي شَيئاً، فَلَقيتُ زَيدَ بنَ أرقَمَ، فَقُلتُ لَهُ: إنّي سَمِعتُ عَلِيّاً(رضي اللّه عنه) يَقولُ كَذا وكَذا. قالَ: فَما تُنكِرُ؟ قَد سَمِعتُ رَسولَ اللّهﷺ يَقولُ ذلِكَ لَهُ.

129. **السنّة عن المهاجر بن عميرة أو عميرة بن المهاجر**: سَمِعتُ عَلِيّاً(رضي اللّه عنه) ناشَدَ النّاسَ عَلَى المِنبَرِ: مَن سَمِعَ رَسولَ اللّهﷺ يَقولُ: مَن كُنتُ مَولاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَولاهُ؟ فَقامَ اثنا عَشَرَ رَجُلاً، فَقالوا: سَمِعنا رَسولَ اللّهﷺ يَقولُهُ.

ي ـ عيدُ الغَديرِ فِي الإسلامِ

130. **رسول الله**ﷺ: يَومُ غَديرِ خُمٍّ أفضَلُ أعيادِ أُمَّتي وهُوَ اليَومُ الَّذي أمَرَنِي اللّهُ تَعالى ذِكرُهُ فيهِ بِنَصبِ أخي عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ عَلَماً لِأُمَّتي، يَهتَدونَ بِهِ مِن بَعدي، وهُوَ اليَومُ الَّذي أكمَلَ اللّهُ فيهِ الدّينَ، وأتَمَّ عَلى أُمَّتي فيهِ النِّعمَةَ، ورَضِيَ لَهُمُ الإسلامَ ديناً.

131. **Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid,** narrating from al-Fayyāḍ ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭarsūsī, who saw Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā (a.s.) on the day of Ghadīr, accompanied by a group of his companions of distinction whom he had invited for fast-breaking. He distributed food, wheat, gifts and clothes to their houses, and he even gave them rings and sandals. He changed their state and the state of those around him. His old belongings were replaced with new ones, when he kept on commending the virtue of the day and its history."[522]

131. **مصباح المتهجّد عن الفيّاض بن محمّد الطرسوسي:** أَنّهُ شَهِدَ اَبا الحَسَنِ عَلِيَّ بنَ موسى الرِّضاعليه السلام في يَومِ الغَديرِ وبِحَضرَتِهِ جَماعَةٌ مِن خاصَّتِهِ قَدِ احتَبَسَهُم لِلإفطارِ، وقَد قَدَّمَ إلىٰ مَنازِلِهِمُ الطَّعامَ وَالبُرَّ وَالصِّلاتِ وَالكِسوَةَ حَتَّى الخَواتيمَ وَالنِّعالَ، وقَد غَيَّرَ مِن أحوالِهِم وأحوالِ حاشِيَتِهِ، وجُدِّدَت لَهُ آلَةٌ غَيرُ الآلَةِ الَّتي جَرَى الرَّسمُ بِابتِذالِها قَبلَ يَومِهِ، وهُوَ يَذكُرُ فَضلَ اليَومِ وقِدَمَهُ.

Chapter Eleven

The Utmost Limit of the Prophet's Effort to in Appointing a Successor

A) Requesting a Paper and an Inkwell

132. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,** narrating from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbaidullah ibn ʿAbdullah from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was on his deathbed accompanied by a number of men among whom was ʿUmar ibn al-khaṭṭāb, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Come forward, and I write for you a letter after which you will not go astray." ʿUmar said: "The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) has been overcome by his sickness! You have the Qur'ān, and the Book of Allah is sufficient for us." So the people in the house differed and started disputing. Some of them said: "Come close he will write for you a letter after which you will not go astray." Others said what ʿUmar had said. So when their foolish talk and disputes increased in the presence of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Stand forth." ʿUbaidullah said: "Ibn ʿAbbās would say: "The real calamity is preventing the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from writing that letter for them, out of their dispute and their clamour."[523]

133. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,** narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "Thursday! What a Thursday it was!" The illness of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) became intense, so he said: "Bring me, and I will write a

الفصل الحادي عشر

غاية جُهدِ النَّبيِّ ﷺ في تعيينِ الوَلِيِّ

أ ـ طَلَبُ الصَّحيفَةِ وَالدَّواةِ

132. **صحيح البخاري عن الزهري عن عبيد الله بن عبد الله عن ابن عبّاس:** لَمّا حُضِرَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ، وفِي البَيتِ رِجالٌ فيهِم عُمَرُ بنُ الخَطّابِ، قالَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ: هَلُمَّ أكتُب لَكُم كِتاباً لا تَضِلّوا بَعدَهُ. فَقالَ عُمَرُ: إنَّ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ قَد غَلَبَ عَلَيهِ الوَجَعُ! !! وعِندَكُمُ القُرآنُ، حَسبُنا كِتابُ اللّهِ! فَاختَلَفَ أهلُ البَيتِ فَاختَصَموا؛ مِنهُم مَن يَقولُ: قَرِّبوا يَكتُب لَكُمُ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ كِتاباً لَن تَضِلّوا بَعدَهُ، ومِنهُم مَن يَقولُ ما قالَ عُمَرُ. فَلَمّا أكثَرُوا اللَّغوَ وَالاِختِلافَ عِندَ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ، قالَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ: قوموا.

قالَ عُبَيدُ اللّه: فَكانَ ابنُ عَبّاسٍ يَقولُ: إنَّ الرَّزِيَّةَ كُلَّ الرَّزِيَّةِ ما حالَ بَينَ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ وبَينَ أن يَكتُبَ لَهُم ذلِكَ الكِتابَ؛ مِن اختِلافِهِم ولَغَطِهِم.

133. **صحيح البخاري عن ابن عبّاس:** يَومُ الخَميسِ، وما يَومُ الخَميسِ! ! اِشتَدَّ بِرَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ وَجَعُهُ، فَقالَ: اِيتوني أكتُب لَكُم كِتاباً لَن تَضِلّوا بَعدَهُ أبَداً. فَتَنازَعوا ـ ولا يَنبَغي عِندَ نَبِيٍّ

letter for you after which you will never go astray." The people started to dispute about this matter, when people should not dispute in the presence of a Prophet. They said: "What is wrong with him? Did he talk in delirium?[524] Ask him!" They started to answer him back, he (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Leave me, for the state in which I am now is better than what you are calling me to."[525]

134. **Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim,** narrating from Saʿīd ibn Jubair, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "Thursday! What Thursday it was?" [Saʿīd said] He then wept so much that I saw his tears on his cheeks like a chain of pearls. He [Ibn ʿAbbās] then said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Bring me a shoulder bone (katif)[526] and a pen, and I write a letter for you after which you will never go astray." They said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) is talking in delirium!"[527] [528]

B) Dispatching the Army of Usāmah

135. **Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,** narrating from Ibn ʿUmar, who said: "The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) sent a company, among whom were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. He (ṣ.a.w.) appointed Usāmah ibn Zaid over them, so the people started to speak ill of him –because of his young age. When the news reached the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), he stood upon the pulpit, praised Allah and lauded Him, and then said: "The people have spoken ill of the commandership of Usāmah, even as they had spoken ill of the commandership of his father before him. Indeed both of them are befitting for it, and from aspect of family he is one of the dearest men to me, so I urge you to be good to Usāmah."[529]

136. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf:** "Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as well as leaders of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār were in the army of Usāmah."[530]

137. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "Prepare the army of Usāmah. May Allah curse whoever lags behind it."[531]

تَنازُعٌ ـ فَقالوا: ما شَأنُهُ ؟! أهَجَرَ؟! ! اِستَفهِموهُ! !! فَذَهَبوا يَرُدّونَ عَلَيهِ. فَقالَ: دَعوني؛ فَالَّذي أنَا فيهِ خَيرٌ مِمّا تَدعونَني إلَيهِ.

134. **صحيح مسلم عن سعيد بن جبير عن ابن عبّاس:** يَومُ الخَميسِ، وما يَومُ الخَميسِ! !ثُمَّ جَعَلَ تَسيلُ دُموعُهُ، حَتّى رَأَيتُ عَلى خَدَّيهِ كَأنَّها نِظامُ اللُّؤلُؤِ. قالَ: قالَ رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ: !ائتوني بِالكَتِفِ وَالدَّواةِ أكتُب لَكُم كِتاباً لَن تَضِلّوا بَعدَهُ أبَداً. فَقالوا: إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِﷺ يَهجُرُ !!!

ب ـ إنفاذُ جَيشِ اُسامَةَ

135. **الطبقات الكبرى عن ابن عمر:** إنَّ النَّبِيَّﷺ بَعَثَ سَرِيَّةً فيهِم أبو بَكرٍ وعُمَرُ، وَاستَعمَلَ عَلَيهِم اُسامَةُ بنُ زَيدٍ، فَكانَ النّاسُ طَعَنوا فيهِ أي في صِغَرِهِ فَبَلَغَ ذلِكَ رَسولَ اللّهِﷺ، فَصَعِدَ المِنبَرَ، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنىٰ عَلَيهِ، وقالَ: إنَّ النّاسَ قَد طَعَنوا في إمارَةِ اُسامَةَ، وقَد كانوا طَعَنوا في إمارَةِ أبيهِ مِن قَبلِهِ، وإنَّهُما لَخَليقانِ لَها، وإنَّهُ لَمِن أحَبِّ النّاسِ إلَيَّ آلاً، فَأُوصيكُم بِاُسامَةَ خَيراً!

136. **أنساب الأشراف:** كانَ في جَيشِ اُسامَةَ: أبو بَكرٍ، وعُمَرُ، ووُجوهٌ مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ.

137. **رسول اللهﷺ:** جَهِّزوا جَيشَ اُسامَةَ، لَعَنَ اللّهُ مَن تَخَلَّفَ عَنهُ!

A Study on the Last Decisions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

The chapters of this in-depth discussion that comments on the last efforts of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) which were full of hardship and pain have come to an end.

We return here to have another overlook – commenting on what has previously been mentioned – to briefly clarify the reason behind the miscarriage of his last efforts.

These chapters have explained with all clarity that the guardianship (*wilāyah*) of ʿAlī had accompanied the Muḥammadan Message in conveying. When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) declared the Message, he would also insist on the continuation of the Message in the mould of guardianship, and he named ʿAlī executor, vicegerent, agent, companion and friend. Furthermore, he (ṣ.a.w.) would speak about the future leadership on different occasions according to the appropriate political and social circumstances dominant at that time.

He would constantly describe the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) as being the most qualified person to lead the ummah and to save it from the clashing waves of dissension and deviation. We have quoted these texts in the original encyclopaedia Mawsūʿt al-Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.),[532] based on the vast amount of traditions narrated from both Sunni and Shiʿa sources. We have emphasised that the peak of this Communication (*iblāgh*) took place at the Farewell Pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wadāʿ*), or the Communication Pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-balāgh*) at Ghadīr Khumm.

Therefore, the Messenger of Allah's assertion of the writing of the will after him in the last hours of his holy life, without doubt, represented the last of his efforts and attempts to put a solution to safeguard the society and protect the ummah from any deviation after him. In view of this, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) – while being ill in bed suffering from high fever – ordered to prepare the army commanded by the young Usāmah ibn Zaid and insisted on joining the army, cursing those who would stay behind it. Whenever he opened his eyes he would ask about the movement of the army.

However, it is very surprising that some had refrained from joining the army, following their own coprice against the direct command by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). Above all, they accused the Prophet who does not speak out of his caprice or desire[533], that he is talking nonsense!! Thus did the writing of the will remain unaccomplished, and the last efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to prepare the grounds for the 'ruling of the truth' was to no avail.

There is no doubt that the reason for the writing of the will was to assert the issue of leadership and succession, and to bring attention to his efforts to convey the truth throughout the twenty three years.[534]

However, the following question arises: Why did the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) not insist on writing the will, regardless of the clamour they incited at the time? Why did he not set out to do so when he was healthy? Why did he not initiate to write the will, despite the suggestion by some to bring to him the materials of writing, considering that he stayed alive for four days after this event? And why did he not initiate to fulfil this task in order to prevent the ummah from falling astray, even though the Qur'ān described him as having the greatest concern for guiding the ummah?![535]

When we contemplate on the Islamic society at that time, and the nature of the social structure of Medina and the status of Imām 'Alī (a.s.), we will find an answer to this question. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) went through many wars and battles to eradicate polytheism and remove any obstructions that hinder the communication of the Message. Many of

the leaders of polytheism and arrogance were killed in those battles, and the sword of ʿAlī (a.s.) had the greatest role in this. From one side, in the last years of the Prophet's life, many relatives of those leaders entered the Islamic army, but Islam had not entered their hearts yet and they were not ready to accept the leadership of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).

From another side, many of the prominent companions thought – for one reason or another – there was no advantage and benefit in having Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) as the leader the ummah, so the writing of the will did not appeal to them. The reason is that the writing of the will would close the door of all excuses and justifications for them. However, in normal circumstances such undertaking by the Prophet would create disunity and tension within the Muslim society.

However, during the last moments of the Prophet's life, the will would have received a better environment to be accepted. It is natural that the leader who was about to depart this world after years of effort for the sake of establishing the foundations of religion, to put a plan for the future that guarantees the continuation of the religion and the interests of the ummah. If the prominent figures had not created dispute, clamour and disturbance, it would have been most likely that those who had recently entered Islam would not have a chance to maneuver or dispute.

In light of this, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) intended to write the will, even as he commanded to prepare the army of Usāmah to keep for the provokers of disturbance from the field in order to facilitate the environment for the issue. There is no doubt that if the army of Usāmah had proceeded accordingly and the trouble makers were distanced from the arena, the will would have been written and the true vicegerency would have been established.[536]

However, why did the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) not insist on what he had requested, and why did he not utilise the time to write the will?

It is sufficient to look at what has been said about this issue in order to find the answer. The reason for this – as a prominent scholar[537] has stated – is that they had stripped him of infallibility and immunity

from going astray by their words 'he talked in delirium'!! This is why he (ṣ.a.w.) said, as Ibn 'Abbās reported after the disturbance had calmed down and they said to him: "Shall we bring you what you have requested?", "After all that you have said?!"

How surprising and how unfortunate!! Was there any place for writing after they had accused the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) of talking in delirium? If the words of the Prophet were being ignored and he was being described as talking nonsense during his lifetime, even though the Qur'ān says: "*He does not speak out of [his own] desire; it is just a revelation that is revealed [to him],*"[538] it is certain that everything else he says will be treated with doubt after his death.

From thise invesigations, we come to the following conclusion:

1. Those who opposed the vicegerency of Imām 'Alī (a.s.) were serious in their stance, so they were not afraid of even attacking the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to reach this goal.

2. The writing had no effect at that time, because they would have spread these words between the people and thereby they would invalidate any effect that the letter might have.

3. What is important is that not only would the Imām fail to assume the post of caliphate, but also all the teachings of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) would be lost, and his commands and prohibitions would disappear becuase of conflicts and confusion. Accusing the Messenger (ṣ.a.w.) of talking nonsense is considered one of the most hurtful events in the history of Islam. In describing it Ibn 'Abbās said while crying:

"The calamity, the whole calamity, is what prevented the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) form writing the letter for men."

What is interesting is that two years, after this incident when Abū Bakr was in the last moments of his life, he appointed 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as Caliph after him at the hand of 'Uthmān, but nobody accused him of talking in delirium!

So the insult took place, the will was not written, the foundations for the deviation of leadership were established, and the history of the Muslims was crystallized on the basis of disturbance and turmoil.[539]

Part Four:
Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)

Chapter One: The Story of al-Saqīfa

Chapter Two: The Reign of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

Chapter Three: The Origins of the Caliphate of ʿUthrman

Chapter Four: The Origins of the Revolution against ʿUthmān

Chapter Five: The Revolution against ʿUthmān

Chapter One

The Story of al-Saqīfa

A) The Denial of the Prophet's Death[540]

138. **Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,** narrating from ʿĀ'ishah, who said: "When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) died, ʿUmar and al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba asked permission and entered unto him. They uncovered his face, and ʿUmar said: "How deep the unconsciousness of the Messenger of Allah is." Then they left, and at the door al-Mughīra said:

"O ʿUmar, by Allah, the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) is dead!" ʿUmar said: "You are lying! The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did not die, but you are a man who desires to create dissension. He will not die until he puts to ruin all the hypocrites."

Then Abū Bakr came while ʿUmar was addressing the people and said to him: "Keep silent." He kept silent, and Abū Bakr stood upon the pulpit, praised Allah and lauded Him, and then recited: "*You will indeed die, and they [too] will indeed die.*"[541] He then recited "*Muḥammad is but a messenger; [other] messengers have passed on before him. So, if he dies or is slain, will you turn back on your heels?*" [542] He finished the verse and then said: "He who would worship Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died, and he who would worship Allah, Allah is alive and He never dies." ʿUmar asked: "Is

الفصل الأوّل
قِصّة السّقيفة

أ ـ إنكارُ موتِ النّبيِّ ﷺ

138. **الطبقات الكبرى عن عائشة:** لَمَّا تُوُفِّيَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ ،استَأذَنَ عُمَرُ وَالمُغيرَةُ بنُ شُعبَةَ، فَدَخَلا عَلَيهِ فَكَشَفَا الثَّوبَ عَن وَجهِهِ فَقالَ عُمَرُ: واغَشيا! ما أشَدَّ غَشيَ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ. ثُمَّ قاما، فَلَمَّا انتَهَيا إلَى البابِ قالَ المُغيرَةُ: يا عُمَرُ ماتَ وَاللّهِ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ ! فَقالَ عُمَرُ: كَذَبتَ! ما ماتَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ، ولكِنَّكَ رَجُلٌ تَحوشُكَ فِتنَةٌ، ولَن يَموتَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ حَتّىٰ يُفنِيَ المُنافِقينَ.

ثُمَّ جاءَ أبو بَكرٍ وعُمَرُ يَخطُبُ النّاسَ فَقالَ لَهُ أبو بَكرٍ: اُسكُت! فَسَكَتَ، فَصَعِدَ أبو بَكرٍ، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنىٰ عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ قَرَأَ: ﴿إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ وَ إِنَّهُم مَّيِّتُونَ﴾، ثُمَّ قَرَأَ: ﴿وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلاَّ رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِن قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ أَفَإِيْن مَّاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ انقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَى أَعْقَـبِكُمْ﴾، حَتّى فَرَغَ مِنَ الآيَةِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: مَن كانَ يَعبُدُ مُحَمَّداً فَإِنَّ مُحَمَّداً قَد ماتَ، ومَن كانَ يَعبُدُ اللّه فَإِنَّ اللّهَ حَيٌّ لا يَموتُ !

قالَ: فَقالَ عُمَرُ: هذا في كِتابِ اللّه؟ قالَ: نَعَم! فَقالَ: أيُّهَا النّاسُ! هذا أبو بَكرٍ وذو شَيبَةٍ

that in the Book of Allah?" He said: "Yes." Then ʿUmar said: "O people, here is Abū Bakr, the elder among the Muslims, so give your pledge of allegiance to him." The people gave their pledge of allegiance to him."[543]

B) What Came to Pass at al-Saqīfa

139. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,** narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar, who said in a sermon:

"I was informed that one of you is saying: "By Allah, if ʿUmar dies, I will give my allegiance to so and so. Let none of you be deluded and say: "Indeed, the allegiance of Abū Bakr was a slip, but it was accomplished." Yes, it was so; but Allah protected us from its evil. None of you has the prestige Abū Bakr has.

He who gives allegiance to a man without consulting the Muslims should not be followed.

We know that when Allah took the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to Him, the Anṣār opposed us and assembled at the Saqīfa of Banī Sāʿidah. ʿAlī and al-Zubayr opposed us, along with those who were with them. The Muhājirīn rallied around Abū Bakr, and I said to him: "O Abū Bakr, let us go to those brothers of ours, the Anṣār." We went to them, and when we drew near their place, two righteous men from them met us. They informed us of what the people were planning. They said: "O Muhājirīn, where are you heading?" We said: "We are going to our brothers the Anṣār." They said: "Do not worry. Go ahead and settle your matter." Then I said: "By Allah, we will go to them." We went on to them at the Saqīfa of Banī Sāʿidah. There was a covered man among them. I enquired: "Who is that?" They said: "He is Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah." I said: "What is wrong with him?" They said: "He is ill." We sat for a while, then their speaker started to praise Allah with what He is worthy of, and then said: "Now, we are the partisans of Allah and the party of Islam and you the Muhājirīn are but a band. A group of you want to eliminate us, cut us off, and keep us away from the issue.

When he finished, I wanted to speak. I had already prepared

المُسلِمينَ فَبايِعوهُ! فَبايَعَهُ النّاسُ.

ب ـ ما جَرى فِي السَّقيفَةِ

139. **صحيح البخاري عن ابن عبّاس عن عمر** ـ مِن خُطبَتِهِ فِي أواخِرِ عُمُرِهِ ـ : بَلَغَني أنَّ قائِلاً مِنكُم يَقولُ: وَاللّهِ لَو قَد ماتَ عُمَرُ بايَعتُ فُلاناً فَلا يَغتَرَّنَّ امرُؤٌ أن يَقولَ: إنَّما كانَت بَيعَةُ أبي بَكرٍ فَلتَةً وتَمَّت. ألا وإنَّها قَد كانَت كَذلِكَ، ولكِنَّ اللّه وقى شَرَّها، ولَيسَ فيكُم مَن تُقطَعُ الأعناقُ إلَيهِ مِثلُ أبي بَكرٍ.

مَن بايَعَ رَجُلاً عَن غَيرِ مَشورَةٍ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ فَلا يُتابَعُ هُوَ ولاَ الَّذي تابَعَهُ تَغِرَّةَأن يُقتَلا وإنَّه قَد كانَ مِن خَبَرِنا حينَ تَوفَّى اللّهُ نَبِيَّهُﷺ أنَّ الأنصارَ خالَفونا، واجتَمَعوا بِأَسْرِهِم في سَقيفَةِ بَني ساعِدَةَ، وخالَفَ عَنّا عَليٌّ والزُّبَيرُ ومَن مَعَهُما، واجتَمَعَ المُهاجِرونَ إلى أبي بَكرٍ، فَقُلتُ لأَبي بَكرٍ: يا أبا بَكرٍ اِنطَلِق بِنا إلىٰ إخوانِنا هؤلاءِ مِنَ الأنصارِ، فَانطَلَقنا نُريدُهُم، فَلمّا دَنَونا مِنهُم لَقيَنا مِنهُم رَجُلانِ صالِحانِ، فَذَكَرا ما تَمالأَ عَلَيهِ القَومُ، فَقالا: أينَ تُريدونَ يامَعشَرَ المُهاجِرينَ؟ فَقُلنا: نُريدُ إخوانَنا هؤلاءِ مِنَ الأنصارِ. فَقالا: لا عَلَيكُم أن لا تَقرَبوهُم، اقضوا أمرَكُم. فَقُلتُ: وَاللّهِ لَنَأتِيَنَّهُم.

فَانطَلَقنا حَتّى أتَيناهُم في سَقيفَةِ بَني ساعِدَةَ، فإذا رَجُلٌ مُزَمَّلٌ بَينَ ظَهرانيهِم، فَقُلتُ: مَن هذا؟ فَقالوا: هذا سَعدُ بن عِبادَةَ. فَقُلتُ: ما لَهُ؟ قالوا: يُوعَكُ، فَلَمّا جَلَسنا قَليلاً تَشَهَّدَ خَطيبَهُم، فَأَثنى عَلَى اللّهِ بِما هو أهلُهُ ثُمَّ قالَ:

أمّا بَعدُ، فَنَحنُ أنصارُ اللّهِ وكَتيبَةُ الإسلامِ، وأنتُم مَعشَرَ المُهاجِرينَ رَهطٌ، وقَد دَفَّت

speech to deliver in front of Abū Bakr. When I was about to speak, Abū Bakr said: "Wait a while." I did not want to make him angry. Then Abū Bakr spoke. He was more forbearing and more dignified than I am. By Allah, he left nothing I liked and prepared to say without spontaneously saying it or better."

He stopped, and then went on to say [to the Anṣār]: "Whatever good you mentioned about yourselves, you are worthy of it. This matter [of Caliphate] will not be settled except for Quraish. They are the choise of the Arabs in place and in lineage; I recommend for you to select one of these two men, so pledge allegiance to either of them." He [Abū Bakr] then took my hand and the hand of Abū ʿUbaidah ibn al Jarrāḥ. I disliked nothing of what he had said except that part, for, by Allah, I would rather have myself decapitated than to be a ruler of a nation, one of whose members is Abū Bakr."

One of the Anṣār said: "I am the one worthy if it. O Quraish, there should be a leader from us and a leader from you!" There was much commotion, and voices rose, and I was afraid of dissension. Then I said: "Abū Bakr, stretch out your hand." He opened his hand and I gave him my pledge of allegiance, the Muhājirīn gave him allegiance, and the Anṣār too. Then we proceeded to Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah [whom the Anṣār desired to make a ruler]. So one of them said: "You have killed Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah." I said: "Allah has killed Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah."

ʿUmar said: "By Allah, we have found no greater problem than the allegiance pledged to Abū Bakr. We feared that if we left the people, they might pledge allegiance after us to one of their men. Then, either we will pledge allegiance to them for that which is against our real wish, or be in disagreement with them and cause great trouble. Any person who gives his pledge of allegiance to somebody without consulting other Muslims, then the one elected should not be complied with, nor the one who pledged the allegiance, lest both of them should be killed."[544]

دافّةٌ مِن قَومِكُم، فإذا هُم يُريدونَ أن يَختَزِلونا مِن أصلِنا، وأن يَحضِنونا مِنَ الأمرِ.

فَلَمّا سَكَتَ أردتُ أن أتكَلَّمُ، وكُنتُ قَد زَوّرتُ مَقالَةً أعجَبَتني أرَدتُ أن أقَدِّمَها بَينَ يَدَي أبي بَكر، وكُنتُ أُداري مِنهُ بَعضَ الحَدِّ، فَلَمّا أرَدتُ أن أتَكَلَّمُ قالَ أبو بَكرٍ: على رِسلِكَ، فَكَرِهتُ أن أُغضِبَهُ، فَتَكَلَّمَ أبو بَكرٍ، فَكانَ هو أحلَمُ مِنّي وأوقَرُ، وَاللّهِ ما تَرَكَ مِن كَلِمَةٍ أعجَبَتني في تَزويري إلّا قالَ في بَديهَتِهِ مِثلها أو أفضَلَ، حَتّى سَكَتَ فَقالَ: ما ذَكَرتُم فيكُم مِن خَيرٍ فأنتُم لَهُ أهلٌ، ولَن يُعرَفُ هذَا الأمرُ إلّا لِهذَا الحَيِّ مِن قُرَيشٍ، هُم أوسَطُ العَرَبِ نَسَباً وداراً، وقَد رَضيتُ لَكُم أحَدَ هذَينِ الرَّجُلينِ، فَبايِعوا أيُّهُما شِئتُم، فأخَذَ بِيَدي وبِيَدِ أبي عُبيدةَ بن الجرّاحِ وهو جالِسٌ بَينَنا، فَلَم أكرَه مِمّا قالَ غَيرَها، كانَ وَاللّهِ أن أُقَدَّمَ فَتُضرَبُ عُنُقي، لا يُقَرِّبُني ذلِكَ مِن إثمٍ أحَبَّ إليَّ مِن أن أتَأَمَّرَ عَلى قَومٍ فيهِم أبو بَكرٍ، اللّهمَّ إلّا أن تُسَوِّلَ لي نَفسي عِندَ المَوتِ شَيئاً لا أجِدُهُ الآنَ، فَقالَ قائِلٌ مِنَ الأنصارِ: أنا جُذَيلُها المُحَكَّكُ، وعُذَيقُها المُرَجَّبُ، مِنّا أميرٌ ومِنكُم أميرٌ. يامَعشَرَ قُرَيشٍ! فَكَثُرَ اللَّغَطُ وارتَفَعَتِ الأصواتُ، حَتّى فَرِقتُ مِنَ الاختِلافِ، فَقُلتُ: ابسُط يَدَكَ يا أبا بَكرٍ، فَبَسَطَ يَدَهُ فَبايَعتُهُ وبايَعَهُ المُهاجِرونَ ثُمَّ بايَعَتهُ الأنصارُ، ونَزَونا عَلى سعدِ بن عِبادَةَ فَقالَ قائِلٌ مِنهُم: قَتَلتُم سَعدَ بن عِبادَةَ! فَقُلتُ: قَتَلَ اللّه سَعدَ بنَ عِبادَةَ. قالَ عُمَرُ: وإنّا وَاللهِ ما وَجَدنا فيما حَضَرنا مِن أمر أقوى مِن مُبايَعَةِ أبي بَكرٍ خَشَينا إن فارَقنا القَومَ ولَم تَكُن بَيعَةٌ أن يُبايِعوا رَجُلاً مِنهُم بَعدَنا، فَإمّا بايَعناهُم عَلَى ما لا نَرضى، وإمّا نُخالِفُهُم فَيَكونُ فَسادٌ. فَمَن بايَعَ رَجُلاً عَلى غَيرِ مَشوَرَةٍ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ فَلا يُتابَعُ هو ولَا الَّذي بايَعَهُ تَغِرَّةً أن يُقتَلا.

C) Those Who Refused to Pledge Allegiance to Abū Bakr

140. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "Some of the Muhājirīn and Anṣār refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr and were inclined towards ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Among them were: al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl ibn al-ʿAbbās, al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Khālid ibn Saʿīd, al-Miqdād ibn ʿAmr, Salmān al-Fārsī, Abū Dharr al Ghifārī, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, al Barā' ibn ʿĀzib, and Ubay ibn Kaʿb.

Abu Bakr sent for ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū ʿUbaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba and said: "What is your opinion?" They said: "Our opinion is to send for al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and grant him a share in this matter [of Caliphate]. By this, you will keep away ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. If he [al-ʿAbbās] sides with you, it will be an argument for you against ʿAlī."[545]

D) The Words of Imām ʿAlī when Receiving the News of Saqīfa

141. **Al-Irshād:** "When the matter [of Caliphate] was accomplished for Abū Bakr and he received the allegiance from all those who gave it, a man came to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) who had a spade in his hand and was levelling the grave of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), and said to him:

"The people have pledged their allegiance to Abū Bakr, and the Anṣār were defeated because of their disputes, and the freedmen (*al-ṭulaqā'*) took the initiative to assert the authority to the person out of fear, that you might secure the matter." He (a.s.) put a side of the spade on the ground and put his hand on it reciting His words: "*In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, All-merciful. Alif Lām Mīm. Do the people suppose that they will be let off because they say, 'We have faith', and they will not be tested? Certainly We tested those who were before them. So Allah shall surely ascertain the liars. Do those who commit misdeeds suppose that they can outrun Us? Evil is the judgment that they make.*"[546] [547]

ج ـ مَن تَخَلَّفَ عَن بَيعةِ أبي بَكرٍ

140. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** تَخَلَّفَ عَن بَيعَةِ أبي بَكرٍ قَومٌ مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ، ومالوا مَعَ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ، مِنهُمُ: العَبّاسُ بنُ عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ، وَالفَضلُ بنُ العَبّاسِ، وَالزُّبَيرُ بنُ العَوّامِ بنِ العاصِ، وخالِدُ بنُ سَعيدٍ، وَالمِقدادُ بنُ عَمرٍو، وسَلمانُ الفارِسِيُّ، وأبو ذَرٍّ الغِفارِيُّ، وعَمّارُ بنُ ياسِرٍ، وَالبَراءُ بنُ عازِبٍ، وأُبَيُّ بنُ كَعبٍ.

فَأَرسَلَ أبو بَكرٍ إلى عُمَرَ بنِ الخَطّابِ، وأبي عُبَيدَةَ بنِ الجَرّاحِ، وَالمُغيرَةَ بنِ شُعبَةَ، فَقالَ: مَا الرَّأيُ؟ قالوا: الرَّأيُ أن تَلقَى العَبّاسَ بنَ عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ، فَتَجعَلَ لَهُ في هذَا الأَمرِ نَصيباً يَكونُ لَهُ ولِعَقِبِهِ مِن بَعدِهِ، فَتَقطَعونَ بِهِ ناحِيَةَ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ حُجَّةً لَكُم عَلى عَلِيٍّ إذا مالَ مَعَكُم.

د ـ كلامُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لَمّا وَصَلَ إلَيهِ خَبَرُ السَّقيفَةِ

141. **الإرشاد:** لَمّا تَمَّ، لأَبي بَكرٍ ما تَمَّ، وبايَعَهُ مَن بايَعَ، جاءَ رَجُلٌ إلى أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام وهُوَ يُسَوّي قَبرَ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله بِمِسحاةٍ في يَدِهِ فَقالَ لَهُ: إنَّ القَومَ قَد بايَعوا أبا بَكرٍ، ووَقَعَتِ الخَذلَةُ فِي الأَنصارِ لِاختِلافِهِم، وبَدَرَ الطُّلَقاءُ بِالعَقدِ لِلرَّجُلِ خَوفاً مِن إدراكِكُمُ الأَمرَ. فَوَضَعَ طَرَفَ المِسحاةِ فِي الأَرضِ ويَدُهُ عَلَيها ثُمَّ قالَ: ﴿بِسْمِ اللّهِ الرَّحْمَـنِ الرَّحِيمِ* الم * أَحَسِبَ النَّاسُ أَن يُتْرَكُواأَن يَقُولُواءَامَنَّا وَ هُمْ لاَ يُفْتَنُونَ * وَ لَقَدْ فَتَنَّا الَّذِينَ مِن قَبْلِهِمْ فَلَيَعْلَمَنَّ اللّه الَّذِينَ صَدَقُواوَ لَيَعْلَمَنَّ الْكَـذِبِينَ * أَمْ حَسِبَ الَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ السَّيِّئَاتِ أَن يَسْبِقُونَا سَآءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ﴾.

E) Attacking the House of Fāṭimah

142. **Ansāb al Ashrāf,** narrating from Sulaimān al Taymī and Ibn ʿAwn, who said: "Abū Bakr sent for ʿAlī to allegiance, but he refused. Then ʿUmar came holding a firebrand and was met by Fāṭimah at the door. Fāṭimah said:" O Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, are you going to set fire at my door?" He said: "Yes!" This is stronger than what your father has brought."[548]

143. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** narrating from Ziyād ibn Kulayb, who said: "'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb came to the house of ʿAlī, where there were Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and men of the Muhājirūn, and he said to them: "By Allah, I am going to set you on fire, or come out and pledge allegiance." Al-Zubayr came out brandishing his sword. He stumbled, and the sword fell out of his hand, so they attacked him and took it."[549]

F) Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) Refraining from Pledging Allegiance

144. **Al-Ridda:** "Abū Bakr sent for ʿAlī and invited him, so he came where there were many people. He greeted and sat down, and then he faced the people and said: "Why did you call me?" ʿUmar said: "We called you to pledge allegiance, on which all the Muslims agreed." ʿAlī said: "O people, you have only taken this matter away from the Anṣār by holding the argument against them and by your kinship to Abū Bakr, claiming that Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) is one of you. This is why they gave you the leadership and submitted the authonty to you. For your information, we are entitled to Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) more than you are, whether he is alive or dead, because we are his household and the closest of all people to him. So, if you fear Allah, then do us justice and recognise our right as the Anṣār recognised your right."

Then ʿUmar said to him: "O man, you will not be left alone unless you pledge allegiance, as others have pledged." ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "Then, I shall not accept from you, nor shall I pledge allegiance

هـ ـ الهُجومُ عَلى بَيتِ فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام بِنتِ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله

142. **أنساب الأشراف عن سليمان التيمي وعن ابن عَون:** إنَّ أبا بَكرٍ أرسَلَ إلى عَلِيٍّ يُريدُ البَيعَةَ، فَلَم يُبايِع. فَجاءَ عُمَرُ، وَمَعَهُ قَبَسٌ، فَتَلَقَّتهُ فاطِمَةُ عَلَى البابِ، فَقالَت فاطِمَةُ: يَابنَ الخَطّابِ! ! أ تُراكَ مُحَرِّقاً عَلَيَّ بابي ؟! قالَ: نَعَم!، وذٰلِكَ أقوى فيما جاءَ بِهِ أبوكِ.

143. **تاريخ الطبري عن زياد بن كُلَيب:** أتى عُمَرُ بنُ الخَطّابِ مَنزِلَ عَلِيٍّ وَفيهِ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ ورِجالٌ مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ، فَقالَ: وَاللّهِ لأُحرِقَنَّ عَلَيكُم أَو لَتَخرُجُنَّ إلَى البَيعَةِ. فَخَرَجَ عَلَيهِ الزُّبَيرُ مُصلِتاً بِالسَّيفِ، فَعَثَرَ فَسَقَطَ السَّيفُ مِن يَدِهِ، فَوَثَبوا عَلَيهِ فَأَخَذوهُ.

و ـ اِمتِناعُ الإمامِ عليه السلام مِنَ البَيعَةِ

144. **الردّة:** أرسَلَ أبو بَكرٍ إلى عَلِيٍّ فَدَعاهُ، فَأَقبَلَ وَالنّاسُ حُضورٌ، فَسَلَّمَ وجَلَسَ، ثُمَّ أقبَلَ عَلَى النّاسِ، فَقالَ: لِمَ دَعَوتَني؟ فَقالَ لَهُ عُمَرُ: دَعَوناكَ لِلبَيعَةِ الَّتي قَدِ اجتَمَعَ عَلَيها المُسلِمونَ، فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: يا هٰؤُلاءِ، إنَّما أخَذتُم هٰذَا الأَمرَ مِنَ الأَنصارِ بِالحُجَّةِ عَلَيهِم وَالقَرابَةِ لِأَبي بَكرٍ؛ لِأَنَّكُم زَعَمتُم أنَّ مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه وآله مِنكُم، فَأَعطوكُمُ المَقادَةَ، وَسَلَّموا إلَيكُمُ الأَمرَ، وأنَا أحتَجُّ عَلَيكُم بِالَّذي احتَجَجتُم بِهِ عَلَى الأَنصارِ، نَحنُ أولى بِمُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه وآله حَيّاً ومَيِّتاً؛ لِأَنّا أهلُ بَيتِهِ، وأقرَبُ الخَلقِ إلَيهِ، فَإن كُنتُم تَخافونَ اللّهَ فَأَنصِفونا، وَاعرِفوا لَنا في هذَا الأَمرِ ما عَرَفَتهُ لَكُمُ الأَنصارُ.

فَقالَ لَهُ عُمَرُ: إنَّكَ أيُّهَا الرَّجُلُ لَستَ بِمَتروكٍ أو تُبايِعُ كَما بايَعَ غَيرُكَ. فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ (رضي اللّه عنه): إذاً لا أقبَلُ مِنكَ وَلا أُبايِعُ مَن أنَا أحَقُّ بِالبَيعَةِ مِنهُ. فَقالَ لَهُ أبو عُبَيدَةَ بنُ الجَرّاحِ:

to a person than whom I am more entitled of allegiance." Abū ʿUbaidah ibn al-Jarrāḥ then said: "By Allah, O Abū al-Ḥasan, you are more worthy of this matter, because of your prestige, your precedence and your kinship, but people have pledged their allegiance to this old man and have accepted him, so accept what the Muslims have accepted." ʿAlī said: "O Abū ʿUbaidah, you are the trusted man of this nation, so fear Allah in yourself. It is not proper for you all to remove the authority of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) from his household to your households. It is in our houses that the Qur'ān was revealed, and we are the source of knowledge, jurisprudence, religion, traditions and precepts. We are better informed about the matters of the world than you are. Do not follow your desire or you will be inflicted with the worst."

Bashīr ibn Saʿd al-Anṣārī then spoke and said: "O Abū al-Ḥasan, by Allah, if people had heard this speech from you before pledging their allegiance, no two men would have differed about you and all people would have pledged allegiance to you. However, you stayed at house and did not attend to this matter. People thought you had no interest in it. ʿAlī said to him: "Woe unto you, Bashīr. Should I have left the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) dying in his house and come out to contest with people about the Caliphate?"[550]

G) Imām ʿAlī's Objection to the Decree of al-Saqīfa

145. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** –in a sermon about the affair of the Caliphate–: "By Allah, so and so took on its clothes [the Caliphate], and he well knows that my position with regard to it was like the position of the axle of a mill. The stream of knowledge flows down from me and the birds cannot fly up to me. I put a curtain against the caliphate and kept myself detached from it. Then I began to think whether I should attempt to attack or endure calmly the blind darkness of tribulations wherein the grown ups are made feeble and the young grow old and the true believer would act under strain till he meets Allah [on his death]. I found that endurance thereon was more appropriate. So I endured although there was a mote in my eye and suffocation [of mortification] in my throat, seeing my inheritance plundered."[551]

وَاللّهِ يا أبَا الحَسَنِ، إنَّكَ لَحَقيقٌ لِهذَا الأَمرِ لِفَضلِكَ وسابِقَتِكَ وقَرابَتِكَ، غَيرَ أنَّ النّاسَ قَد بايَعوا ورَضوا بِهذَا الشَّيخِ، فَارضَ بِما رَضِيَ بِهِ المُسلِمونَ.

فَقالَ لَهُ عليّ كَرَّمَ اللّهُ وَجهَهُ: يا أبا عُبَيدَةَ، أنتَ أمينُ هذِهِ الأُمَّةِ! فَاتَّقِ اللّهَ في نَفسِكَ؛ فَإنَّ هذَا اليَومَ لَهُ ما بَعدَهُ مِنَ الأَيّامِ، ولَيسَ يَنبَغي لَكُم أن تُخرِجوا سُلطانَ مُحَمَّدٍﷺ مِن دارِهِ وقَعرِ بَيتِهِ إلى دورِكُم وقُعورِ بُيوتِكُم؛ فَفي بُيوتِنا نَزَلَ القُرآنُ، ونَحنُ مَعدِنُ العِلمِ وَالفِقهِ وَالدّينِ وَالسُّنَّةِ وَالفَرائِضِ، ونَحنُ أعلَمُ بِأُمورِ الخَلقِ مِنكُم؛ فَلا تَتَّبِعُوا الهَوى فَيَكونَ نَصيبُكُمُ الأَخَسَّ.

فَتَكَلَّمَ بَشيرُ بنُ سَعدٍ الأَنصارِيُّ فَقالَ: يا أبَا الحَسَنِ، أما وَاللّهِ لَو أنَّ هٰذَا الكَلامَ سَمِعَهُ النّاسُ مِنكَ قَبلَ البَيعَةِ لَمَا اختَلَفَ عَلَيكَ رَجُلانِ، وَلَبايَعَكَ النّاسُ كُلُّهُم، غَيرَ أنَّكَ جَلَستَ في مَنزِلِكَ وَلَم تَشهَد هٰذَا الأَمرَ، فَظَنَّ النّاسُ أن لا حاجَةَ لَكَ فيهِ، وَالآنَ فَقَد سَبَقَتِ البَيعَةُ لِهٰذَا الشَّيخِ، وَأنتَ عَلى رَأسِ أمرِكَ.

فَقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: وَيحَكَ يا بَشيرُ! أ فَكانَ يَجِبُ أن أترُكَ رَسولَ اللّهِﷺ في بَيتِهِ فَلَم أجِبهُ إلى حُفرَتِهِ، وأخرُجَ أُنازِعُ النّاسَ بِالخِلافَةِ؟!

ز ـ اِعتِراضُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَلى قَرارِ السَّقيفَةِ

145. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ في خُطبَة تَشتَمِلُ عَلَى الشَّكوى مِن أمرِ الخِلافَةِ ـ: أما وَاللّهِ لَقَد تَقَمَّصَها فُلانٌ وإنَّهُ لَيَعلَمُ أنَّ مَحَلّي مِنها مَحَلُّ القُطبِ مِنَ الرَّحا، يَنحَدِرُ عَنّي السَّيلُ ولا يَرقىٰ إلَيَّ الطَّيرُ، فَسَدَلتُ دونَها ثَوباً، وطَوَيتُ عَنها كَشحاً، وطَفِقتُ أرتَئي بَينَ أن أصولَ بِيَد جَذّاءَ، أو أصبِرَ عَلى طَخيَةٍ عَمياءَ، يَهرَمُ فيهَا الكَبيرُ، وَيَشيبُ فيهَا الصَّغيرُ، ويَكدَحُ فيها مُؤمِنٌ حتّى يَلقى رَبَّهُ! فَرَأَيتُ أنَّ الصَّبرَ عَلى هاتا أحجى، فَصَبَرتُ وفي العَينِ قَذىً، وفي الحَلقِ شَجاً، أرىٰ تُراثي نَهباً.

H) Imām ʿAlī's Call for Help

146. **Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays:** "Salmān said: "When night came, ʿAlī (a.s.) took Fāṭimah (a.s.) on a donkey, holding the hands of his two sons Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.), and went to the houses of the folk of Badr and the houses of the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār, reminding them of his rights and asking them to support him. However, only forty-four of them responded to him, whom he ordered to come the next morning with their heads shaven and with their weapons, to pledge allegiance to him until death. In the morning, only four of them arrived." So, I asked Salmān: "Who were these four?" He said: "I, Abū Dharr, al-Miqdād, and al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām."

The next night, ʿAlī (a.s.) came again and asked them earnestly. They said: "We will come to you in the morning." Again, no one came except us. Then he went to them the third night, but no one came to him except us. When he saw their treachery and lack of loyalty, he stayed at home, and set out to collect the Qurʾān, refusing to leave his house until he finished collecting it."[552]

147. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "A group of men gathered around ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib to pledge allegiance to him. He told them: "Come tomorrow with shaven heads." The next day no one came, except for three men."[553]

I) The Awareness of Imām ʿAlī in Respect of the Dissension

148. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from al-Ḥusain, from his father, who said: "Abū Sufyān came to ʿAlī (a.s.) and said: "O ʿAlī, you pledge allegiance to a man from the lowest tribe of Quraish! By Allah, if you wish I will set fire to him from every side and will overwhelm him with horses and men." ʿAlī said to him: "You have for long cheated Allah, his Messenger, and Islam, but it was of no avail."[554]

ح ـ إستِنصارُ الإمامِ عليه السلام المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارَ

146. **كتاب سليم بن قيس:** قالَ سَلمانُ: فَلَمّا أن كانَ اللَّيلُ حَمَلَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام عَلى حِمارٍ، وأخَذَ بِيَدَي ابنَيهِ الحَسَنِ والحُسَينِ عليهما السلام، فَلَم يَدَع أحَداً مِن أهلِ بَدر مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ ولا مِنَ الأَنصارِ إلّا أتاهُ في مَنزِلِهِ، فَذَكَّرَهُم حَقَّهُ، ودَعاهُم إلى نُصرَتِهِ، فَمَا استَجابَ لَهُ مِنهُم إلّا أربَعَةٌ وأربَعون رَجُلاً. فَأَمَرَهُم أن يُصبِحوا بُكرَةً مُحَلِّقينَ رُؤوسَهُم مَعَهُم سِلاحُهُم لِيُبايِعوا عَلَى المَوتِ، فَأَصبَحوا، فَلَم يُوافِ مِنهُم أحَدٌ إلّا أربَعَةٌ.

فَقُلتُ لِسَلمانَ: مَنِ الأَربَعَةُ؟ فَقالَ: أنَا وأبو ذَرٍّ وَالمِقدادُ وَالزُّبَيرُ بنُ العَوّامِ.

ثُمَّ أتاهُم عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام مِنَ اللَّيلَةِ المُقبِلَةِ، فَناشَدَهُم، فَقالوا: نُصبِحُكَ بُكرَةً، فَما مِنهُم أحَدٌ أتاهُ غَيرُنا.

ثُمَّ أتاهُمُ اللَّيلَةَ الثّالِثَةَ فَما أتاهُ غَيرُنا.

فَلَمّا رَأىٰ غَدرَهُم وقِلَّةَ وَفائِهِم لَهُ لَزِمَ بَيتَهُ، وأقبَلَ عَلَى القُرآنِ يُؤَلِّفُهُ ويَجمَعُهُ، فَلَم يَخرُج مِن بَيتِهِ حَتّى جَمَعَهُ.

147. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** إجتَمَعَ جَماعَةٌ إلى عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ يَدعونَهُ إلَى البَيعَةِ لَهُ، فَقالَ لَهُم: أُغدوا عَلى هٰذا مُحَلِّقينَ الرُّؤوسَ. فَلَم يَغدُ عَلَيهِ إلّا ثَلاثَةُ نَفَرٍ.

ط ـ وَعيُ الإمامِ عليه السلام في مُواجَهَةِ الفِتنَةِ

148. **أنساب الأشراف عن الحسين عن أبيه:** إنَّ أبا سُفيانَ جاءَ إلى عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام، فَقالَ: يا عَلِيُّ، بايَعتُم رَجُلاً مِن أذَلِّ قَبيلَةٍ مِن قُرَيشٍ! أما وَاللهِ لَئِن شِئتَ لَأُضرِمَنَّها عَلَيهِ مِن أقطارِها، ولأَملأَنَّها عَلَيهِ خَيلاً ورِجالاً!!

فَقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: إنَّكَ طالَما ما غَشَشتَ اللّهَ ورَسولَهُ وَالإسلامَ، فَلَم يَنقُصهُ ذلِكَ شَيئاً.

J) Imām ʿAlī's Pledge of Allegiance after Fāṭimah's Death

149. **Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,** narrating from al Zuhrī, who said: "'Alī, Banī Hāshim and al-Zubayr remained for six months without pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr, until Fāṭima, may Allah be pleased with her, died. Then they pledged allegiance to him."[555]

150. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,** narrating from ʿĀ'ishah, who said: "Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), sent for Abū Bakr asking for her share of inheritance from that which the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had left by way of spoils, which Allah had given to him in Medina, along with Fadak and Khaibar.....However, Abū Bakr refused to give Fāṭimah any of it. So, she [ʿĀ'ishah] saw Fāṭimah very angry at Abū Bakr, so she deserted him and refused to speak to him until she died. She lived for six months after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) passed away.

When she died, her husband ʿAlī buried her at night. He did not inform Abū Bakr of her death and prayed over her body. During the life of Fatima, ʿAlī would enjoy attention from the people, but when she died, ʿAlī did not know their faces[556], so he sought reconciliation with Abū Bakr and pledged allegiance to him, after he had refused to pledge allegiance for those (six) months."[557]

K) The Motives for Imām ʿAlī's Pledge of Allegiance

Fear of Disunity

151. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** –in a sermon he delivered before the Battle of the Camel-: "When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) passed away, we were his family, his clan, his heirs, his supporters, even as we had a better right to him than Allah's servants. No one shall contest us in that.... They stripped the authority of our prophet from us and gave it to others. By Allah, had it not been for fearing the disunity of the Muslims and their return to disbelief, we would have changed that as much as we could."[558]

Fear of Apostasy

152. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "When people did what they did and

ي ـ بَيعَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بَعدَ وَفاةِ فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام

149. **الكامل في التاريخ عن الزُّهري:** بَقِيَ عَلِيٌّ وبَنو هاشِمٍ وَالزُّبَيرُ سِتَّةَ أشهُر لَم يُبايِعوا أبا بَكرٍ، حَتّى ماتَت فاطِمَةُ رَضِيَ اللّهُ عَنها، فَبايَعوهُ.

150. **صحيح البخاري عن عائشة:** إنَّ فاطِمَةَ عليها السلام بِنتَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله أرسَلَت إلى أبي بَكرٍ تَسأَلُهُ ميراثَها مِن رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله؛ مِمّا أفاءَ اللّهُ عَلَيهِ بِالمَدينَةِ، وفَدَكَ، وما بَقِيَ مِن خُمُسِ خَيبَرَ... فَأَبى أبو بَكر أن يَدفَعَ إلى فاطِمَةَ مِنها شَيئاً، فَوَجَدَت فاطِمَةُ عَلى أبي بَكرٍ في ذلِكَ، فَهَجَرَتهُ؛ فَلَم تُكَلِّمهُ حَتّى تُوُفِّيَت، وعاشَت بَعدَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله سِتَّةَ أشهُر.

فَلَمّا تُوُفِّيَت دَفَنَها زَوجُها عَلِيٌّ لَيلاً، ولَم يُؤذِن بِها أبا بَكرٍ، وصَلّىٰ عَلَيها. وكانَ لِعَلِيٍّ مِنَ النّاسِ وجهٌ حَياةَ فاطِمَةَ، فَلَمّا تُوُفِّيَت استَنكَرَ عَلِيٌّ وُجوهَ النّاسِ، فَالتَمَسَ مُصالَحَةَ أبي بَكرٍ ومُبايَعَتَهُ، ولَم يَكُن يُبايِع تِلكَ الأَشهُرَ.

ك ـ دَوافِعُ بَيعَةِ الإمامِ عليه السلام بَعدَ امتِناعِهِ

1. مَخافَةُ الفُرقَةِ

151. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ مِن خُطبَتِهِ قَبلَ حَربِ الجَمَلِ ـ: إنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله حينَ قُبِضَ كُنّا نَحنُ أهلَ بَيتِهِ، وعُصبَتَهُ، ووَرَثَتَهُ، وأولِياءَهُ، وأحَقَّ خَلقِ اللّهِ بِهِ، لا نُنازَعُ في ذلِكَ... فَانتَزَعوا سُلطانَ نَبِيِّنا مِنّا، ووَلَّوهُ غَيرَنا، وَايمُ اللّهِ فَلَولا مَخافَةُ الفُرقَةِ بَينَ المُسلِمينَ أن يَعودوا إلَى الكُفرِ لَكُنّا غَيَّرنا ذلِكَ مَا استَطَعنا!

2. مَخافَةُ الإرتِدادِ

152. **الإمام الباقر عليه السلام:** إنَّ النّاسَ لَمّا صَنَعوا ما صَنَعوا إذ بايَعوا أبا بَكرٍ، لم يَمنَع أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام

pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr, nothing prevented the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) from calling for himself, except consideration for the people and fear that they might apostatise from Islam. Then they would return back to idol worshipping and fail to bear witness that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)..... So he pledged his allegiance compelled, when he did not have any supporters."[559]

Lack of Support

153. **Al-Kāfī,** narrating from Sadīr, who said: "We were with Abū Jaʿfar [al-Bāqir] (a.s.) discussing what people innovated after their Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), and their abandonment of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.). One of the people said: "May Allah set you right, so where was the might of Banī Hāshim and their number?"

Abū Jaʿfar (a.s.) said: "But who was left of Banī Hāshim? There were Jaʿfar and Ḥamza, and they died. Two weak and humiliated men were left; ʿAbbās and ʿAqīl. They were not long accustomed to Islam from among the freedmen in the conquest of Mecca (*tulaqā'*). By Allah, if Ḥamza and Jaʿfar were present, these people would never have gained access to it. If they had witnessed them, they would have sacrificed themselves."[560]

Compulsion

154. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "By Allah, ʿAlī (a.s.) refused to pledge allegiance until he saw smoke entering his house."[561]

L) The Factors of the Success of al-Saqīfa

The Hatred of Quraish

155. **Nathr al-Durr,** narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "There was an exchange of words between ʿAlī and ʿUthmān, when ʿUthmān said: "What can I do for you, when Quraish does not love you? You have killed seventy one of their people on the day of Badr, whose faces were like golden earrings and whose noses drank before their lips[562]."[563]

مِن أن يَدعُوَ إلى نَفسِهِ إلّا نَظَراً لِلنّاسِ، وتَخَوُّفاً عَلَيهِم أن يَرتَدّوا عَنِ الإسلامِ؛ فَيَعبُدُوا الأَوثانَ، ولا يَشهَدوا أن لا إلهَ إلّاَ اللّهُ، وأنَّ مُحَمَّداً رَسولُ اللّهِﷺ ... وبايَعَ مُكرَهاً؛ حَيثُ لَم يَجِد أعواناً.

3. عَدَمُ النّاصِرِ

153. **الكافي عن سدير:** كُنّا عِندَ أبي جَعفرعليه السلام، فَذَكَرنا ما أحدَثَ النّاسُ بَعدَ نَبِيِّهِمﷺ، وَاستِذلالَهُم أميرَ المُؤمِنينَعليه السلام، فَقالَ رَجُلٌ مِنَ القَومِ: أصلَحَكَ اللّهُ، فَأَينَ كانَ عِزُّ بَني هاشِمٍ وما كانوا فيهِ مِنَ العَدَدِ؟ !

فَقالَ أبو جَعفَرعليه السلام: ومَن كانَ بَقِيَ مِن بَني هاشِمٍ؟! إنَّما كانَ جَعفَرٌ وحَمزَةُ، فَمَضَيا، وبَقِيَ مَعَهُ رَجُلانِ ضَعيفانِ ذَليلانِ، حَديثا عَهدٍ بِالإسلامِ؛ عَبّاسٌ وعَقيلٌ، وكانا مِنَ الطُّلَقاءِ، أما وَاللّهِ لَو أنَّ حَمزَةَ وجَعفراً كانا بِحَضرَتِهِما ما وصَلا إلىٰ ما وَصَلا إلَيهِ، ولَو كانا شاهِدَيهِما لاَتلَفا نَفسَيهِما.

4. الإكراه

154. **الإمام الصادق**عليه السلام: وَاللّهِ ما بايَعَ عَلِيٌّعليه السلام حَتّىٰ رَأَى الدُّخانَ قَد دَخَلَ عَلَيهِ بَيتَهُ.

ل ـ مَجالاتُ نَجاحِ قَرارِ السَّقيفَةِ

1. بُغضُ قُرَيشٍ

155. **نثر الدرّ عن ابن عبّاس:** وقَعَ بَينَ عَلِيٍّ وعُثمانَ كَلامٌ، فَقالَ عُثمانُ: ما أصنَعُ بِكُم إن كانَت قُرَيشٌ لا تُحِبُّكُم! وقَد قَتَلتُم مِنهُم يَومَ بَدرٍ سَبعينَ، كَأَنَّ وُجوهَهُم شُنوفُ الذَّهَبِ، تَشرَبُ آنفُهُم قَبلَ شِفاهِهِم !

Envy

156. **Al-Amālī,** by al Mufīd, narrating from Abū al-Haytham ibn al-Taihān, who said before the Battle of Camel: "O Commander of the Faithful, the envy of Quraish towards you lies in two things: the good ones among them envy you for fear of their virtue and high status. As for the wicked ones among them, they envy you such that Allah has made their deed futile and their sins heavy. They were not content to be equal to you, but they desire to get ahead of you. But they were defeated by the arena. You have had a better right to Quraish than they have. You have supported their prophet during his lifetime and fulfilled his right when he died. By Allah, their injustice is but against themselves. We are your followers and your supporters. Command us as you wish."[564]

M) The Viewpoint of ʿUmar

157. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī,** narrating from ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: "The allegiance of Abū Bakr was an unexpected event whose evil Allah prevented; so whoever redoes it, kill him."[565]

2. الحَسَد

156. **الأمالي للمفيد عن أبي الهَيثَم بن التَّيِّهان** ـ قَبلَ حَربِ الجَمَلِ ـ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، إنَّ حَسَدَ قُرَيشٍ إيّاكَ عَلىٰ وَجهَينِ: أمّا خِيارُهُم فَحَسَدوكَ مُنافَسَةً فِي الفَضلِ، وَارتِفاعاً فِي الدَّرَجَةِ. وأمّا أشرارُهُم فَحَسَدوكَ حَسَداً، أحبَطَ اللّهُ بِهِ أعمالَهُم، وأثقَلَ بِهِ أوزارَهُم. وما رَضوا أن يُساووكَ حَتّى أرادوا أن يَتَقَدَّموكَ، فَبَعُدَت عَلَيهِمُ الغايَةُ، وأسقَطَهُمُ المِضمارُ، وكُنتَ أحَقَّ قُرَيشٍ بِقُرَيشٍ، نَصَرتَ نَبِيَّهُم حَيّاً، وقَضَيتَ عَنهُ الحُقوقَ مَيِّتاً، وَاللّهِ ما بَغيُهُم إلّا عَلىٰ أنفُسِهِم، ونَحنُ أنصارُكَ وأعوانُكَ، فَمُرنا بِأَمرِكَ.

م ـ بَيعَةُ أبي بَكرٍ مِن وِجهَةِ نَظَرِ عُمَر

157. **تاريخ اليعقوبي عن عمر بن الخطّاب:** كانَت بَيعَةُ أبي بَكرٍ فَلتَةً، وَقَى اللّهُ شَرَّها، فَمَن عادَ لِمِثلِها فَاقتُلوهُ.

Chapter Two

The Reign of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb

A) The Status of ʿUmar from the Perspective of Abū Bakr

158. **Tārīkh al-Islām,** narrating from Abū Bakr, who said: "By Allah, there is no one on earth dearer to men than ʿUmar."[566]

159. **Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa,** –on reporting the writing of the appointment of ʿUmar as Caliph–: "'Umar came out with the letter [Abū Bakr's will] and informed them, so they said: "We will listen and obey." A man said to him: "O Abū Ḥafṣ, what is in the letter?" He said: "I do not know, but I am the first one to listen and obey." The man said: "By Allah, but I know what is in it. You invested him with authority the first time, and he has today invested you with authority."[567]

B) The Position of Imām ʿAlī towards His Caliphate

160. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** –mentioning the Saqīfa and its aftermath–: "I realized that endurance therein was most appropriate. So I endured although there was a mote in my eye[568] and suffocation in my throat. I could see my inheritance plundered, till the first one went his way, but handed over the Caliphate to so and so after him.

[Then he quoted a verse from al-Aʿshā]

what a difference (is) between my days on the camel's back (in difficulty).

And my days (of ease) when I enjoyed the company of Jabir's brother Ḥayyān!

It is strange that during his lifetime he wished to give it go [the

الفصل الثاني
عَهدُ عُمَرَ بنِ الخَطّابِ

أ ـ مَكانَةُ عُمَرَ عِندَ أبي بَكرٍ

158. **تاريخ الإسلام عن أبي بكر:** وَاللّهِ، ما عَلىٰ ظَهرِ الأَرضِ رَجُلٌ أحَبُّ إلَيَّ مِن عُمَرَ.

159. **الإمامة والسياسة** ـ في ذِكرِ كِتابَةِ استِخلافِ عُمَرَ ـ: خَرَجَ عُمَرُ بِالكِتابِ وأعلَمَهُم، فَقالوا: سَمعاً وطاعَةً، فَقالَ لَهُ رَجُلٌ: ما فِي الكِتابِ يا أبا حَفصٍ؟ قالَ: لا أدري، ولكِنّي أوَّلُ مَن سَمِعَ وأطاعَ. قالَ: لكِتّي وَاللّهِ أدري ما فيهِ؛ أمَّرتَهُ عامَ أوَّلٍ، وأمَّرَكَ العامَ!

ب ـ مَوقِفُ الإمامِ عليه السلام مِن خِلافَتِهِ

160. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ في ذِكرِ السَّقيفَةِ ومابَعدَها ـ: فَرَأَيتُ أنَّ الصَّبرَ عَلىٰ هاتا أحجىٰ، فَصَبَرتُ وفِي العَينِ قَذىً، وفِي الحَلقِ شَجاً، أرىٰ تُراثي نَهباً، حَتّىٰ مَضَى الأوَّلُ لِسَبيلِهِ، فَأَدلىٰ بِها إلىٰ فُلان بَعدَهُ.

شَتّانَ ما يَومِي عَلى كورِها ويَـومُ حَيّانَ أخي جـابِرِ

فَيا عَجَباً!! بَينا هُوَ يَستَقيلُها في حَياتِهِ إذ عَقَدَها لآخَرَ بَعدَ وَفاتِهِ ـ لَشَدَّ ما تَشَطَّرا ضَرعَيها!

Caliphate], yet he handed it to another after his death. No doubt these two shared its udders strictly among themselves. Then he directed the Caliphate towards a tough enclosure whose touch was harsh. The man in control of it was like the rider of an unruly camel. If he pulled up its rein, the very nostril would be slit; but if he let it loose, he would be thrown. Consequently, by Allah people got involved in recklessness, wickedness, unsteadiness and deviation."[569]

C) ʿUmar Consulting Imām ʿAlī in Difficult Problems

161. **Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah,** by Ibn Ḥanbal, narrating from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, who said: "ʿUmar used to take refuge in Allah from a problem for which Abū al-Ḥasan [ʿAlī] was not there [to solve]."[570]

162. **Al-Kāfī,** narrating from ʿUmar, who said: "If it was not for ʿAlī, ʿUmar would have perished!"[571]

Note: Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) would offer guidance and advice in the fields of knowledge and in political problems when he was sure they would be beneficial to the Islamic community. However, he would refuse to give his opinions if they were of personal benefit to the Caliph alone and of no benefit to the community.

Ibn ʿAbbās says: "I went with ʿUmar to Syria in one of his journeys. One day he was moving on his camel alone, so I followed him, when he said to me: "O Ibn ʿAbbās, I complain to you about your cousin [ʿAlī]. I asked him to come with me, but he refused."[572]

D) ʿSeeking Help from Imām ʿAlī

163. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "ʿUmar started to date the letters. He wanted to date the calendar from the birthday of the Messenger of Allah. He said: "From the day of the beginning of prophethood (**mabʿath**)." Imām ʿAlī advised him to write it from the day of migration (hijrah), and so he wrote it from the day of migration."[573]

164. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** to ʿUmar who sought consultation from

فَصَيَّرَها في حَوزَةٍ خَشناءَ يَغلُظُ كَلمُها، ويَخشُنُ مَسُّها، ويَكثُرُ العِثارُ فيها، وَالاِعتِذارُ مِنها، فَصاحِبُها كَراكِبِ الصَّعبَةِ إن أشنَقَ لَها خَرَمَ، وَإن أسلَسَ لَها تَقَحَّم فَمُنِيَ النّاسُ ـ لَعَمرُ اللّهُ ـ بِخَبطٍ وشِماسٍ، وتَلَوُّنٍ وَاعتِراضٍ.

ج ـ اِستِشارَةُ عُمَرَ الإمامَ عليه السلام فِي المُعضِلاتِ

161. **فضائل الصحابة لابن حنبل عن سعيد بن المُسَيّب:** كانَ عُمَرُ يَتَعَوَّذُ بِاللهِ مِن مُعضِلَة لَيسَ لَها أبو حَسَن.

162. **الاستيعاب:** وقالَ [عُمَرُ] فِي المَجنونَةِ الَّتي أمَرَ بِرَجمِها، وفِي الَّتي وَضَعَت لِستَّةِ أشهُر، فَأرادَ عُمَرُ رَجمَها، فَقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام: إنَّ اللّه تَعالى يَقولُ: ﴿وَ حَمْلُهُ وَ فِصَـٰلُهُ ثَلَـٰثُونَ شَهْرًا﴾ الحَديثَ، وقالَ عليه السلام لَهُ: إنَّ اللّهَ رَفَعَ القَلَمَ عَنِ المَجنونِ، الحَديثَ، فَكانَ عُمَرُ يَقولُ: لَولا عَلِيٌّ لَهَلَكَ عُمَرُ.

بيان: كان الإمام عليّ عليه السلام يقدّم آراءه الاستشاريّة في الميادين العلميّة أو في المشاكل السياسيّة بعدما يحرز أنّها تعود بالفائدة على المُجتَمع الإسلامي، ولا يبدي رأيه إذا عاد بالنفع الشخصي على الخليفة ولم يَعُد على المُجتَمع بشيء.

يَقولُ ابنُ عَبّاس: خَرَجتُ مَعَ عُمَرَ إلَى الشّامِ في إحدىٰ خرجاتِهِ، فَانفَرَدَ يَوماً يَسيرُ عَلى بَعيرِهِ فَاتَّبَعتُهُ، فَقالَ لي: يَابنَ عَبّاسٍ، أشكو إلَيكَ ابنَ عَمِّكَ! سَأَلتُهُ أن يَخرُجَ مَعي فَلَم يَفعَل.

د ـ اِستِنجادُ عُمَرَ بِرَأيِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

163. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** أرَّخَ عُمَرُ الكُتُبَ، وأرادَ أن يَكتُبَ التّأريخَ مُنذُ مَولِدِ رَسولِ اللّهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: مِنَ المَبعَثِ. فَأشارَ عَلَيهِ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ أن يَكتُبَهُ مِنَ الهِجرَةِ، فَكَتَبَهُ مِنَ الهِجرَةِ.

164. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ لِعُمَرَ لَمّا استَشارَ النّاسَ في أن يَسيرَ فيمَن مَعَهُ لِقِتالِ الفُرسِ ـ : إنَّ

people as to his participation in fighting the Persians: "The triumph of this religion or its defeat was not attributable to the multiplicity or paucity of numbers. It is the religion of Allah, which He made prevail over all, and His army that He provided and supplied by means of the angels. We are at what Allah has promised us. He fulfils His promises and supports His soldiers.

Your position among them (as a leader) is like the position of a string that binds the beads together. If the string snaps, the beads will scatter around and disperse, and nothing can join them all together again. Although the Arabs are few today, they are many through Islam and are invincible through solidarity. Therefore, stay in your place and write to the people of kūfah that two thirds of them should set forth (to fight the Persians) and one third should remain, for they are the eminent figures among the Arabs and the chiefs of them, and that there are no groups (of people) more unanimous, more efficient and more diligent than them. Also write to the people of Baṣrah that they should support them with part of what they possess."[574]

165. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "'Umar consulted the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) about the rural provinces of Kūfah. Some of them said: "You may distribute them amongst us." He then consulted ʿAlī, who said: "If you distribute them today, there will be nothing left for those who will come after us. However, if you entrust the estates to their hands to cultivate them, they will be for us and for those after us." ʿUmar said: "May Allah grant you success. This is the [right] opinion!"[575]

هذَا الأَمرَ لَم يَكُن نَصرُهُ ولا خِذلانُهُ لِكَثرَةٍ ولا قِلَّةٍ؛ هُوَ دينُهُ الَّذي أظهَرَ، وجُندُهُ الَّذي أعَزَّ وأيَّدَهُ بِالمَلائِكَةِ، حتّى بَلَغَ ما بَلَغَ، فَنَحنُ عَلى مَوعودٍ مِنَ اللّهِ، وَاللّهُ مُنجِزٌ وَعدَهُ، وناصِرٌ جُندَهُ.

ومَكانُكَ مِنهُم مَكانُ النِّظامِ مِنَ الخَرَزِ؛ يَجمَعُهُ ويُمسِكُهُ، فإنِ انحَلَّ تَفَرَّقَ ما فيهِ وذَهَبَ، ثُمَّ لَم يَجتَمِع بِحَذافيرِهِ أبَداً. وَالعَرَبُ اليَومَ وإن كانوا قَليلاً فَهِيَ كَثيرٌ عَزيزٌ بِالإسلامِ؛ فَأَقِم، وَاكتُب إلى أهلِ الكوفَةِ فَهُم أعلامُ العَرَبِ ورُؤَساؤُهُم ومَن لَم يَحفِل بِمَن هوَ أجمَعُ وأحَدُّ وأجَدُّ مِن هؤُلاءِ: فَليَأتِهِمُ الثُّلُثانِ وَليُقِمِ الثُّلُثُ، وَاكتُب إلى أهلِ البَصرَةِ أن يَمِدُّوهُم بِبَعضِ مَن عِندَهُم.

165. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** شاوَرَ عُمَرُ أصحابَ رَسولِ اللّهِ في سَوادِ الكوفَةِ، فَقالَ لَهُ بَعضُهُم: تُقَسِّمُها بَينَنا، فَشاوَرَ عَلِيّاً، فَقالَ: إن قَسَّمتَهَا اليَومَ لَم يَكُن لِمَن يَجيءُ بَعدَنا شَيءٌ، ولكِن تُقِرُّها في أيديهِم يَعمَلونَها، فَتَكونُ لَنا ولِمَن بَعدَنا. فَقالَ: وَفَّقَكَ اللّهُ، هذَا الرَّأيُ!

Chapter Three

The Origins of ʿUthmān's Caliphate

A) ʿUmar's Directive regarding the Succession

166. **Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,** narrating from ʿAmr ibn Maymūn, who said: "The people said [to ʿUmar after being stabbed]: "O Commander of the Faithful, deliver your speech and appoint a successor." ʿUmar said: "I found no one more suitable for this affair [of government] than those with whom the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was pleased before he died." He mentioned ʿAlī, ʿUthmān, al-Zubayr, Ṭalḥa, Saʿd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He then said: "'Abdullah ibn ʿUmar will be a witness against you, but he will have no share in the rule. If Saʿd becomes the ruler, it will be alright; otherwise, whoever becomes the ruler should seek his help, for I have not dismissed him because of disability or dishonesty."[576]

B) ʿUmar's View on the Council

167. **Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,** narrating from ʿAmr ibn Maymūn, who said: "I saw ʿUmar on the day he was stabbed..... He then said: "Call the following for me: ʿAlī, ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf and Saʿd." However, he only spoke to ʿAlī and ʿUthmān. He said: "O ʿAlī, this people might know your kinship to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and what Allah has bestowed upon you of understanding and knowledge, so if you take control of

الفصل الثالث

مَبادِئُ خِلافَةِ عُثمانَ

أ ـ وَصِيَّةُ عُمَرَ بِخُصوصِ الخِلافَةِ

166. **صحيح البخاري عن عمرو بن ميمون:** قالوا [لِعُمَرَ بَعدَ إصابَتِهِ]: أوصِ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ استَخلِف. قالَ: ما أجِدُ أحَداً أحَقَّ بِهذَا الأَمرِ مِن هؤُلاءِ النَّفَرِ ـ أو الرَّهطِ ـ الَّذينَ تُوُفِّيَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله وهُوَ عَنهُم راضٍ، فَسَمّىٰ عَلِيّاً وعُثمانَ وَالزُّبَيرَ وطَلحَةَ وسَعداً وعَبدَ الرَّحمنِ، وقالَ: يَشهَدُكُم عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عُمَرَ، ولَيسَ لَهُ مِنَ الأَمرِ شَيءٌ ـ كَهَيئَةِ التَّعزِيَةِ لَهُ ـ فَإن أصابَتِ الإمرَةُ سَعداً فَهوَ ذاكَ، وإلّا فَليَستَعِن بِهِ أيُّكُم ما أُمِّرَ، فَإنّي لَم أعزِلهُ عَن عَجزٍ ولا خِيانَةٍ.

ب ـ رَأيُ عُمَرَ فيمَن رَشَّحَهُم لِلخِلافَةِ

167. **الطبقات الكبرى عن عمرو بن ميمون:** شَهِدتُ عُمَرَ يَومَ طُعِنَ... ثُمَّ قالَ: اُدعوا لي عَلِيّاً، وعُثمانَ، وطَلحَةَ، وَالزُّبَيرَ، وعَبدَ الرَّحمنِ بنِ عَوفٍ، وسَعداً؛ فَلَم يُكَلِّم أحَداً مِنهُم غَيرَ عَلِيٍّ وعُثمانَ.

فَقالَ: يا عَلِيُّ، لَعَلَّ هؤُلاءِ القَومَ يَعرِفونَ لَكَ قَرابَتَكَ مِنَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله، وصِهرَكَ، وما آتاكَ

this affair, you must be wary of Allah with reguard it!"

He then invited ʿUthmān and said: "O ʿUthmān, these people might know your relation to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), and your age and nobility, so if you take control of this you must be wary of Allah and do not let the Banī Abī Muʿayṭ rule over the people!"

He then said: "Call Ṣuhayb for me." He was called, and ʿUmar said to him: "Lead the people in prayer for three days, and let these people be secluded in a house. Once they agree on a man, strike the neck of whoever opposes."

When they left ʿUmar, he said: "If the bald headed person [referring to ʿAlī] assumes the government, he will lead the people to the right path." Ibn ʿUmar said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, then what prevents you [from electing him]?" He said: "I cannot bear (the burden of) the idea whether I am alive or dead."[577]

C) The Fact of Being Known of the Results of the Council before Any Consultation

168. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī:** "'Alī said to a group from Banī Hāshim who were with him: "You will never rule the government. When al-ʿAbbās saw him, he said to him: "It [the caliphate] has been taken from us." He said: "How do you know?" ʿAlī said: "' He has joined men to ʿUthmān. ʿUmar said: "Be with the majority, so if two men are well-pleased with one man and two men are well-pleased with another man, be on the side of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf. Saʿd will not oppose his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is the ʿUthmān's in-law, and they will not differ, so ʿAbd al-Raḥmān will appoint ʿUthmān for the caliphate, or ʿUthmān will appoint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān for the caliphate. If the two other people were with me, they would not benefit me."[578]

D) The Position of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) towards the Decree of the Council

169. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** when men decided to pledge their allegiance

اللّهُ مِنَ الفِقهِ وَالعِلمِ، فَإِن وَليتَ هذَا الأَمرَ فَاتَّقِ اللّهَ فيهِ!

ثُمَّ دَعا عُثمانَ فَقالَ: يا عُثمانُ، لَعَلَّ هؤُلاءِ القَومَ يَعرِفونَ لَكَ صِهرَكَ مِن رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ وسِنَّكَ وشَرَفَكَ، فَإِن وَليتَ هذَا الأَمرَ فَاتَّقِ اللّهَ، ولا تَحمِلَنَّ بَني أبي مُعَيطٍ عَلى رِقابِ النّاسِ!

ثُمَّ قالَ: اُدعوا لي صُهَيباً، فَدُعِيَ، فَقالَ: صَلِّ بِالنّاسِ ثَلاثاً، وَلْيَخلُ هؤُلاءِ القَومُ في بَيتٍ، فَإِذَا اجتَمَعوا عَلى رَجُل، فَمَن خالَفَهُم فَاضرِبوا رَأسَهُ.

فَلَمّا خَرَجوا مِن عِندِ عُمَرَ، قالَ عُمَرُ: لو وَلَّوها الأَجلَحَ سَلَكَ بِهِمُ الطَّريقَ! فَقالَ لَهُ ابنُ عُمَرَ: فَما يَمنَعُكَ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ؟ قالَ: أكرَهُ أن أتَحَمَّلَها حَيّاً ومَيِّتاً.

ج ـ مَعلومِيَّةُ نَتيجَةِ الشّورى قَبلَ المَشورَةِ

168. **تاريخ الطبري:** قالَ عَلِيٌّ لِقَومٍ كانوا مَعَهُ مِن بَني هاشِمٍ: إن أُطيعَ فيكُم قَومُكُم لَم تُؤَمَّروا أبَداً. وتَلَقّاهُ العَبّاسُ فَقالَ: عُدِلَت عَنّا! فَقالَ: وما عِلمُكَ؟ قالَ: قُرِنَ بي عُثمانُ، وقالَ: كونوا مَعَ الأَكثَرِ، فَإِن رَضِيَ رَجُلان رَجُلاً، ورَجُلانِ رَجُلاً، فكونوا مَعَ الَّذينَ فيهِم عَبدُ الرَّحمنِ بنُ عَوفٍ، فَسَعدٌ لا يُخالِفُ ابنَ عَمِّهِ عَبدَ الرَّحمٰنِ، وعَبدُ الرَّحمٰنِ صِهرُ عُثمانَ؛ لا يَختَلِفونَ، فَيُوَلّيها عَبدُ الرَّحمٰنِ عُثمانَ أو يُوَلّيها عُثمانُ عَبدَ الرَّحمٰنِ، فَلَو كانَ الآخَرانِ مَعي لَم يَنفَعاني.

د ـ مَوقِفُ الإمامِ عليه السلام مِن قَرارِ الشّورى

169. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ مِن كَلام لَهُ لَمّا عَزَموا عَلى بَيعَةِ عُثمانَ ـ: لَقَد عَلِمتُم أنّي أحَقُّ النّاسِ

to ʿUthmān, "You have certainly come to know that I have a better right to the Caliphate. By Allah, so long as the affairs of Muslims remain sound and there is no injustice save to myself, I shall keep quiet for seeking reward from Allah, keeping aloof from its attractions and allurements over which you compete."[579]

E) Foam on the Camel's Mouth

170. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in one of his sermons: "By Allah, Ibn Abī Quḥāfah (i.e. Abū Bakr) took on its [i.e. the caliphate's] clothes although he was aware that my position with regard to it was like the position of the axle of a hand-mill. The stream (of knowledge) flows from me and the birds cannot rise to (the exaltedness of) my position. I allowed myself to let another robe cover me instead of it and I turned aside from it. I began to consider whether I should attempt to attack (when I would be like a man) with a hand cut off or I should endure the blind darkness (of oppression), in which the old man would grow decrepit and the young become white-haired, while 'a [true] believer' would toil until he meets his Lord.

I realized that endurance in this was wiser. So I endured while all the time there was a mote in my eye and an obstruction in my throat. I could see my inheritance plundered until the time of the first one's death came to him and he handed it over to so-and-so [i.e. ʿUmar].

(He then quoted a verse of a poem from al-Aʿshā): What a difference between my time [when days are passing in difficulty] on the camel's back And the time [of ease] when I enjoyed the company of Jābir's brother Hayyān!

How amazing that, while he (i.e. Abū Bakr) requested to be released from it (i.e. the caliphate) during his life, but he confirmed it for the other one after his death! How eagerly the two divided its two udders between them. This one put the Caliphate in a tough enclosure where the utterance was haughty and the touch was rough. Mistakes were in plenty and so also the excuses therefore. One in contact with it was like the rider of an obstinate camel. If he pulled its reins, the very nostril would be slit. If he held its reins loosely, he caused it to go at random so that [it would stumble and] he would be thrown. By Allah, as a result people were afflicted

بِها مِن غَيري، ووَاللّهِ لَأُسلِمَنَّ ما سَلِمَت أُمورُ المُسلِمينَ، ولَم يَكُن فيها جَورٌ إلّا عَلَيَّ خاصَّةً؛ اِلتِماساً لِأَجرِ ذٰلِكَ وفَضلِهِ، وزُهداً فيما تَنافَستُموهُ مِن زُخرُفِهِ وزِبرِجِهِ.

هـ ـ شِقشِقَةٌ هَدَرَت!

170. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ مِن خُطبَة لَهعليه السلام ـ: أما وَاللّهِ لَقَد تَقَمَّصَها فُلانٌ، وإنَّهُ لَيَعلَمُ أنَّ مَحلّي مِنها مَحَلُّ القُطبِ مِنَ الرَّحا، يَنحَدِرُ عَنِّي السَّيلُ، ولا يَرقىٰ اِلَيَّ الطَّيرُ؛ فَسَدَلتُ دونَها ثَوباً، وطَوَيتُ عَنها كَشحاً، وطَفِقتُ أرتَئي بَينَ أن أصولَ بِيَدٍ جَذّاءَ، أو أصبِرَ عَلى طَخيَةٍ عَمياءَ، يَهرَمُ فيهَا الكَبيرُ، ويَشيبُ فيهَا الصَّغيرُ، ويَكدَحُ فيها مُؤمِنٌ حَتّى يَلقىٰ رَبَّهُ!

فَرَأَيتُ أنَّ الصَّبرَ عَلى هاتا أحجىٰ، فَصَبَرتُ وفِي العَينِ قَذىً، وفِي الحَلقِ شَجاً، أرى تُراثي نَهباً، حَتّى مَضَى الأَوَّلُ لِسَبيلِهِ، فَأَدلىٰ بِها إلى فُلانٍ بَعدَهُ.

ثُمَّ تَمَثَّلَ بِقَولِ الأَعشىٰ:

شَتّانَ ما يَومي عَلىٰ كورِها ويومُ حَيّانَ أخي جابِرِ

فَياعَجَباً! بَينا هُوَ يَستَقيلُها في حَياتِهِ إذ عَقَدَها لآخر بَعدَ وَفاتِهِ ـ لَشَدَّ ما تَشَطَّرا ضَرعَيها! فَصَيَّرَها في حَوزَة خَشناءَ يَغلُظُ كَلمُها، ويَخشُنُ مَسُّها، ويَكثُرُ العِثارُ فيها، وَالاِعتِذارُ مِنها، فَصاحِبُها كَراكِبِ الصَّعبَةِ إن أشنَقَ لَها خَرَمَ، وإن أسلَسَ لَها تَقَحَّمَ، فَمُنِيَ النّاسُ ـ لَعَمرُ اللّهِ ـ بِخَبطٍ وشِماسٍ، وتَلَوُّنٍ وَاعتِراضٍ؛ فَصَبَرتُ عَلى طولِ المُدَّةِ، وشِدَّةِ المِحنَةِ؛ حَتّىٰ إذا مَضىٰ لِسَبيلِهِ جَعَلَها في جَماعَةٍ زَعَمَ أنّي أحَدُهُم، فَيا للّهِ وَلِلشّورىٰ! مَتَى اعتَرَضَ

with recklessness, wickedness, unsteadiness and deviation.

Nevertheless, I remained patient despite the length of period and stiffness of trial, till when he [ʿUmar] went his way [of death]; he put the matter [of Caliphate] in a group and regarded me to be one of them. O Allah, what kind of council was it? At what time was there any doubt about me with regard to the first of them [Abū Bakr] that I was now considered akin to these ones? But I remained low when they were low and flew high when they flew high. One of them turned against me because of his hatred and the other got inclined the other way due to his in-law relationship and this thing and that thing, till the third man [ʿUthmān] of these people stood up with heaving breasts between his dung and fodder. With him his cousins [the Umayyads] also stood up swallowing up Allah's wealth like a camel devouring the foliage of spring, till his rope broke down, his actions finished him and his gluttony led him to his own destruction.

At that moment, nothing took me by surprise, but the crowd of people rushing to me. It advanced towards me from every side like the mane of the hyena so much so that Ḥasan and Ḥusain were getting crushed and both the ends of my shoulder garment were torn. The people collected around me like the herd of sheep and goats. When I took up the reins of government one party broke away and another turned disobedient while the rest began acting wrongfully as if they had not heard the word of Allah saying:

"*This is the abode of the Hereafter which We shall grant to those who do not desire to domineer in the earth nor to cause corruption, and the outcome will be in favour of the God wary.*"[580]

Yes, by Allah, they had heard this verse and understood it, but the world appeared glittering in their eyes and its embellishments seduced them.

Behold, by He who split the grain and created living beings, if people had not come to me and supporters had not exhausted the argument and if there had been no pledge of Allah with the

الرَّيبُ فِيَّ مَعَ الأوَّلِ مِنهُم، حَتّىٰ صِرتُ أُقرَنُ إلى هذِهِ النَّظائِرِ! لكِنّي أسفَفتُ إذ أسفّوا، وطِرتُ إذ طاروا؛ فَصَغا رَجُلٌ مِنهُم لِضِغنِهِ، ومالَ الآخَرُ لِصِهرِهِ، مَعَ هَنٍ وهَنٍ، إلىٰ أن قامَ ثالِثُ القَومِ نافِجاً حِضنَيهِ، بَينَ نَثيلِهِ ومُعتَلَفِهِ، وقامَ مَعَهُ بَنو أبيهِ يَخضَمونَ مالَ اللّهِ خِضمَةَ الإبِلِ نِبتَةَ الرَّبيعِ، إلىٰ أنِ انتكَثَ عَلَيهِ فَتلُهُ، وأجهَزَ عَلَيهِ عَمَلُهُ، وكَبَتَ بِهِ بَطنَتُهُ !

فَما راعَني إلّا وَالنّاسُ كَعُرفِ الضَّبُعِ إلَيَّ، يَنثالونَ عَلَيَّ مِن كُلِّ جانِبٍ، حَتّىٰ لَقَد وُطِئَ الحَسَنانِ، وشُقَّ عِطفايَ، مُجتَمِعينَ حَولي كَرَبيضَةِ الغَنَمِ، فَلَمّا نَهَضتُ بِالأمرِ نَكَثَت طائِفَةٌ، ومَرَقَت أُخرى، وقَسَطَ آخَرونَ: كَأنَّهُم لَم يَسمَعُوا اللّهَ سُبحانَهُ يَقولُ: ﴿تِلْكَ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ نَجْعَلُهَا لِلَّذِينَ لاَ يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِى الأَرْضِ وَلاَ فَسَادًا وَ الْعَـقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾ بَلىٰ! وَاللّهِ لَقَد سَمِعوها ووَعَوهَا، ولكِنَّهُم حَلِيَتِ الدُّنيا في أعيُنِهِم وراقَهُم زِبرِجُها !

أما وَالَّذي فَلَقَ الحَبَّةَ، وَبَرأَ النَّسَمَةَ، لَولا حُضورُ الحاضِرِ، وقِيامُ الحُجَّةِ بِوُجودِ النّاصِرِ، وما أخَذَ اللّهُ عَلَى العُلَماءِ ألّا يُقارّوا عَلى كِظَّةِ ظالِمٍ، ولا سَغَبِ مَظلومٍ، لَألقَيتُ حَبلَها عَلى غارِبِها، ولَسَقيتُ آخِرَها بِكَأسِ أوَّلِها، ولَألفَيتُم دُنياكُم هذِهِ أزهَدَ عِندي مِن عَفطَةِ عَنزٍ!

قالوا: وقامَ إلَيهِ رَجُلٌ مِن أهلِ السَّوادِ عِندَ بُلوغِهِ إلىٰ هذَا المَوضِعِ مِن خُطبَتِهِ، فَناوَلَهُ كِتاباً قيلَ: إنَّ فيهِ مَسائِلَ كانَ يُريدُ الإجابَةَ عَنها فَأقبَلَ يَنظُرُ فيهِ، فَلَمّا فَرَغَ مِن قِراءَتِهِ، قالَ لَهُ ابنُ عَبّاسٍ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، لَوِ اطَّرَدَت خُطبَتُكَ مِن حَيثُ أفضَيتَ !

learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressor and the hunger of the oppressed, I would have cast the rope of Caliphate on its own shoulders, and would have given the last one the same treatment as to the first one. Then you would have seen that in my view this world of yours is no better than the sneezing of a goat."

They said: "When he got to this part in the sermon, a man from Iraq stood up and came to him [ʿAlī (a.s.)] handing him a letter." It was said that this letter had questions that he wanted to be answered, so he read it and when he finished reading it, Ibn ʿAbbās said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, if only you can continue your sermon from where you stopped."

He (a.s.) said: "O Ibn ʿAbbās, far be it, as it was a loud call (like the foam on a camel's mouth) that gushed out but subsided."[581]

Ibn ʿAbbās said: By Allah, I never grieved over any utterance as I did over this one, because the Commander of the Faithful could not finish what he wished to say."[582]

فَقالَ: هَيهاتَ يَابنَ عَبّاسٍ! تِلكَ شِقشِقَةٌ هَدَرَت ثُمَّ قَرَّت !

قالَ ابنُ عَبّاسٍ: فَوَاللّهِ، ما أسَفتُ عَلىٰ كَلام قَطُّ كَأَسَفي عَلىٰ هذَا الكَلامِ ألّا يَكونَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام بَلَغَ مِنهُ حَيثُ أرادَ.

An Analysis of the Events of the Council

The events of the Caliphate developed after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) in an astonishing and noticeable way, and it finished with the incident of the Saqīfa and the appointment of Abū Bakr as Caliph, with the claim that his Caliphate was agreed upon by all. He then appointed ʿUmar as Caliph after him.

In the last days of the life of ʿUmar while lying on his deathbed, he began to think about the future of the Islamic Ummah, and the historical sources clearly indicate that he was also thinking about the kind of appointment. He mentioned the names of a group and said if they had been alive, he would have entrusted the affair of the Caliphate to them. Among them were: Maʿādh ibn Jabal,[583] Abū ʿUbayda al-Jarrāḥ,[584] Sālim, the freed slave of Abū Ḥudhaifa, and.....[585]

ʿUmar was thinking about the council (shūrā), but it was a council that would secure his goals in one way or another. ʿAlī (a.s.) was one of those who cannot be overlooked in such a play. This reality was not hidden to ʿUmar. This is why when he sent for one of the Anṣār to consult him about the affair of the Caliphate, the person mentioned a group of the Muhājirīn, but he did not mention ʿAlī (a.s.), so ʿUmar said: "Why is Abū al-Ḥasan [ʿAlī (a.s.)] not among them? By Allah, he is the best to guide the people to the right path if he was to lead them."[586]

Thus did ʿUmar appoint a group for the council, formed of six people, after he criticised each one of them, except for ʿAlī (a.s.), whom he described as playful, but he stressed that ʿAlī (a.s.) was the best of them to let them tread the path of their Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).[587]

ʿUmar announced the members of the council who must choose the Caliph among them. These were: ʿAlī (a.s.), ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf.

ʿUmar did not have good intentions towards Banī Hāshim, nor towards ʿAlī (a.s.), and so he was more shrewed than he should let the members of the council elect ʿAlī (a.s.).[588]

ʿUmar sketched the outline work of the council and its conditions. They had to gather in a house that was under the surveillance of fifty men from the Anṣār, that they could elect someone from among them. If five of them agreed on one person and one refused, he would be killed; if four agreed on a person, the other two would be killed; if three agreed on a person and three on another person, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar would have to arbitrate. If they do not accept his ruling, they must give in to the side of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf.[589]

The equation the Caliph desired was very obvious, and its result was known by any prudent person from its very beginning. This is why Ibn ʿAbbās urged ʿAlī (a.s.) not to participate in the council, but ʿAlī said: "No, I will join them in the council, because ʿUmar has now given me the opportunity to assume the Caliphate. Before that he used to say: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had said: "Prophethood and Imāmah will not co-exist in one house." I will participate in it to show the people the contradiction of ʿUmar's actions."[590]

However, he emphasised in an explicit statement that by this play ʿUmar had turned the Caliphate away from Banī Hāshim, saying: "He joined me to ʿUthmān, and one must follow the majority. Saʿd will not oppose his cousin ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is ʿUthmān's in-law, and they will not differ. If the two other people were with me, they would not benefit me."[591]

Ṭalḥa withdrew himself in favour of ʿUthmān (according to the tradition that says that Ṭalḥa was present in the council); al-Zubayr withdrew himself in favour of ʿAlī (a.s.); Saʿd gave up his rights in favour of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān announced that he had taken himself out of the Caliphate and suggested to ʿAlī (a.s.) or ʿUthmān to give in to the other, but they remained silent. Al-Ṭabarī stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān spent the nights consulting the army commanders and the chiefs and would order all to choose ʿUthmān.[592] Three days later, the people gathered in the mosque in the morning, when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān came out to them and said: "I asked the people and I saw that they would not choose anyone other than ʿUthmān."[593] ʿAmmār and al-Miqdād shouted out, insisting on choosing ʿAlī (a.s.), and voices were loud in the mosque. ʿAmmār shouted out: "Why do you keep this affair far from the Household of the Messenger (ṣ.a.w.)?"

Then ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf said to ʿAlī (a.s.): "Do you vow to Allah to act according to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger and the life history of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar?" He (a.s.) said: "No, but I will act according to the Book of Allah, and the Sunnah of His Messenger as much as I can."

When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān posed this question to ʿUthmān, he said: "I will act according to the Book of Allah, the Sunnah of His Messenger and the life story of the two shaykhs." ʿAbd al-Raḥmān then asked ʿAlī (a.s.) the question again, and he gave the same answer, adding: "There is no need for the life history of any person along with the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger, but you just desire to keep this affair [of Caliphate] far from me."[594]

Thus did ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf choose ʿUthmān for the Caliphate and sat him on the seat of the government.

The truth was slaughtered again on the altar of falsity and dissension, and those who had raised their swords of enmity against the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) for many years saw that the opportunity had arised under the support of the Caliph of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), so

that they can resume their hostile stands against him.

When ʿAlī (a.s.) saw the outcome, he said to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān: "What an endowment have you granted to him [ʿUthmān]. This is indeed not the first time you have demonstrated your opposition to us: "*Yet patience is graceful, and Allah is my resort against what you allege.*"[595]

He then said: "By Allah, you did not appoint ʿUthmān as Caliph, but only to return the affair [of Caliphate] back to you."[596]

Al-Miqdād shouted: "I did not see anything like that which the Household had to undergo after their Prophet. It certainly surprises me that Quraish has left one to whom none can be compared in knowledge and justice. By Allah, if only I had supporters."[597]

ʿAmmār then said, out of his strong concern for Islam,

"O wailer [announcer of death] of Islam, stand up and wail;
The good has died and the wrong has taken its place."[598]

Was this not the case? Was the end of Islam not announced after Banī Umayyah seized power?! ʿUthmān came out on the first night after the pledge of allegiance was accomplished to him to pray the evening (ʿishā') prayer at the mosque, holding a candle with his hands. Al-Miqdād met him on the way and said to him: "What kind of innovation is this?!"[599]

In order to complete the investigation, we must put forth the following points:

1. We have quoted ʿAlī (a.s.) saying to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf:

"By Allah you did not appoint ʿUthmān as Caliph, but only to return the affair [of Caliphate] back to you."

He (a.s.) only expressed such a statement on the basis of the conditions of the manipulators of politics and the instigators of dissensions, if there were any attentive ears to listen at all. What attests to the truthfulness of his words is the following report by the historians: "After the sickness of ʿUthmān became intense, he requested a scribe and ordered him to write down that he had enjoined ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to assume the caliphate after him, so the scribe wrote as requested."[600]

2. Why did the Imām (a.s.) not agree to the condition put by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān?

Because years had passed after the death of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), and many changes had occurred during that time. Many laws were issued that were contradictory to the rulings of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and his Sunnah.[601]

How could the Imām (a.s.) accept this condition? If he accepted it and took control of the government, how could he harmonise between the contradictory teachings? What would he do about all those things that were changed?

Were the people ready to accept the restoration of the realities to their first path? The era of the Caliphate of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) proved that people were not ready to accept the restoration of the realities back to their first position. Even though many issues were clearly disclosed at that time, and the people were themselves inclined to him, he would still face difficulties in many decisions, as is the case with the Tarāwīḥ prayers.

If we were to pose this question from another angle and say: Why didn't the Imām (a.s.) accept ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's condition? We can see that he (a.s.) had two choices:

First: To accept the condition and establish a just and Islamic government.

Second: To refuse the condition, because it was not right, even though he would then sacrifice that critical position.

To put the question differently: Would ʿAbd al-Raḥmān pledge allegiance to him if he was to accept the condition?

Upon looking at the traditions that we have narrated regarding the council and the plot behind it and upon what the Imām (a.s.) said to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, it can be said with certainty that the answer is in the negative. Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) realized with his deep vision that all of these preparations taken were to justify the already made decision. If the Imām (a.s.) were to accept the condition, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān would have

resorted to another trick, such as saying that the army commanders and chiefs of the tribes prefer ʿUthmān. This would also end up with the choice of ʿUthmān. Far be it for ʿAlī (a.s.) to be tricked into such a scenario.

3. The equation of the council was already clear, and it is for this reason that ʿUmar ordered to kill anyone who would oppose it. After the pledge of allegiance to ʿUthmān by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf and the rest of the council, ʿAlī (a.s.) stood and refused to pledge allegiance, so Ibn ʿAwf said to him: "Pledge allegiance or else I will kill you."

This is what made al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā say with pain: "What kind of approval is this?....How can someone who is threatened to be killed be free to choose?"[602]

4. Making Disireous of Caliphate.

The final note to be made in this regard is that ʿUmar thereby ignited the fire of avarice for the Caliphate in the hearts of the council members. Sheikh al-Mufīd referred to this when he said: "Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ would see himself nothing in comparison to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), but his presence in the council gave him a feeling of eligibility for the Caliphate. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd also quotes this analysis from his teacher. Ṭalḥa had also inferred that his presence in the council meant that he was of equal status to ʿAlī (a.s.).[603] Muʿāwiyah confessed this meaning in one of his sermons.[604]

ʿUmar was successful for a second time to efface the 'right of Caliphate' and eradicate its sanctity. He gave Banī Umayyah power to commit all that corruption. By planting the spirit of aspiration for Caliphate in the souls of such individuals as Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, ʿUmar prepared the grounds for the breaking out of the forthcoming clashes.

Chapter Four

The Origins of the Revolution Against ʿUthmān

A) Luxury

171. **Murūj al-Dhahab:** "He [ʿUthmān] built his house in Medina and constructed it with stone and lime. Its doors were made of teak and juniper, even as he obtained money, gardens and wells in Medina. ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUtba said that on the day ʿUthmān was killed, he had one hundred and fifty thousand dinars and one million dirhams; his estates in the valley of al-Qurā and Ḥunain amounted to one hundred thousand dinars. He also left behind many horses and camels."[605]

172. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from Sulaym, from Abū ʿĀmir, who said: "I saw a cloak on ʿUthmān, which is equal to one hundred dinars."[606]

B) Dividing the Wealth among the Rich

i) Giving Preference to Kin

173. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf, narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said:** "Among the things for which men would criticise ʿUthmān was that he appointed al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ to receive the alms tax of the people of Quḍāʿah.[607] It reached three hundred thousand dirhams; when al-Ḥakam brought it to ʿUthmān, he granted it all to him."[608]

الفصل الرابع

مَبادِئُ الثَّورةِ عَلى عُثمانَ

أ ـ التَّرف

171. **مروج الذهب:** بَنىٰ [عُثمانُ] دارَهُ فِي المَدينَةِ، وشَيَّدَها بِالحَجَرِ وَالكِلسِ، وجَعَلَ أبوابَها مِنَ السّاجِ وَالعَرعَرِ، وَاقتَنى أموالاً وجِناناً وعُيوناً بِالمَدينَةِ.

وذَكَرَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عُتبَةَ أنَّ عُثمانَ يَومَ قُتِلَ كانَ لَهُ عِندَ خازِنِهِ مِنَ المالِ خَمسونَ ومِئَةُ ألفِ دينار، وألفُ ألفِ دِرهَمٍ، وقيمَةُ ضِياعِهِ بِوادِي القُرىٰ وحُنَينٍ وغَيرِهِما مِئَةُ ألفِ دينارٍ، وخَلَّفَ خَيلاً كَثيراً وإبِلاً.

172. **أنساب الأشراف عن سُلَيم أبي عامر:** رَأَيتُ عَلى عُثمانَ بُرداً ثَمَنُهُ مِئَةُ دينارٍ.

ب ـ جَعلُ المالِ دولَةً بَينَ الأَغنِياءِ

1. إستِئثارُ الأقارب

173. **أنساب الأشراف عن ابن عبّاس:** كانَ مِمّا أنكَروا عَلىٰ عُثمانَ أنَّهُ وَلّى الحَكَمَ ابنَ أبِي العاصِ صَدَقاتِ قُضاعَةَ، فَبَلَغَت ثَلاثَمِئَةِ ألفِ دِرهَمٍ، فَوَهَبَها لَهُ حينَ أتاهُ بِها.

174. **Tārīkh Abī al-Fidā':** "He [ʿUthmān] granted Fadak[609] to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, even though it was the charity of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) which Fāṭimah demanded to be given back to her as inheritance. Abū Bakr had quoted the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) saying: "We the prophets do not bequeath; what we leave is charity." It continued to be in the hands of Marwān and his children until the reign of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who took it away from them and returned it as charity."[610]

175. **Al-Maʿārif, by Ibn Qutayba:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) granted Mahzūr [a marketplace in Medina] to the Muslims as charity, but ʿUthmān gave it to al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam, a brother of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, and he [ʿUthmān] gave Fadak to Marwān, even though it was the charity of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)."[611]

176. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "'Uthmān married his daughter to ʿAbdullah ibn Khālid ibn Usayd and ordered that seven hundred thousand dirhams be given to him. He wrote to ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir [his governor over Baṣra] to pay it to him from the Muslim Treasury of Baṣra."[612]

177. **Al-Maʿārif, by Ibn Qutayba:** "' When Abdullah ibn Khālid ibn Usayd requested from ʿUthmān a grant, ʿUthmān gave him four hundred thousand dirhams."[613]

ii) Giving Preference to Associates

178. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha:** "He [ʿUthmān] gave Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb two hundred thousand from the Muslim Treasury, even as he ordered that two hundred thousand be given to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam from the Muslim Treasury."[614]

179. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥa, who said: "During ʿUthmān's Caliphate, he gave Ṭalḥa two hundred thousand dinars."[615]

180. **Tārīkh al-Madīnah,** narrating from Mūsā ibn Ṭalḥa, who said: "'Uthmān was the first to give out lands that were special to the progeny of the Iranian commanders. He gave al-Nashāstaj[616] to Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaidullah."[617]

174. **تاريخ أبي الفداء:** أقطَعَ [عُثمانُ] مَروانَ بنَ الحَكَمِ فَدَكَ، وهِيَ صَدَقَةُ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ الَّتي طَلَبَتها فاطِمَةُ ميراثاً! فَرَوىٰ أبو بَكر عَن رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ: نَحنُ مَعاشِرَ الأَنبياءِ لا نُوَرِّثُ، ما تَرَكناهُ صَدَقَةٌ. ولَم تَزَل فَدَكُ في يَدِ مَروانَ وبَنيهِ إلىٰ أن تَوَلّىٰ عُمَرُ بنُ عَبدِ العَزيزِ، فَانتَزَعَها مِن أهلِهِ ورَدَّها صَدَقَةً.

175. **المعارف لابن قتيبة:** تَصَدَّقَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ بِمَهزورٍ ـ مَوضِعِ سوقِ المَدينَةِ ـ عَلَى المُسلِمينَ، فَأَقطَعَها عُثمانُ الحارِثَ بنَ الحَكَمِ؛ أخا مَروانَ بنِ الحَكَمِ، وأقطَعَ مَروانَ فَدَكَ وهِيَ صَدَقَةُ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ .

176. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** زَوَّجَ عُثمانُ بِنتَهُ مِن عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ خالِدِ بنِ اُسَيدٍ، وأمَرَ لَهُ بِستِّمِئَةِ ألفِ دِرهَمٍ، وكَتَبَ إلىٰ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ عامِرٍ أن يَدفَعَها إلَيهِ مِن بَيتِ مالِ البَصرَةِ.

177. **المَعارِف لِابنِ قُتَيبَة:** وطَلَبَ إلَيهِ [إلى عُثمانَ] عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ خالِدِ بنِ اُسَيدٍ صِلةً، فَأعطاهُ أربَعَمِئَةِ ألفِ دِرهَمٍ.

2. **إستِئثارُ الآخرين**

178. **شرح نهج البلاغة:** أعطى [عثمانُ] أبا سُفيانَ بنَ حَربٍ مِئَتَي ألفٍ مِن بَيتِ المالِ، فِي اليَومِ الَّذي أمَرَ فيهِ لِمَروانَ بنِ الحَكَمِ بِمِئَةِ ألفٍ مِن بَيتِ المالِ.

179. **أنساب الأشراف عن موسى بن طلحة:** أعطىٰ عُثمانُ طَلحَةَ في خِلافَتِهِ مِئَتَي ألفِ دينارٍ.

180. **تاريخ المدينة عن موسى بن طَلحَة:** أوَّلُ مَن أقطَعَ بِالعِراقِ عُثمانُ بن عَفّانَ قَطائِعَ مِمّا كانَ مِن صَوافي آلِ كَسرى، ومِمّا جَلا عَنهُ أهلُهُ، فَقَطَعَ لِطَلحَةَ ابنِ عُبَيدِ اللّهِ النَّشاستَجَ.

181. **Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,** narrating from Abū Ḥuṣain, who said: "'Uthmān allowed al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām to take six hundred thousand [dirhams from the Muslim Treasury]. He went to visit his maternal uncles the Banī Kāhil and he said to them: "Which of the wealth is better?" They said: "The wealth of Esfahan." He said: "Then give me the wealth of Esfahan."[618]

C) Returning Those Banished by the Messenger of Allah

182. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "'Uthmān wrote to al-Ḥakam ibn al-ʿĀṣ who was banished by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) to come to him. When Abū Bakr was the Caliph, 'Uthmān and a group from Banī Umayyah went to meet Abū Bakr and asked him to return al-Ḥakam, but he refused to permit him; they also tried when 'Umar was Caliph, but he also refused to allow him. So, the people were displeased with 'Uthmān allowing al-Ḥakam to return.

A person [from Medina] said: "I saw al-Ḥakam ibn al-ʿĀṣ on the day he entered Medina, wearing old and torn clothes having a billy goat with him. He entered the house of 'Uthmān while the people were watching his bad conditions. However, he came out [of 'Uthmān's house] wearing a silk coat and a green cloak."[619]

D) Punishing Those Who Would Deny His Innovations

Exiling Abū Dharr

183. **Murūj al-Dhahab,** quoting the defects and faults of 'Uthmān: "Among that is what he did to Abū Dharr: he was present in one of 'Uthmān's gatherings, when 'Uthmān said: "What do you think: if a person gives the alms tax of his money, is there any other rights due?" Kaʿb said: "No, O Commander of the faithful."

Abū Dharr hit Kaʿb on his chest and said to him: "O son of the Jewish woman, you have lied." He then recited the verse: "*Piety is not to turn your faces to the east or the west.*"[620] 'Uthmān said: "Do you find it wrong for us to take money from the Muslim Treasury and spend it on our own affairs, or to give it to you?" Kaʿb said:

181. **الطبقات الكبرى عن أبي حصين:** إنَّ عُثمانَ أجازَ الزُّبَيرَ بنَ العَوّامِ بِستِّمِئَةِ ألفٍ، فَنَزَلَ عَلىٰ أخوالِهِ؛ بَني كاهِلٍ، فَقالَ: أيُّ المالِ أجوَدُ؟ قالوا: مالُ أصبَهانَ. قالَ: أعطوني مِن مالِ أصبَهانَ.

ج ـ رَدُّ طُرَداءِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ

182. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** كَتَبَ عُثمانُ إلَى الحَكَمِ بنِ أبِي العاصِ أن يَقدَمَ عَلَيهِ وكانَ طَريدَ رَسولِ اللّهِ وقَد كانَ عُثمانُ لَمّا وُلِّيَ أبو بَكرٍ اِجتَمَعَ هُوَ وقَومٌ مِن بَني أُمَيَّةَ إلى أبي بَكرٍ، فَسَألوهُ فِي الحَكَمِ، فَلَم يَأذَن لَهُ، فَلَمّا وُلِّيَ عُمَرُ فَعلوا ذلِكَ، فَلَم يَأذَن لَهُ فَأنكَرَ النّاسُ إذنَهُ لَهُ.

وقالَ بَعضُهُم: رَأَيتُ الحَكَمَ بنَ أبِي العاصِ يَومَ قَدِمَ المَدينَةَ عَلَيهِ فِرَر خلقٍ، وهُوَ يَسوق تَيساً، حَتّى دَخَلَ دارَ عُثمانَ، وَالنّاسُ يَنظُرونَ إلى سوءِ حالِهِ وحالِ مَن مَعَهُ، ثُمَّ خَرَجَ وعَلَيهِ جُبَّةُ خَزٍّ وطَيلَسانٌ.

د ـ مُعاقَبَةُ مَن أنكَرَ عَلَيهِ أحداثَهُ

نَفيُ أبي ذَرٍّ

183. **مُروج الذّهب ـ** في ذِكرِ ما طُعِنَ بِهِ عَلى عُثمانَ ـ : ومِن ذلِكَ ما فَعَلَ بِأبي ذَرٍّ؛ وَهُوَ أنَّهُ حَضَرَ مَجلِسَهُ ذاتَ يَومٍ، فَقالَ عُثمانُ: أ رَأَيتُم مَن زَكّى مالَهُ، هَل فيهِ حَقٌّ لِغَيرِهِ؟ فَقالَ كَعبٌ: لا، يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ.

فَدَفَعَ أبو ذَرٍّ في صَدرِ كَعبٍ، وَقالَ لَهُ: كَذِبتَ يَابنَ اليَهودِيِّ، ثُمَّ تَلا: ﴿لَّيْسَ الْبِرَّ أَن تُوَلُّوا وُجُوهَكُمْ قِبَلَ الْمَشْرِقِ وَ الْمَغْرِبِ﴾ الآيَةَ.

"There is no problem with that."

Abū Dharr raised his stick, hit Kaʿb's chest with it, and said: "O son of the Jewish woman, you are too bold to give an opinion about our religion?" ʿUthmān then said: "Why do you hurt me? Get your face away from me, since you have hurt me much." Abū Dharr then left to Syria.

After this, Muʿāwiyah wrote to ʿUthmān, saying: "Crowds of people gather around Abū Dharr, and I fear that he will corrupt them against you; if you need these people, then you must bring him back to you."

ʿUthmān wrote back to him asking him to return him. Muʿāwiyah put him on a camel that had a dry saddle, accompanied by five harsh people, hastening until they reached Medinah. The skin of his thighs was torn off and he was about to die. They said to him: "You were about to die because of this." He said: "Far be it, I will not die until I am banished." He then narrated to them that which would happen to him and who would bury him.

ʿUthmān took good care of him in his house for a few days, and then visited him and sat with him on his knees. He spoke with him and mentioned to him the prophetic tradition about the children of Abū al-ʿĀṣ: "If they reach thirty, they will make the servants of Allah slaves."....

On that day the leftover money of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf al-Zuhrī was brought to ʿUthmān, and the bags brought were so much that it blocked between ʿUthmān and the man standing up. ʿUthmān said: "I wish the best for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, because he would give as charity, he was hospitable to guests and he left all that you see."

Kaʿb al-Aḥbār said: "O Commander of the Faithful, you are right." Abū Dharr then raised his stick and hit Kaʿb's head with it. He then said: "O son of the Jewish woman, you say about a man who has died and left all this money: Allah has given him the

فَقالَ عُثمانُ: أ تَرَونَ بَأساً أن نَأخُذَ مالاً مِن بَيتِ مالِ المُسلِمينَ فَنُنفِقَهُ فيما يَنوبُنا مِن أُمورِنا، ونُعطيكُموهُ؟ فَقالَ كَعبٌ: لا بَأسَ بِذلِكَ.

فَرَفَعَ أبو ذَرٍّ العَصا، فَدَفَعَ بِها في صَدرِ كَعبٍ، وَقالَ: يَابنَ اليَهودِيِّ ما أجرَأَكَ عَلَى القَولِ في دينِنا!

فَقالَ لَهُ عُثمانُ: ما أكثَرَ أذاكَ لي! غَيِّب وَجهَكَ عَنّي؛ فَقَد آذَيتَنا. فَخَرَجَ أبو ذَرٍّ إلَى الشّامِ.

فَكَتَبَ مُعاوِيَةُ إلى عُثمانَ: إنَّ أبا ذَرٍّ تَجتَمِعُ إلَيهِ الجُموعُ، ولا آمَنُ أن يُفسِدَهُم عَلَيكَ، فَإن كانَ لَكَ فِي القَومِ حاجَةٌ فَاحمِلهُ إلَيكَ.

فَكَتَبَ إلَيهِ عُثمانُ بِحَملِهِ. فَحَمَلَهُ عَلى بَعيرٍ، عَلَيهِ قَتَبٌ يابِسٌ، مَعَهُ خَمسَةٌ مِنَ الصَّقالِبَةِ يَطيرونَ بِهِ، حَتّى أتَوا بِهِ المَدينَةَ، وقَد تَسَلَّخَت بَواطِنُ أفخاذِهِ، وكادَ أن يَتلِفَ، فَقيلَ لَهُ: إنَّكَ تَموتُ مِن ذلِكَ. فَقالَ: هَيهاتَ، لَن أموتَ حَتّى أُنفىٰ. وذَكَرَ جَوامِعَ ما يَنزِلُ بِهِ بَعدُ، ومَن يَتَوَلّى دَفنَهُ.

فَأَحسَنَ إلَيهِ في دارِهِ أيّاماً، ثُمَّ دَخَلَ إلَيهِ فَجَلَسَ عَلى رُكبَتَيهِ، وتَكَلَّمَ بِأَشياءَ، وذَكَرَ الخَبَرَ في وُلدِ أبِي العاصِ: «إذا بَلَغوا ثَلاثينَ رَجُلاً اِتَّخَذوا عِبادَ اللّهِ خَوَلاً»... وكانَ في ذلِكَ اليَومِ قَد أُتِيَ عُثمانُ بِتَرِكَةِ عَبدِ الرَّحمٰنِ بنِ عَوف الزُّهرِيِّ مِنَ المالِ، فَنُثِرَتِ البِدَرُ حَتّىٰ حالَت بَينَ عُثمانَ وبَينَ الرَّجُلِ القائِمِ، فَقالَ عُثمانُ: إنّي لِأَرجو لِعَبدِ الرَّحمٰنِ خَيراً؛ لِأَنَّهُ كانَ يَتَصَدَّقُ، ويُقري الضَّيفَ، وتَرَكَ ما تَرَونَ.

فَقالَ كَعبُ الأَحبارِ: صَدَقتَ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، فَشالَ أبو ذَرٍّ العَصا، فَضَرَبَ بِها رَأسَ

best of this world and the best of the hereafter, and you attribute that to Allah with certainty. I heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say: "I would not be pleased to die and leave behind that which amounts to one carat."

ʿUthmān said to him: "Leave me alone."

Abū Dharr said: "I shall go to Mecca?"

ʿUthmān said: "Nay, by Allah."

Abū Dharr said: "You prevent me from going to the House of my Lord to worship Him until I die." ʿUthmān said: "Yes, by Allah."

Abū Dharr said: "To Syria?"

ʿUthmān said: "Nay, by Allah."

Abū Dharr said: "Then to Baṣra?"

ʿUthmān said: "Nay, by Allah. Choose a place other than these two."

Abū Dharr said: "No, by Allah, I will not choose anything other than what I have mentioned to you; if you dismiss me to my place of migration [Medina], I will not desire any other city. So, send me to any place you wish."

ʿUthmān said: "Then I will send you to al-Rabadha."

Abū Dharr said: "Allah is Greater! The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) has indeed spoken the truth. He informed me about whatever I will face."

ʿUthmān said: "And what did he say to you?"

Abū Dharr said: "He informed me that I would be prevented from going to Mecca or Medina, and that I would die in al-Rabadhah, where people on their way from Iraq to al-Ḥijāz would bury me."

Abū Dharr then sent for his camel and put his wife [or his daughter] on it. ʿUthmān ordered that people should keep away from him until he goes to al-Rabadhah.

When he left Medina accompanied by Marwān, ʿAlī ibn Abī

كَعب، ولَم يَشغَلهُ ما كانَ فيهِ مِنَ الأَلَمِ، وقالَ: يَابنَ اليَهودِيِّ تَقولُ لِرَجُلٍ ماتَ وتَرَكَ هذَا المالَ: إنَّ اللّهَ أعطاهُ خَيرَ الدُّنيا وخَيرَ الآخِرَةِ، وتَقطَعُ عَلَى اللّهِ بِذلِكَ! وأنَا سَمِعتُ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ يَقولُ: «ما يَسُرُّني أن أموتَ وأدَعَ ما يَزِنُ قيراطاً»! !

فَقالَ لَهُ عُثمانُ: وارِ عَنّي وَجهَكَ. فَقالَ: أسيرُ إلىٰ مَكَّةَ؟ قالَ: لا وَاللّهِ. قالَ: فَتَمنَعُني مِن بَيتِ رَبّي أعبُدُهُ فيهِ حَتّى أموتَ؟ قالَ: إي وَاللّهِ.

قالَ: فَإِلَى الشّامِ؟ قالَ: لا وَاللّهِ.

قالَ: البَصرَةِ؟ قالَ: لا وَاللّهِ، فَاختَر غَيرَ هذِهِ البُلدانِ.

قالَ: لا واللّهِ، ما أختارُ غيرَ ما ذَكَرتُ لَكَ، ولَو تَرَكتَني في دارِ هِجرَتي ما أزدتُ شَيئاً مِنَ البُلدانِ، فَسَيِّرني حَيثُ شِئتَ مِنَ البِلادِ.

قالَ: فَإِنّي مُسَيِّرُكَ إلَى الرَّبَذَةِ. قالَ: اللّهُ أكبَرُ! صَدَقَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ؛ قَد أخبَرَني بِكُلِّ ما أنَا لاقٍ.

قالَ عُثمانُ: وما قالَ لَكَ ؟! قالَ: أخبَرَني بِأَنّي أُمنَعُ عَن مَكَّةَ وَالمَدينَةِ، وأموتُ بِالرَّبَذَةِ، ويَتَوَلّىٰ مُواراتي نَفَرٌ مِمَّن يَرِدونَ مِنَ العِراقِ نَحوَ الحِجازِ.

وبَعَثَ أبو ذَرٍّ إلىٰ جَمَلٍ لَهُ، فَحَمَلَ عَلَيهِ امرَأَتَهُ، وقيلَ: ابنَتَهُ. وأمَرَ عُثمانُ أن يَتَجافاهُ النّاسُ حَتّى يَسيرَ إلَى الرَّبَذَةِ.

فَلَمّا طَلَعَ عَنِ المَدينَةِ ـ ومَروانُ يُسَيِّرُ[هُ] عَنها ـ طَلَعَ عَلَيهِ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ(رضي اللّه عنه)، ومَعَهُ ابناهُ الحَسَنُ وَالحُسَينُ، وعَقيلٌ أخوهُ، وعَبدُ اللّه بنُ جَعفَرٍ، وعَمّارُ بنُ ياسِرٍ.

فَاعتَرَضَ مَروانُ، فَقالَ: يا عَلِيُّ، إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ قَد نَهَى النّاسَ أن يَصحَبوا أبا ذَرٍّ في

Ṭālib (a.s.), his two sons Ḥasan and Ḥusain, his brother ʿAqīl, ʿAbdullah ibn Jaʿfar and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir were there to bid him farewell. Marwān opposed, saying: "O ʿAlī, the Commander of the faithful has forbidden people from accompaning Abū Dharr on his journey and from seeing him off; if you do not know, I have now informed you."

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) went forward to attack Marwān with his whip and hit the animal Marwān was riding on, saying: "Move aside, may Allah drag you to Hell." He proceeded with Abū Dharr to escort him and bid him farewell, and then went away.

When ʿAlī went away, Abū Dharr began to cry, and then said: "May Allah have mercy on you the Ahlul Bayt. O Abū al-Ḥasan, when I see you and your children, I remember the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).

Marwān complained to ʿUthmān about what ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib did to him, so ʿUthmān said: "O people, what shall I do with ʿAlī? He sent back my messenger, and he did such and such. By Allah, we will give him what he deserves. When ʿAlī came back, the people said to him: "The Commander of the Faithful is angry with you, because you escorted Abū Dharr." ʿAlī said: "The anger of the horse is over the rein."

When night came, ʿAlī went to ʿUthmān, who in turn said to him: "What made you do what you did to Marwān? Why did you send back my messenger and disobey my command?"

ʿAlī said: "As for Marwān, he stood in front of me to prevent me, so I kept him off. As for your command, I did not disobey it."

ʿUthmān said: "Did you not know I had forbidden the people from bidding Abū Dharr farewell?

ʿAlī said: "Do we have to follow whatever you command us to do while we believe that they are contrary to the obedience to God and the compliance with the Truth?! By Allah, we will not do so."

ʿUthmān said: "Let Mawrān retaliate against you."

مَسيرِهِ ويُشَيِّعوهُ، فَإن كُنتَ لَم تَدرِ بِذٰلِكَ فَقَد أعلَمتُكَ!

فَحَمَلَ عَلَيهِ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ بِالسَّوطِ، وضَرَبَ بَينَ أُذُنَي راحِلَتِهِ، وقالَ: تَنَحَّ، نَحّاكَ اللّهُ إلَى النّارِ. ومَضىٰ مَعَ أبي ذَرٍّ فَشَيَّعَهُ، ثُمَّ وَدَّعَهُ وَانصَرَفَ.

فَلَمّا أرادَ عَلِيٌّ الإنصِرافَ بَكىٰ أبو ذَرٍّ، وقالَ: رَحِمَكُمُ اللّهُ أهلَ البَيتِ، إذا رَأيتُكَ يا أبَا الحَسَنِ ووُلدَكَ ذَكَرتُ بِكُم رَسولَ اللّهِ ﷺ.

فَشَكا مَروانُ إلى عُثمانَ ما فَعَلَ بِهِ عَلِيّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ، فقالَ عُثمانُ: يا مَعشَرَ المُسلِمينَ! مَن يَعذِرُني مِن عَلِيٍّ؟ رَدَّ رَسولي عَمّا وَجَّهتُهُ لَهُ، وفَعَلَ كَذٰا، وَاللّهِ لَنُعطِيَنَّهُ حَقَّهُ!

فَلَمّا رَجَعَ عَلِيٌّ إستَقبَلَهُ النّاسُ، فَقالوا لَهُ: إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عَليكَ غَضبانُ؛ لِتَشييعِكَ أبا ذَرٍّ. فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: «غَضَبُ الخَيلِ عَلَى اللُّجُمِ».

فَلَمّا كانَ بِالعَشِيِّ جاءَ إلى عُثمانَ، فَقالَ لَهُ: ما حَمَلَكَ عَلى ما صَنَعتَ بِمَروانَ! ولِمَ اجتَرَأتَ عَلَيَّ، ورَدَدتَ رَسولي وأمري؟!

قالَ: أمّا مَروانُ؛ فَإنَّهُ استَقبَلَني يَرُدُّني، فَرَدَدتُهُ عَن رَدّي. وأمّا أمرُكَ فَلَم أرُدَّهُ.

قال عُثمانُ: أ لَم يُبلِغكَ أنّي قَد نَهَيتُ النّاسَ عَن أبي ذَرٍّ وعَن تَشييعِهِ؟

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: أوَكُلُّ ما أمَرتَنا بِهِ مِن شَيءٍ نَرىٰ طاعَةَ اللّهِ وَالحَقَّ في خِلافِهِ اتَّبَعنا فيهِ أمرَكَ!! بِاللّهِ لا نَفعَلُ.

قالَ عُثمانُ: أقِد مَروانَ.

قالَ: ومِمَّ أُقيدُهُ؟

ʿAlī said: "Which retaliation?"

ʿUthmān said: "You hit the head of the animal he was riding on, and you swore at him, so he will swear at you and hit the animal you ride on."

ʿAlī said: "As for the animal I ride on, it is right there, so if he wishes to hit it, let him do so. As for me, by Allah, if he swears at me, I will swear at you, and I only speak the truth.

ʿUthmān said: "And why can he not swear at you when you swore at him, for by Allah, in my view, you are not better than him."

ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib became angry and said: "Do you speak to me like this?" And are you considering me equal to Marwān? By Allah, I am even better than you! My father is better than your father, and my mother is better than your mother. This is my nobility that I have shown to you, so show me your nobility."

ʿUthmān got angry and his face turned red. He then stood up and entered his house. ʿAlī left, and his household gathered around him, along with men from the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār.

When the next day came, people gathered around ʿUthmān, and he complained to them about ʿAlī. He said: "He disgraces me and supports those who disgrace me –referring to Abū Dharr, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and others–." The people intervened and tried to reconcile between them. ʿAlī said to him: "By Allah, I escorted Abū Dharr only to seek reward from Allah the Almighty."[621]

قالَ: ضَرَبتَ بَينَ أُذُنَي راحِلَتِهِ، وشَتَمتَهُ، فَهُوَ شاتِمُكَ وضارِبٌ بَينَ أُذُنَي راحِلَتِكَ.

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: أمّا راحِلَتي فَهِيَ تِلكَ، فَإن أرادَ أن يَضرِبَها كَما ضَرَبتُ راحِلَتَهُ فَليَفعَل، وأمّا أنَا فَوَاللّهِ لَئِن شَتَمَني لأَشتَمَنَّكَ أنتَ مِثلَها بِما لا أكذِبُ فيهِ، ولا أقولُ إلّا حَقّاً.

قالَ عُثمانُ: ولِمَ لا يَشتِمُكَ إذا شَتَمتَهُ؟ !، فَوَاللّهِ ما أنتَ عِندي بِأَفضَلَ مِنهُ !

فَغَضِبَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ، وقالَ: أليَ تَقولُ هذَا القَولَ ؟! وبِمَروانَ تعدِلُني! ! فَأَنَا وَاللّهِ أفضَلُ مِنكَ! وأبي أفضَلُ مِن أبيكَ! وأُمّي أفضَلُ مِن أُمِّكَ! وهذِهِ نَبلي قد نَثَلتُها، وهَلُمَّ فَانثُلْ بِنَبلِكَ.

فَغَضِبَ عُثمانُ، وَاحمَرَّ وَجهُهُ، فَقامَ ودَخَلَ دارَهُ. وَانصَرَفَ عَلِيٌّ، فَاجتَمَعَ إلَيهِ أهلُ بَيتِهِ، ورِجالٌ مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ.

فَلَمّا كانَ مِنَ الغَدِ وَاجتَمَعَ النّاسُ إلى عُثمانَ شَكا إلَيهِم عَلِيّاً، وقالَ: إنَّهُ يَعيبُني ويُظاهِرُ مَن يَعيبُني ـ يُريدُ بِذلِكَ أبا ذَرٍّ وعَمّارَ بنَ ياسِرٍ وغَيرَهُما ـ فَدَخَلَ النّاسُ بَينَهُما، حَتّى اصطَلَحا، وقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: وَاللّهِ، ما أرَدتُ بِتَشييعِ أبي ذَرٍّ إلّا اللّهَ تَعالى.

Distorting the History of the Exile of Abū Dharr

Distorting the facts within the old historical sources lead to the distortion of realities and misguidance of people. He who looks into the pages of history sees with the eye of regret how the old sources underwent distortion.

One of the clearest examples is distorting the information regarding the banishing of Abū Dharr. We see al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr speaking about the preliminaries of banishing and its grounds, but they desist from revealing the realities and depicting the truth of the event as it was.

Al-Ṭabarī in his Tārīkh writes:

"In this year –that is 30 [AH] – broke out the clash between Abū Dharr and Muʿāwiyah, where Muʿāwiyah expelled him from Syria to Medina. Many reasons have been mentioned as to why he expelled Abū Dharr to Medina, but I do not like to mention most of them. As for those who seek to find an excuse for Muʿāwiyah, they mention a story....."[622]

As for Ibn al-Athīr, he says: "In this year [that is 30 AH], broke out the clash between Abū Dharr and Muʿāwiyah where he expelled him from Syria to Medina. Many reasons have been mentioned about its grounds such as Muʿāwiyah cursing him, threatening to kill him, sending him from Syria to Medina without any equipment, banishing

تَحْرِيفُ التَّارِيخِ فِي قَضِيَّةِ نَفْيِ أَبِي ذَرّ

إنّ تحريف الحقائق في النصوص التأريخيّة القديمة أمر يدعو إلى تشويه الواقع وإضلال النّاس من جهة، وإلى الأسف العميق من جهة أُخرى. حيث إنّ الناظر في طيّات التاريخ ينظر بعين الأسى إلى ما نال النصوص القديمة من التحريف؛ وهو في الحقيقة له أسباب كثيرة، يطول الكلام ببيانها.

ومن أوضح مصاديقه هو تحريف المعلومات المتعلّقة بقضيّة نفي أبي ذرّ. فنرى الطبري وابن الأثير قد تناولا ممهّدات النفي وطبيعته وكيفيّته وملابسات إخراج أبي ذرّ من الشام على نحو الإشارة. بَيْد أنّهما أحجما عن كشف الحقائق وتصوير الواقع الصادق.

أمّا الطبري فقد ذكر في تأريخه: وفي هذه السنة أعني سنة ثلاثين كان ما ذُكر من أمر أبي ذرّ ومعاوية، وإشخاص معاوية إيّاه من الشام إلى المدينة، وقد ذُكر في سبب إشخاصه إيّاه منها إليها أُمور كثيرة، كرهت ذكر أكثرها. فأمّا العاذرون معاوية في ذلك، فإنّهم ذكروا في ذلك قصّة... .

him from Medina in such a repulsive way that it is incorrect to narrate; if it was correct, then it would be suitable to look for an excuse for ʿUthmān, because the leader can discipline his subjects. However, I do not like to mention any of them. As for those who seek to find excuses, they have said....."[623]

Thus do they cover up the truth. Furthermore, they narrated false information about Abū Dharr and they try to defame the sanctity of 'the most truthful person on earth'. It is surprising that these two historians cite their reports from Sayf ibn ʿUmar who is the pioneer of fabrication of traditions and is the model of slander and the example for the spreading of lies.

No one has ever lauded Sayf. Ibn Muʿīn has classified him as 'weak', saying: "a small coin of money is better than him." Abū Ḥātam says that: "his traditions are disregarded." Al-Nasāʾī and al-Dārquṭnī have also declared his weakness. Abū Dāwūd has said: "He is worthless." Ibn Ḥabbān has said: "He attributes fabricated traditions to distinguished people." He is accused of atheisism. They have said: "He fabricated traditions." Al-Ḥākim also believes that he is accused of atheism.[624]

All of the narrations of Sayf ibn ʿUmar praise the acts of ʿUthmān and defend him; for example he says regarding the banishing of Abū Dharr by ʿUthmān:

"He [Abū Dharr] said [to ʿUthmān]: "Give me permission to leave, for Medina is not appropriate for me" ʿUthmān said: "Is there anyplace better than it?" Abū Dharr said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) commanded me to leave it if the houses of Medina reach the area of Salʿ[625]. ʿUthmān said: "Then do what he has commanded you to do."

He [the narrator] said: "Abū Dharr left until he got to al-Rabadhah, were he allocated a place for a mosque. ʿUthmān gave him a number (ṣirma)[626] of camels and two servants, and also sent a message to him: "let you pay a visit to Medina time after time so that you may not turn a Bedouin." And he did so."

وأمّا ابن الأثير فقال: وفي هذه السنة ٣٠[هـ] كان ما ذكر في أمر أبي ذرّ، وإشخاص معاوية إيّاه من الشام إلى المدينة، وقد ذُكر في سبب ذلك أُمور كثيرة من سبّ معاوية إيّاه، وتهديده بالقتل، وحمله إلى المدينة من الشام بغير وطاء، ونفيه من المدينة على الوجه الشنيع، لا يصحّ النقل به، ولو صحّ لكان ينبغي أن يعتذر عن عثمان؛ فإنَّ للإمام أن يؤدّب رعيّته، وغير ذلك من الأعذار، لا أن يجعل ذلك سبباً للطعن عليه! ! كرهتُ ذكرها.

وأمّا العاذرون فإنّهم قالوا:... .

وهكذا يسدلان الستار على الحقائق. ومن جانب آخر، ينقلان معلومات كاذبة عن أبي ذرّ، فيحاولان المَسَّ بقُدسيّة «أصدَق مَن أقَلَّتهُ الغَبراءُ». ومن العجب أنّهما يوردان ذلك كلّه عن سيف بن عمر بطل الوضع والاختلاق، ومثال الافتراء، والنموذج الماثل لإشاعة الكذب.

إنّ أحداً لم يُثْنِ على سيف؛ فقد ضعّفه ابن معين وقال: «فليس خيرٌ منه». وذهب أبو حاتم إلى أنّه «مَتروكُ الحَديثِ». ونصّ النسائي والدارقطني على ضعفه. وقال أبو داوود: «ليس بشيء». وقال ابن حبّان: «يروي الموضوعات عن الأثباتِ». اتُّهم بالزندقة، وقالوا: إنّه كان يضع الحديث، وذهب الحاكم أيضاً إلى أنّه متّهم بالزندقة.

وأمّا أخبار سيف بن عمر فجميعها تبيّض صحيفة عثمان وتدافع عنه، فيقول مثلاً في نفي أبي ذرّ من قبل عثمان:

قالَ [أبو ذَرٍّ لِعُثمانَ]: فَتَأذَنُ لي فِي الخُروجِ؟ فَإنَّ المَدينَةَ لَيسَت لي بِدارٍ. فَقالَ: أ وَتَستَبدِلُ بِها إلّا شَرّاً مِنها؟! قالَ: أمَرَني رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ أن أخرُجَ مِنها إذا بَلَغَ البِناءُ سَلعاً. قالَ: فَانفُذ لِما أمَرَكَ بِهِ.

He [the narrator] also said: "Abū Dharr left for al-Rabadhah of his own accord, because he saw that ʿUthmān was not inclined to him."[627]

We also know that some of the falsities concerning ʿAbdullah ibn Saba' were also among his fabrications; he gave this fabricated personality such wonderful power that he made ʿAbdullah ibn Saba' the model for all kinds of dispute and opposition against ʿUthmān and Muʿāwiyah.

قالَ: فَخَرَجَ حَتّىٰ نَزَلَ الرَّبَذَةَ فَخَطَّ بِها مَسجِداً، وأقطَعَهُ عُثمانُ صِرمَةً مِنَ الإبِلِ، وأعطاهُ مَملوكَينِ، وأرسَلَ إلَيهِ: أن تَعاهَدِ المَدينَةَ حَتّىٰ لا تَرتَدَّ أعرابِيّاً، فَفَعَلَ.

وقال أيضاً: خَرَجَ أبو ذَرٍّ إلَى الرَّبَذَةِ مِن قِبَلِ نَفسِهِ، لَمّا رَأى عُثمانُ لا يَنزَعُ لَهُ.

ونحن نعلم أنّ بعض الأباطيل حول «عبد اللّه بن سبأ» من مختلقاته أيضاً؛ إذ منح لهذه الشخصيّة قابليّة عجيبة حتّى جعلها عَلَماً لجميع ضروب الاحتجاج والاعتراض على عثمان ومعاوية.

E) The Origins of the Revolution Against ʿUthmān

i) Beating ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir

184. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from Abū Mikhnaf, who said –in his chain of transmission–: "There was a receptacle in the Muslim Treasury of Medina full of jewellery and precious stones, so ʿUthmān took what he wished from it and gave it to his family members. The people expressed their displeasure to him and spoke to him with harsh words until they angered him. So, he delivered a sermon, saying: "We will take whatever we need from the Muslim Treasury, even though people are averse to it."

ʿAlī said to him: "Then, you will be prevented and hindered from it."

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir said: "I bear whitness to Allah that I am the first to oppose."

ʿUthmān said: "O son of the uncircumcised woman, are you standing against me? Catch him!"

They held him, and ʿUthmān came in. He called for ʿAmmār and began to beat him until he fell unconscious. He was then taken out and carried to the house of Um Salamah, the wife of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.); as he was unconscious he could not pray noon, afternoon and evening prayers. When he woke up, he performed the ablution and prayed, and said: "Praise be to Allah,

هـ ـ مبادئ الثورة على عثمان

1. ضَربُ عَمّارِ بنِ ياسِر

184. **أنساب الأشراف عن أبي مِخنَف** ـ في إسنادِهِ ـ : كانَ في بَيتِ المالِ بالمَدينَةِ سَفَطٌ فيهِ حُلِيٌّ وجَوهَرٌ، فَأَخَذَ مِنهُ عُثمانُ ما حَلّىٰ بِهِ بعضَ أهلِهِ، فَأَظهَرَ النّاسُ الطَّعنَ عَلَيهِ في ذٰلِكَ وكَلَّمُوهُ فيهِ بِكَلامٍ شَديدٍ حَتّىٰ أغضَبوهُ، فَخَطَبَ فَقالَ: لَنأخُذَنَّ حاجَتَنا مِن هذَا الفَيءِ وإن رَغِمَت أُنوفُ أقوام.

فَقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: إذاً تُمنَعُ مِن ذٰلِكَ ويُحالُ بَينَكَ وبَينَهُ.

وقالَ عَمّارُ بنُ ياسِر: أُشهِدُ اللّهَ أنَّ أنفي أوَّلُ راغِمٍ مِن ذٰلِكَ.

فَقالَ عُثمانُ: أعَلَيَّ يَابنَ المَتكاءِ! تَجتَرِئُ؟ خُذوهُ، فَأُخِذَ ودَخَلَ عُثمانُ فَدَعا بِهِ فَضَرَبَهُ حَتّى غُشِيَ عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ أُخرِجَ فَحُمِلَ حَتّى أُتِيَ بِهِ مَنزِلَ أُمِّ سَلَمَةَ زَوجِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ فَلَم يُصَلِّ الظُّهرَ وَالعَصرَ وَالمَغرِبَ، فَلَمّا أفاقَ تَوَضَّأَ وصَلّىٰ وقالَ: الحَمدُ للّهِ، لَيسَ هٰذَا أوَّلَ يَومٍ أُوذينا فيهِ فِي اللّهِ... .

this is not the first day we have been hurt for the sake of Allah....

When ʿĀ'ishah was informed about what happened to ʿAmmār, she got angry and took out a hair of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), a piece of his clothes and one of his sandals, and said: "How fast have you left the Sunnah of your Prophet. This is his hair, his dress and his sandal that have not yet become old." ʿUthmān became so angry that he did not know what to say."[628]

ii) Beating and Banishing ʿAbdullah ibn Masʿūd

185. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from Abū Mikhnaf and ʿAwāna, who said: "When ʿAbdullah ibn Masʿūd threw the keys of the Muslim Treasury at al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, he said: "He who alters [the laws of Allah], Allah will transform him, and he who changes [the Prophetic Sunnah], Allah will detest him. Your companion [the Caliph] has indeed altered and changed. Is Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ dismissed and al-Walīd is put in charge?" Ibn Masʿūd never ceased to say: "The most truthful of words is the Book of Allah, the best of guidance is the guidance of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.), the worst of things are the innovations, and every new thing is an innovation, and every innovation is misguidance, and every misguidance ends up with Hellfire."

Al-Walīd wrote to ʿUthmān about this and said: "He is disgracing you and speaking ill of you." ʿUthmān wrote back to him ordering him to send Ibn Masʿūd [to Medina]. When the people of Kūfah escorted him, he advised them to adhere to piety and stick to the Qur'ān. They said to him: "May you be rewarded with the best. You have taught the uneducated among us, strengthened the educated among us, recited the Qur'ān for us and taught us religion; you are an excellent brother in Islam and you are an excellent friend." They bid farewell to him and then went away.

Ibn Masʿūd entered Medina while ʿUthmān was delivering a sermon on the pulpit of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). When

وبَلَغَ عائِشَةَ ما صُنِعَ بِعَمّارٍ، فَغَضِبَت وأخرَجَت شَعراً مِن شَعرِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ، وثَوباً مِن ثِيابِهِ، ونَعلاً مِن نِعالِهِ، ثُمَّ قالَت: ما أسرَعَ ما تَرَكتُم سُنَّةَ نَبِيِّكُم وهذا شَعرُهُ وثَوبُهُ ونَعلُهُ ولَم يَبلَ بَعدُ، فَغَضِبَ عُثمانُ غَضَباً شَديداً حَتّىٰ ما دَرىٰ ما يَقولُ.

2. ضَربُ عَبدِ اللّه بنِ مَسعود وتَسييرُه

185. **أنساب الأشراف عن أبي مخنف وعوانة:** إنَّ عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ مَسعودٍ حينَ ألقىٰ مَفاتيحَ بَيتِ المالِ إلَى الوَليدِ بنِ عُقبَةَ قالَ: مَن غَيَّرَ غَيَّرَ اللّهُ ما بِهِ، ومَن بَدَّلَ أسخَطَ اللّهُ عَلَيهِ، وما أرىٰ صاحِبَكُم إلّا وقَد غَيَّرَ وبَدَّلَ، أ يُعزَلُ مِثلُ سَعدِ بنِ أبي وَقّاصٍ ويُولّى الوَليدُ؟ وكانَ يَتَكَلَّمُ بِكَلامٍ لا يَدَعُهُ وهُوَ: إنَّ أصدَقَ القَولِ كتابُ اللّهِ، وأحسَنَ الهُدىٰ هُدى مُحَمَّدٍ ﷺ، وشَرَّ الأُمورِ مُحدَثاتُها، وكُلَّ مُحدَثٍ بِدعَةٌ، وكُلَّ بِدعَةٍ ضَلالَةٌ، وكُلَّ ضَلالَةٍ فِي النّارِ.

فَكَتَبَ الوَليدُ إلىٰ عُثمانَ بِذٰلِكَ وقالَ: إنَّهُ يَعيبُكَ ويَطعَنُ عَلَيكَ، فَكَتَبَ إلَيهِ عُثمانُ يَأمُرُهُ بِإشخاصِهِ، وشَيَّعَهُ أهلُ الكوفَةِ، فَأَوصاهُم بِتَقوَى اللّهِ ولُزومِ القُرآنِ، فَقالوا لَهُ: جُزِيتَ خَيراً؛ فَلَقَد عَلَّمتَ جاهِلَنا، وثَبَّتَّ عالِمَنا، وأقرَأتَنَا القُرآنَ، وفَقَّهتَنا فِي الدّينِ، فَنِعمَ أخُو الإسلامِ أنتَ ونِعمَ الخَليلُ، ثُمَّ وَدَّعوهُ وَانصَرَفوا.

وقَدِمَ ابنُ مَسعودٍ المَدينَةَ وعُثمانُ يَخطُبُ عَلى مِنبَرِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ، فَلَمّا رَآهُ قالَ: ألا إنَّهُ قَدِمَت عَلَيكُم دُوَيبَةُ سوءٍ، مَن تَمشِ عَلى طَعامِهِ يَقِئ ويَسلَح.

فَقالَ ابنُ مَسعودٍ: لَستُ كَذٰلِكَ، ولكِنّي صاحِبُ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ يَومَ بَدرٍ، ويَومَ بَيعَةِ الرِّضوانِ.

ʿUthmān saw him, he said: "Verily a small evil crawling animal has come forward to you; he who walks over its own food vomits and excretes."

Ibn Masʿūd said: "I am not such man, but I am the companion of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) on the day of Badr and the allegiance of al-Riḍwān.

ʿĀ'ishah called out: "O ʿUthmān, are you saying that to a companion of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)?"

ʿUthmān then ordered that Ibn Masʿūd be forcefully taken out of the mosque. ʿAbdullah ibn Zamaʿa ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā ibn Quṣaī threw him upon the ground. It is also said: Yaḥmūm, a servant of ʿUthmān, held him high with his feet behind his neck and then threw him upon the ground breaking his ribs.

ʿAlī said: "O ʿUthmān, do you do that to the companion of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) as a result of words by al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah?"

ʿUthmān said: "I did not do that because of what al-Walīd said, but I sent Zubayd ibn al-Ṣalt al-Kindī to Kūfah, when Ibn Masʿūd said to him: "The shedding of ʿUthmān's blood is permissible."

ʿAlī said: "You considered it permissible because of what Zubayd said without confirming it....." ʿAlī then went to take care of Ibn Masʿūd and took him to his house. Ibn Masʿūd stayed in Medina, and ʿUthmān did not permit him to leave it for any other district. When Ibn Masʿūd recovered, he desired to participate in Jihād, but ʿUthmān prohibited him from doing so.

Marwān said to ʿUthmān: "Ibn Masʿūd has corrupted the people of Iraq against you, so do you want him to corrup the people of Syria against you?"

Ibn Masʿūd stayed in Medina until he passed away, two years before the killing of ʿUthmān. He dwelt in Medina for three years. Some said: "He was living in the house of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ. When Ibn Masʿūd became fatally ill, ʿUthmān came to visit him,

ونادَت عائِشَةُ: أي عُثمانُ! أ تَقولُ هذا لِصاحِبِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ ؟

ثُمَّ أمَرَ عُثمانُ بِهِ فَأُخرِجَ مِنَ المَسجِدِ إخراجاً عَنيفاً، وضَرَبَ بِهِ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ زمعَةَ بنِ الأسوَدِ بنِ المُطَّلِبِ بنِ أسَدِ بنِ عَبدِ العُزّى بنِ قُصَي الأَرضَ، ويُقالُ: بَلِ احتَمَلَهُ يَحمومُ غُلامُ عُثمانَ ورِجلاهُ تَختَلِفانِ عَلى عُنُقِهِ، حَتّىٰ ضَرَبَ بِهِ الأَرضَ، فَدَقَّ ضِلعُهُ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: يا عُثمانُ! أ تَفعَلُ هذا بِصاحِبِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ بِقَولِ الوَليدِ بنِ عُقبَةَ ؟

فَقالَ: ما بِقَولِ الوَليدِ فَعَلتُ هذا، ولكِن وَجَّهتُ زُبَيدَ بنَ الصَّلتِ الكَندِيَّ إلَى الكوفَةِ، فَقالَ لَهُ ابنُ مَسعودٍ: إنَّ دَمَ عُثمانَ حَلالٌ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: أحَلتَ مِن زُبَيدٍ عَلىٰ غَيرِ ثِقَةٍ... وقامَ عَلِيٌّ بِأمرِ ابنِ مَسعودٍ حَتّىٰ أتىٰ بِهِ مَنزِلَهُ، فَأقامَ ابنُ مَسعودٍ بِالمَدينَةِ لا يَأذَنُ لَهُ عُثمانُ فِي الخُروجِ مِنها إلىٰ ناحِيَةٍ مِنَ النَّواحي، وأرادَ حينَ بَرِئَ الغَزوَ، فَمَنَعَهُ مِن ذٰلِكَ.

وقالَ لَهُ مَروانُ: إنَّ ابنَ مَسعودٍ أفسَدَ عَلَيكَ العِراقَ، أ فَتُريدُ أن يُفسِدَ عَلَيكَ الشّامَ ؟

فَلَم يَبرَحِ المَدينَةَ حَتّى تُوُفِّيَ قَبلَ مَقتَلِ عُثمانَ بِسَنَتَينِ، وكانَ مُقيماً بِالمَدينَةِ ثَلاثَ سِنينَ. وقالَ قومٌ: إنَّهُ كانَ نازِلاً عَلى سَعدِ بنِ أبي وَقّاصٍ.

ولَمّا مَرِضَ ابنُ مَسعودٍ مَرَضَهُ الَّذي ماتَ فيهِ أتاهُ عُثمانُ عائِداً فَقالَ: ما تَشتَكي؟ قالَ: ذُنوبي.

قالَ: فَما تَشتَهي؟ قالَ: رَحمَةَ رَبّي.

قالَ: أ لا أدعو لَكَ طَبيباً؟ قالَ: الطَّبيبُ أمرَضَني.

saying: "What troubles you?"

Ibn Masʿūd said: "My sins."

ʿUthmān said: "What do you desire?"

Ibn Masʿūd said: "The mercy of my Lord."

ʿUthmān said: "Shall I call a physician for you?"

Ibn Masʿūd said: "The physician made me sick."

ʿUthmān said: "Shall I order that something be given to you?"

Ibn Masʿūd said: "You prevented it from me when I was in need of it, and you desire now to give it to me when I am in no need of it?"

ʿUthmān said: "It will be for your children."

Ibn Masʿūd said: "Their sustenance is up to Allah."

ʿUthmān said: "O Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, seek forgiveness for me."

Ibn Masʿūd said: "I ask Allah that He take my right from you."

Ibn Masʿūd then ordered that ʿUthmān should not pray over him. He was buried in al-Baqīʿ, and ʿUthmān had no knowledge thereof; when he came to know, he got angry and said: "You preceded me?" ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir said: "He ordered that you should not pray over him." Al-Zubayr said (in verse):

I know that you will mourn me after my death,
When, during my life, you wonld not give me my provision."[629]

قالَ: أ فَلا آمُرُ لَكَ بِعَطائِكَ؟ قالَ: مَنَعتَنيهِ وأنَا مُحتاجٌ إلَيهِ، وتُعطينيهِ وأنَا مُستَغنٍ عَنهُ ؟

قالَ: يَكونُ لِوُلدِكَ، قالَ: رِزقُهُم عَلَى اللّهِ.

قالَ: إستَغفِر لي يا أبا عَبدِ الرَّحمٰنِ. قالَ: أسأَلُ اللّهَ أن يَأخُذَ لي مِنكَ بِحَقّي.

وأوصىٰ أن لا يُصَلِّيَ عَلَيهِ عُثمانُ، فَدُفِنَ بِالبَقيعِ وعُثمانُ لا يَعلَمُ، فَلَمّا عَلِمَ غَضِبَ وقالَ: سَبَقتُموني بِهِ ؟! فَقالَ لَهُ عَمّارُ بنُ ياسِرٍ: إنَّهُ أوصىٰ أن لا تُصَلِّيَ عَلَيهِ؛ وقالَ الزُّبَيرُ:

لَأَعرِفَنَّكَ بَعدَ المَوتِ تَندُبُني ... وفي حَياتيَ ما زَوَّدتَني زادي

Chapter Five

The Revolution Against ʿUthmān

After the event of the council set up by ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān assumed the throne of the government. He established the foundations of his government from its very beginning on opposing the Prophetic Sīra. His practises, in his conduct with people and the companions, and in his position towards the laws of the religion, were all sufficient reasons for the ummah to protest against him. He was dishonoured because he opposed the Prophetic Sunnah and violated the sanctity of religion. He was under the influence of evil followers and associates, such that never took the danger to be anything serious, nor did he concern himself with the arguments and criticisms directed towards him.

The aforementioned texts show the vastness of the perversion of ʿUthmān's government and his deviation from the truth and correct criterra. Some historians believe that the first six years of his government was quiet , so there was no particular incident, nor would anyone oppose him, but then different changes were made.[630]

However, this opinion is incorrect, as ʿUthmān began his deviation from the early days of the formation of his government, by bringing back al-Ḥakam ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Marwān [from exile] and giving them power over the ummah. Furthermore, he appointed his relatives to rule over the Islamic cities, let alone his lavish squandering of the Muslim

الفصل الخامس

الثَّورَةُ عَلى عُثمانَ

قام عثمان بن عفّان من بين أعضاء الشورى الَّتي كان عمر بن الخطّاب قد شكّلها، فتربّع على أريكة الحكم. وأرسى دعائم حكومته منذ البداية على قواعد مخالفة للسيرة النبويّة. وكانت ممارساته، سواءً في تعامله مع النّاس والصحابة، أم كانت في موقفه من أحكام الدين مَدْعاةً لاحتجاج الأمّة عليه، فوُصِم بمعارضة السنّة النبويّة وانتهاك حُرمة الدين. وكان منقاداً لِبطانة سقيمة الفكر زانغة النهج قد حاقت به، فلم تدعه يأخذ الخطر المُحْدِق به مأخذ الجدّ، ولا يكترث بالاحتجاجات والانتقادات الموجّهة إليه.

تدلّ النصوص المذكورة في الصفحات المتقدّمة على اتّساع نطاق الشذوذ في حكومة عثمان، كما تدلّ على زيغه عن الحقّ وإلغائه للمعايير السليمة. ويرى بعض المؤرّخين أنّ السنين الستّ الأُولى من حكومته كانت هادئة لم تطرأ فيها حادثة تُذكَر ولم يعترض عليها أحدٌ يومئذ، ثمّ حدثت تبدّلات متنوّعة.

ولكن هذا الرأي لم يكن صحيحاً، إذ بدأ عثمان انحرافه منذ الأيّام الأُولى لتبلور حكومته، بإرجاعه الحكم بن العاص ومروان، وتسليطهما على الأُمّة، وزاد في ذلك أيضاً بتأمير أقاربه على

Treasury. These actions provoked the companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) from the very beginning, even though the public opposition and the collective uprising against him broke out in the last six years of his government.[631]

In the year 33 AH ʿUthmān banished some of the prominent and righteous figures of the people of Kūfah, and among whom were also some companions. After a while in the year 34 AH, the Kūfans revolted demanding the dismissal of Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, the governor of Kūfah, but ʿUthmān did not give in to their demand, so they prevented Saʿīd with resistance from entering the city. ʿUthmān was then forced to dismiss Saʿīd, who was one of his relatives, and accepted their demand. He then appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī with whom the people of Kūfah were well pleased. In this same year the companions agreed with each other and planned to rise against ʿUthmān in criticism of his behaviour. Among their correspondences was the following:

"If you desire Jihad, then Jihad is with us [i.e. come to us]."

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) would inform ʿUthmān of the protests of the companions and would admonish ʿUthmān in a soft way so that he might turn back and change his practices come back to the true path. However, he did not comply and delivered a strong sermon scolding the protestors and threatening them.

Ṭalḥa and some of the companions wrote a letter to the people of Egypt and other lands of the Islamic world inviting them to revolt against ʿUthmān. After this invitation, which was triggered by ʿUthmān's not caring about the protests of the people and their criticisms, different groups from Egypt, Kūfah and Baṣra came to Medina, supported by some of the companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.). They besieged ʿUthmān and with all determination, demanded him to leave the authonity. ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaidullah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ played an important role in igniting the uprising against ʿUthmān. ʿĀ'ishah said her well know words about him:

"Kill the foolish old man (*naʿthal*), may Allah kill the foolish old

الأمصار، وإسرافه الفاضح من بيت المال. فأثار عمله هذا صحابة النبيﷺ منذ البداية، بَيْد أنّ المعارضة العامّة والنهوض والتحرّك الجماعي ضدّه حدثت في السنين الستّ الأخيرة من حكومته.

في سنة (٣٣ هـ) أقدم عثمان على نفي ثلّة من كبار أهل الكوفة وصالحيهم، وكان فيهم بعض الصحابة أيضاً. وبعد مدّة ثار الكوفيّون في سنة (٣٤ هـ) مطالبين بعزل سعيد بن العاص والي الكوفة، فلم يُصغِ عثمان إلى طلبهم، فحالوا دون دخوله مدينتهم مقاوِمين. فاضطرّ عثمان بعدئذ إلى عزله راضخاً لمطالبهم وكان سعيد من أقربائه وعيّن مكانه أبا موسى الأشعري الَّذي كان يرتضيه أهل الكوفة. وفي تلك السنة تراسل الصحابة وخطّطوا للثورة على عثمان طاعنين بتصرّفاته الشاذّة. وممّا جاء في مراسلاتهم قولهم:

«إن كُنتُم تُريدونَ الجِهادَ فَعِندَنا الجِهادُ».

وبلّغ أمير المؤمنينعليه السلام عثمان احتجاجات الصحابة، ووعظه بأُسلوب ليّن لعلّه يثوب إلى رشده، ويغيّر منهجه في الحكم، ويستقيم على الطريقة، لكنّه لم يستجب وخطب خطبة شديدة اللّهجة عنّف فيها المعترضين ولجأ فيها إلى التهديد.

وكتب طلحة وبعض الصحابة الآخرين كتاباً إلى أهل مصر وغيرها من الأمصار الإسلاميّة يَدْعونهم فيها إلى الثورة على عثمان. وفي أعقاب هذه الدعوة وسواها، ونتيجةً لجميع ضروب الشذوذ، وعدم اعتناء عثمان باحتجاجات النّاس وانتقاداتهم تقاطر على المدينة جماعات مختلفة من مصر، والكوفة، والبصرة، وحاصروا عثمان يؤازرهم عدد من الصحابة، وطالبوه بكلّ حزم أن يعتزل الحكم. وكان لعائشة، وطلحة بن عبيد اللّه، وعمرو بن العاص دور مهمّ

man."

All people passed on these words of her, and they spread throughout the (Islamic) world after that time.

It seems that after this ʿUthmān awoke from his deep sleep and he sensed the danger. It was at this time that he requested from the Imām (a.s.) to persuade the insurgents to leave, and, in return, he gave the Imām (a.s.) a vow he would change his policies and comply with what they wanted. The Imām (a.s.) spoke with them and convinced them to end the siege against ʿUthmān, while ʿUthmān promised them that he would fulfil their requirements and would act according to the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).....

ʿUthmān delivered a sermon where he clearly announced his repentance from his acts and said in front of a large crowd of Muslims: "I seek forgiveness from Allah for what I have done and I repent to Him." He also said regretfully:

"By Allah, if God brings me back as a slave, I will act like a slave, show humiliation like the humiliation of a slave and become like a bondsman....."

The siege was over, the Egyptians returned to the country with their new governor Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, and the rest of the Muslims decided to go back to their places. The people of Medina went back to their normal daily lives....

However unfortunately, this repentance did not last long. The Umayyads were sick in ideology and action, especially Marwān, who, made ʿUthmān leave aside what he said. They created a clamour that made the earth become narrow for him in spite of its expanse[632] until he withdrew what he said and broke all his promises, when the insurgents had not yet reached their cities. This change in position was so repulsive that his wife Nā'ila screamed out:

"By Allah, they [the advisors of ʿUthmān] will cause him to get killed and consider him sinful. He said that which he should not withdraw."

في إلهاب الثورة عليه. وقالت عائشة قولها المشهور فيه إبّان تلك الأحداث:

«اُقتُلوا نَعثَلاً، قَتَلَ اللّهُ نَعثَلاً».

وتناقلت الألسن قولها هذا، واشتهر في الآفاق بعد ذلك التاريخ.

ويبدو أنّ عثمان قد أفاق بعدئذ من نومه الثقيل الَّذي كانت بطانته قد فرضته عليه من قبل، وشعر بالخطر. من هنا، طلب من الإمام عليه السلام أن يصرف الثوّار عن أهدافهم، وعاهده على تغيير سياسته، والعمل كما يريدون، فتكلّم الامام عليه السلام معهم وأقنعهم بفكّ الحصار عنه، ووعدهم عثمان بتلبية طلباتهم وألّا يكرّر النهج الَّذي كان قد سلكه من قبل وأن يعمل بكتاب اللّه تعالى، وسنّة نبيّه صلى الله عليه وآله...

وخطب عثمان خطبة أعلن فيها صراحةً توبته من فعلاته السابقة، وقال أمام الحشد الغفير من المسلمين: «أستَغفِرُ اللّه مِمّا فَعَلتُ وأتوبُ إلَيهِ».

وقال نادماً، وهو غارق في حيرته:

«فَوَاللّهِ، لَئِن رَدَّني الحَقَّ عَبداً لاَستَنُّ بِسُنَّةِ العَبدِ، ولَأذلنّ ذلّ العَبدِ، ولَأكونَنَّ كالمرقوق...».

وانتهى الحصار، وعاد المصريّون إلى بلادهم مع واليهم الجديد محمّد بن أبي بكر، وعزم سائر المسلمين على الرجوع إلى مدائنهم، وآبَ أهل المدينة إلى دورهم وحياتهم اليوميّة...

لكن المؤسف أنّ هذه التوبة لم تدم طويلاً، فقد تدخّلت البطانة الأمويّة المريضة الفكر والعمل لا سيّما مروان وجعلته يعدل عن قراره، وافتعلت ضجّة ضيّقت عليه الأرض بما رحبت، فتراجع ونقض جميع وعوده، والثوّار لمّا يصلوا إلى أمصارهم بعد. وكان هذا التغيّر في الموقف على درجة من القبح حتّى صاحت نائلة زوجته قائلةً:

When the people of Egypt were returning to their cities, they realised that one of ʿUthmān's servants was also headed towards Egypt. They were suspicious of him, so they stopped him, and it became clear that he was ʿUthmān's messenger to Egypt. They searched him and found ʿUthmān's letter to his governor over Egypt ʿAbdullah ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ ordering him to kill a number of the insurgents.

The letter was written by ʿUthmān's scribe and it had his seal. After this, the insurgents returned to Medina and besieged ʿUthmān again..... Now no intermediary would be of any avail, nor would any repentance be accepted....

So, ʿUthmān resorted to Muʿāwiyah to help him. However, Muʿāwiyah, who was thirsty for power, found this an opportunity to ride the wave and pounce onto the throne of the government. He did not hasten to rescue ʿUthmān, until he got killed, and so Muʿāwiyah sat on the throne with the pretension of seeking revenge for ʿUthmān's death.

The siege continued for forty days during which ʿUthmān asked the Imām (a.s.) twice to leave Medina, and he (a.s.) accepted. ʿUthmān also asked him each time to come back, and the Imām (a.s.) did as requested. The majority of the companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) assisted the insurgents in this siege, whereas the minority were either with ʿUthmān or did not show any open opposition to him.

ʿUthmān was killed on the thirteenth of Dhu'l- Ḥijjah in the year 35 AH after the insurgents stormed into his house, after one of them was killed by the sword of Marwān.

«إنَّهُم وَاللّهِ قاتِلوهُ ومُؤَثِّموهُ، إنَّهُ قالَ مَقالَةً لا يَنبَغي أن يَنزِعَ عَنها».

وحين كان المصريّون في طريق عودتهم إلى مصر بعد وعود عثمان تفطّنوا في أحد المواضع إلى أنّ غلاماً لعثمان متوجّه إلى مصر أيضاً، فشكّوا فيه واستوقفوه، فاستبان أنّه رسوله إلى مصر، وفتّشوه فوجدوا عنده حكم عثمان إلى واليه على مصر عبد اللّه بن سعد بن أبي سرح يأمره فيه بقتل عدد من الثوّار.

وكان الكتاب بخطّ كاتب عثمان وعليه ختمه، وعندئذ عاد الثوّار إلى المدينة وحاصروا عثمان مرّة أخرى... فلم يُجْدِ نفعاً حينئذ كلام وسيط، ولم تُقبل توبة... .÷÷

واستغاث عثمان هذه المرّة بمعاوية يستنجده لإنقاذه بشكل من الأشكال. بَيْد أنّ معاوية الَّذي كان متعطّشاً للسلطة والتسلّط وجد الفرصة مؤاتية لركوب الموجة والقفز على أريكة الحكم. من هنا لم يُسارع إلى إغاثة عثمان والذبّ عنه وإنقاذه حتّى يقتل، ومن ثمّ يتربّع على العرش بذريعة المطالبة بدمه.

ودام الحصار أربعين يوماً. وفيها طلب عثمان من الإمامعليه السلام مرّتين أن يخرج من المدينة، فاستجابعليه السلام لذلك. كما طلب منه في كلّ منهما أن يرجع، وفعلعليه السلام أيضاً. وأعان كبار الصحابة الثوّار في هذا الحصار. والقلّة الباقية منهم كانوا إمّا مؤيّدين لعثمان، أو لم يبدوا معارضة علنيّة له.

وهكذا قُتل عثمان في اليوم الثامن عشر من ذي الحجّة سنة (٣٥ هـ) بفعل اقتحام الثوّار داره بعد أن قُتل أحدهم بسيف مروان.

An Analysis of the Reasons for the Revolution Against ʿUthmān

The council the second Caliph ʿUmar appointed led to the election of ʿUthmān as the Caliph of Muslims; his caliphate was exceptional, especially during its last years. Before that, the Islamic society lived in a state of stability during the reign of the second Caliph. This stability is attributable to his harshness that was mixed with despotism. Then this quiet society suddenly changed to a society filled with disturbances and engrossed in objections against the Caliph. How did this change take shape? Where did these disturbances and oppositions against the Caliph originate?

Without doubt, the people who gathered in Medina from different cities to complain about the Caliph did not represent a special group or a province or particular city, or rather, they were from different areas of the Islamic world. Then what were the reasons for this uprising? How could the Caliph of the Muslims –who was related in kin to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) – be sieged, but nobody rushed to save him?!

The siege went on for a long time, yet nobody from outside Medina came to support him. Even his request for help from Muʿāwiyah –who undertook to seek revenge for his slaying as a means to achieve his goals– did not respond to him. Muʿāwiyah, in the Battle of Ṣiffīn, mobilised an army made up of one hundred thousand soldiers, but he

refused to send even one thousand men to assist ʿUthmān. Why did he not assist ʿUthmān?

It is too simple for a person to relate an incident of such broadness to someone unknown or to a transient party. Contemplating on the questions posed here and delving deeply into the narrations and sources in order to come across the answers lead the researcher in the history of Islam to find points deeper than what is affirmed by people of erroneous views who try to make it as if they are established facts.

It can be said in brief that the uprising of the Muslims against ʿUthmān goes back in its origins to the actions of ʿUthmān and those around him. We will attempt to delve into this issue even deeper.

ʿUthmān was one of the nobles of Mecca, and his relatives, Banī Umayyah, were the severest of the enemies of Islam. They were among the leaders of the disbelievers who fought against Islam and did not embrace Islam until they saw the swords over their necks, so they were forced to submit during the conquering of Mecca. They were freed out of Divine compassion, when the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) pardoned them, and so they came to be known as the Ṭulaqāʾ[633]. Accordingly, they did not have a religious repute or a social basis in Islam.

If we are to have an even deeper look at the conduct of ʿUthmān, we will notice the following points:

1. Bringing Close the Newly-converted Meccan Freedmen (Ṭulaqā)

When ʿUthmān took charge of the Caliphate, he brought close his relatives, the newly-converted Meccan freedmen and made them his associates and supporters, even though some of them were banished by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), as was the case with al-Ḥakam and his two sons Marwān and al-Ḥārith. Marwān, the one banished by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), became the righthand of the Caliphate during the reign of the Caliph ʿUthmān, whereas al-Ḥārith was responsible for the market! Thereby, they were able to dominate the political and economical affairs at the same time.

Muʿāwiyah was in Syria, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir, a twenty five years old young man from Banī Ummayah, was in Baṣra, ʿAbdullah ibn Abī al-Sarḥ was in Egypt, in spite of his apostasy, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ was in Kūfah and al-Ashʿath ibn Qays was in Azerbaijan. Most of these people were relatives of ʿUthmān, and it was they who were ruling the Islamic nation instead of the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and the distinguished personalities in the Islamic society.

They would keep the people under control with the support of the Caliph, so their complaints or screams reached nowhere. When the prominent companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) protested about these situations, ʿUthmān would be harsh towards them and would treat them in a way that was far from fairness. He banished Abū Dharr to al-Rabadhah until he died alone and oppressed. He trampled

1. إدناؤه الطُّلَقاء

لما تسلّم عثمان الخلافة أدنى أقاربه الطُّلَقاء واتّخذ منهم بطانة وأعواناً مع أنّ بعضهم كان طريد رسول اللّهﷺ كما هو الحال بالنسبة للحَكَم وابنيه مروان والحارث؛ وأصبح مروان طريد رسول اللّهﷺ في عهد خليفة المسلمين عثمان، كاتباً خاصّاً للخليفة! وأصبحت رئاسة السوق بيد الحارث! وبذلك هيمنوا على شؤون السياسة والاقتصاد دفعة واحدة.

فمعاوية كان في الشام، وعبد اللّه بن عامر شاب عمره ٢٥ سنة من بني أُميّة في البصرة، وعبد اللّه بن أبي سرح مع ما كان من ارتداده في مصر، وسعيد بن العاص في الكوفة، والأشعث بن قيس في أذربيجان وكان أكثرهم من أقارب عثمان، وهؤلاء هم الّذين كانوا يحكمون الأُمّة الإسلاميّة بدلاً من صحابة الرسولﷺ والوجوه البارزة في المجتمع الإسلامي. وكانوا يضيّقون الخناق على النّاس بدعم من الخليفة. ولم يكن تظلّم النّاس وصيحاتهم تعود عليهم بطائل.

وعندما كان كبار صحابة رسول اللّهﷺ يحتجّون على تلك الأوضاع، كان عثمان يغلظ عليهم ويعاملهم بأُسلوب بعيد عن الإنصاف؛ فقد نفى أبا ذرّ إلى الربذة، وبقي فيها إلى أن مات غريباً مظلوماً. وداسَ بقدمه عمّار بن ياسر مع ماله من ماض وضّاء حتّى أُصيب بفتق.

on ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir with his feet with all the radiant past ʿAmmār had until he was afflicted with a hernia. He banished ʿAbdullah ibn Masʿūd and refused to give him his rights from the Muslim Treasury, and so on.

2. Squander (in Granting Money, etc.)

ʿUthmān adopted a financial policy that brought about astonishment! He would exercise free disposal over the Muslim Treasury as if it was all his own property. There are many narrations that speak about his wasteful and extravagant expenditure, especially on his relatives. The ignominy of this squander was not unobserved even by the Sunni scholars. He granted a lot of money to al-Ḥakam, Abū Sufyān, Marwān and others, and did not respond to the objections of the Muslims. What is surprising is that he would call all these grants from the Muslim Treasury as a form of keeping good ties with one's kin. These acts of ʿUthmān led to the formation of an extreme difference in the social classes of the Muslim society. These practices, contrary to Islamic laws, also led to the expansion of the circle of discontent and objection among people, until it turned into a general movement and public uprising against ʿUthmān.

3. His Position towards the Fundamental Concepts of Religion

The important point that has remained unobserved by the scholars is his manipulation of religion and distortion of Divine laws. This issue was clearly apparent in the statements and slogans used by those who opposed the Caliph. On the one hand, the squander of the Caliph, the multiplicity of grants from the Muslim Treasury and the appointment of relatives in posts and as governors, were all far from religious criteria. On the other hand, the historians tried to protect the historical personalities instead of protecting the heritage of history. These factors have led to the concealment of practises of the Caliph, even though they are regarded as the sole reason for the uprising of the Muslims against him. The following are but few examples regarding this subject:

ونفى عبد اللّه بن مسعود ومنعه عطاءه من بيت المال، وما إلى ذلك من الأحداث والمواقف الّتي يمكن للقارئ الاطّلاع عليها بين دفّتي هذا الكتاب.

2. البذخ في العطاء

اتّبع عثمان سياسة اقتصاديّة تدعو إلى العجب! فقد كان يتصرّف ببيت المال وكأنّه ملْكٌ مطلق له، وقد وردت أخبار كثيرة عن كثرة بذله وجزيل عطائه لأقاربه حتّى إنّ قبح هذا السخاء لم يبقَ خافياً عن أنظار الباحثين السُّنّة؛ فقد وهب للحكم وأبي سفيان ومروان وغيرهم الكثير من الأموال، ولم يستجب لاحتجاجات المسلمين. والغريب أنّه كان يُسمّي كلّ هذا الهبات من بيت المال صلة للرحم. وقد أدّى عثمان بأعماله هذه إلى إيجاد فوارق طبقيّة فاحشة في المجتمع الإسلامي. كما أدّت هذه الأعمال والهبات المنافية للأحكام الإسلاميّة إلى توسيع رقعة السخط والاحتجاج بين النّاس، حتّى تحوّلت إلى حركة عامّة وثورة عارمة ضدّ عثمان.

3. موقفه من مبادئ الدين

النقطة المهمّة والّتي بقيت خافية عن أنظار الباحثين وهي جديرة بالاهتمام، هي التلاعب بالدين، وتحريف الأحكام الإلهيّة، وكانت هذه المسألة ظاهرة بكلّ جلاء في كلمات وشعارات معارضي الخليفة. فسخاء الخليفة وكثرة هباته من بيت المال وتعيينه لأقاربه في المناصب والولايات بعيداً عن الموازين الشرعيّة وبدون أن تتوفّر فيهم الكفاءة المناسبة لشغل هذه المناصب من جهة، وسعي المؤرّخين من جهة أُخرى إلى حماية الشخصيّات التاريخيّة بدلاً من حماية التراث التاريخي كلّ ذلك أدّى إلى عدم ظهور ممارسات الخليفة الّتي ربّما كان لها أكبر الأثر في انتفاض المسلمين ضدّه. نورد فيما يلي بعض الأمثلة عن هذا الموضوع:

روي عن زيد بن أرقم أنّه قيل له: بِأَيِّ شَيءٍ أكْفرتُم عُثمانَ؟ قالَ: بِثَلاثَةٍ: جَعَلَ المالَ دُولَةً

When it was said to Zaid ibn Arqam: "What made you consider ʿUthmān a disbeliever?" he replied: "For three things: he made the money circulate in turns between the rich, he regarded the Muhājirīn from among the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) as being amongst those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger[634] and he acted contrary to the Book of Allah."[635]

Among those who opposed the government policy of ʿUthmān was: ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir who was known for his standing with the truth and had a key role in the instigation against ʿUthmān. He delivered a sermon in Ṣiffīn encouraging the people to fight against Muʿāwiyah. Among what he said was the following:

"O servants of Allah, stand forth with me against a people who seek allegedly the [revenge of the] blood of one who oppressed himself, who ruled over the servants of Allah with that which is contrary to what is in the Book of Allah. Those who killed him were the righteous people who refused tyranny and commanded benevolence. Those who have no concern for this religion as long as their world stays safe said: 'Why did you kill him?' We said: 'Because of his innovations....'"[636]

In respect of the slaying of ʿUthmān, similar expressions were mentioned by the companions such as: "he changed your religion", "He innovated in religion", "You have brought innovations people knew nothing of", "You wanted to change our religion", "He brought innovations and opposed the law of the Qur'ān", "He who discarded the law of the Qur'ān", "You distorted the Book of Allah", and many more such expressions.[637]

It is clear that these expressions reveal the distortion of religion, the alteration of the divine-law rulings and the Sunnah of Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.). In a letter of one of the companions to the provinces we read: "The religion of Muḥammad has been corrupted."

The Muslims were not able to see the religion of Allah to be subject to distortion and manipulation, or the laws of Allah to be exploited for personal interests, and stay silent towards this.

بَينَ الأَغنياءِ، وجَعَلَ المُهاجِرينَ مِن أصحابِ رَسولِ اللّهِﷺ بِمَنزِلَةِ مَن حارَبَ اللّهَ ورَسولَهُ، وعَمَلَ بِغَيرِ كِتابِ اللّهِ.

ومن المعارضين لسياسة عثمان: عمّار بن ياسر الَّذي عرف بوقوفه مع الحقّ، وكان له دور مشهود في التحريض على عثمان، وخطب في صفّين خطبة حثّ فيها النّاس على مقاتلة معاوية، وقال فيما قال:

اِنهَضوا مَعي عِبادَ اللّهِ إلىٰ قَومٍ يَطلُبونَ ـ فيما يَزعُمونَ ـ بِدَمِ الظّالِمِ لِنَفسِهِ، الحاكِمِ على عِبادِ اللّهِ بِغَيرِ ما في كِتابِ اللّهِ، إنَّما قَتَلَهُ الصّالِحونَ المُنكِرونَ لِلعُدوانِ، الآمِرونَ بِالإحسانِ، فَقالَ هؤُلاءِ الَّذينَ لا يُبالونَ إذا سَلُمَت دُنياهُم ولو دَرَسَ هٰذَا الدّينُ: لِمَ قَتَلتُموهُ؟ فَقُلنا: لِأَحداثِهِ... .

وجاءت بين كلمات الصحابة فيما يخصّ مقتل عثمان تعابير حول أعماله من قبيل: «بَدَّلَ دينَكُم»، و«أحدَثَ أحداثاً»؛ فقد خوطب بالقول: «إنَّكَ أحدَثتَ أحداثاً لَم يَكُنِ النّاسُ يَعهدونَها»، «أرادَ أن يُغَيِّرَ دينَنا»، «أحدَثَ الأَحداثَ وخالَفَ حُكمَ الكِتابِ»، «النّابِذُ لِحُكمِ القُرآنِ وَراءَ ظَهرِهِ»، «غَيَّرتَ كِتابَ اللّهِ»، وما شابه ذلك من التعابير الكثيرة.

ومن الواضح أنّ هذه التعابير تنمّ عن تحريف الدين وتغيير الأحكام، وتبديل السُنّة المحمّديّة، وهذا ما حصل في عهد حكومة عثمان؛ فقد ورد في بعض كتب الصحابة إلى الولايات: «دينُ مُحَمَّد قَد أُفسِدَ».

وعلى كلّ حال لم يمرّ زمن طويل على عهد رسول اللّهﷺ، ولا يستطيع المسلمون أن يَروا دين اللّه يتعرّض للتحريف والتلاعب، وتُسخّر أحكام اللّه لمآرب شخصيّة، ويسكتوا عن ذلك.

4. Corrupt Advisors

Advisors play a decisive role in the managing of affairs and the crystallization of events. The reality is that the advisor undertakes the responsibility for giving advice and offering counsel to the manager of that society.

That is why choosing an advisor is a very sensitive issue. On the other hand there is another important point, which is how the leader employs them and how they advise him, their level of understanding and the degree of sincerity they have to the leader.

Unfortunately, all of the positions taken by ʿUthmān in this regard were wrong, as has already been mentioned, because his initimates and associates had no social status or religious distinction.

Furthermore, the Caliph was a a man of weak will and personality in front of the views of his associates. His advisors did not have correct ideas, nor were they among the religious and the pious.

It is evident that all their views which they imposed on ʿUthmān fell within their own interests, but not the interests of the ummah, the Caliph or the Caliphate.

These associates did not have good ties with the Anṣār, nor did they have any good position toward the Muhājirīn, and so they drove ʿUthmān in a direction that led to his slaying.

The chief of their policies Abū Sufyān, who was known for his animosity towards Islam, says: "This ruling is a global ruling, and this reign is the reign of the Age of Ignorance, so make Banī Umayyah the pillars of this earth."[638]

ʿUthmān did as requested, but where did they get him to?

All of the practices introduced in the name of ʿUthmān were committed by Marwān, a young man who knew nothing of the teachings of Islam and who was banished by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). After he returned from his exile, he emptied all the hatred accumulated throughout those years under the authority and power granted to him by the Caliph of the Muslims. He began to direct

4. المستشارون الفاسدون

يؤدّي المستشارون دوراً حاسماً في إدارة الأُمور وبلورة الوقائع. والحقيقة هي أنّ المستشار يأخذ على عاتقه دوراً تكميليّاً بل وأساسيّاً في إدارة دفّة الأُمور بالنسبة لمدير ذلك المجتمع.

وهكذا يتّضح أنّ اختيار المستشار يتّصف بحسّاسيّة فائقة. هذا من جانب، ومن جانب آخر هناك مسألة مهمّة؛ وهي كيفيّة استفادة القائد منهم، وكيفيّة إشارتهم عليه، ودرجة فهمهم، ومدى إخلاصهم للقائد.

ومن المؤسف أنّ عثمان كانت كلّ مواقفه في هذا المجال غير سويّة، وقد سبقت الاشارة إلى كيفيّة اختياره للأفراد، فالمقرّبون منه؛ أي بطانته، ما كانوا يحظون بمكانة اجتماعيّة ولا بوجاهة دينيّة.

أضف إلى كلّ ذلك أنّ الخليفة كان شخصاً عديم الإرادة وضعيفاً أمام آراء بطانته، كما أنّ مستشاريه لم يكونوا على فكر صائب؛ ولا هم من أهل الدين والتقوى.

ومن البديهي والحال هذه أنّ جميع آرائهم الّتي كانوا يفرضونها على عثمان كانت تصبّ في صالح أهوائهم وفي اتّجاه الصدام مع الثائرين، وليس في صالح الأُمّة والخلافة والخليفة.

فالبطانة الّتي كانت مقرّبة من عثمان لم تكن على علاقات طيّبة مع الأنصار، وليس لها مواقف حسنة مع المهاجرين. وهكذا فقد ساقت عثمان في اتّجاه انتهى بمقتله.

يقول شيخ سياستهم أبو سفيان الّذي اشتهر صيت عدائه للإسلام في الآفاق:

«إنَّ الأَمرَ أمر عالَمِيَّة، وَالمُلكَ مُلك جاهِلِيَّة، فَاجعَل أوتادَ الأَرضِ بَني أُمَيَّةَ».

حسناً، لقد فعل عثمان ذلك. ولكن إلى أين وصلوا به ؟

لقد كانت جميع الأعمال الّتي تُفعل باسم عثمان، بيد مروان، وهو ذلك الشابّ الّذي لم يكن يعرف شيئاً من تعاليم الإسلام، وكان طريد رسول اللّه ﷺ. وبعدما عاد من منفاه ووطأت قدمه أرض

insults to all the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār, which had a clear impact on their uprising against ʿUthmān.

The Caliph became an obedient instrument in the hands of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, when ʿUthmān announced his repentance in front of the people and Marwān forced him to withdraw his repentance, or when he [ʿUthmān] agreed to dismiss the governor of Egypt, then he submitted to the will of Marwān and ordered that the revolutionaries be tortured, slain or banished.

It was Marwān who dictated to ʿUthmān his own policies, and it was he who was responsible for making ʿUthmān take unbalanced positions. Even Nā'ila, his wife, would say:

"By Allah, they [the revolutionaries] will slay him and consider him sinful....You [ʿUthmān] obeyed Marwān and made him guide you as he wishes."

The rest of ʿUthmān's advisors were corrupt and criminal: when he gathered them for counsel about people's discontent, Muʿāwiyah told him to use force against them to silence them. ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir said: "You must order them to go for Jihad so that they will be too occupied. You must keep them at the borders, so that they remain humiliated to you, and so their concern will be nothing but their own selves [their lives]."

As for Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, he said: "Every people has leaders; if they are killed, the people will disperse and will not agree on anything."

In this regard, Muʿāwiyah suggested to him to kill ʿAlī, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr.

With the presence of all these corrupt hearts and sick souls, what is the motive for asking about the reasons for the crystallization of the uprising?

The only one who would give advice to ʿUthmān with sincerity out of defence of the identity of the Islamic ummah and warn him against the outcome of his actions was Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). Despite all the wrong done to the Imām (a.s.), he did not want the situation to reach

المدينة أفرغ ما في قلبه من حقد متراكم خلال تلك السنين، في ظلّ السلطة الَّتي منحها إيّاه خليفة المسلمين، فأخذ يوجّه الإهانات لجميع المهاجرين والأنصار، وكان لعمله ذاك تأثير واضح في إثارتهم ضدّ عثمان.

أصبح الخليفة أداة طيّعة بيد مروان بن الحكم، سواء عندما أعلن توبته أمام الملأ، وأرغمه مروان على نقض توبته، أم عندما وافق على عزل والي مصر، لكنّه رضخ في أعقاب ذلك لإرادة مروان، وأصدر أمره بقتل ونفي وتعذيب الثوّار الوافدين من هناك.

لقد كان مروان هو الَّذي يُملي على عثمان ما يريد، وكان يسعى في جرّه إلى اتّخاذ مواقف متزمّتة، حتّى إنّ زوجته نائلة بنت الفرافصة قالت له:

«فَإِنَّهُم وَاللّهِ قاتِلوهُ ومُؤَثِّموهُ... وقَد أَطَعتَ مَروانَ يَقودُكَ حَيثُ شاءَ».

وكان سائر مستشاري عثمان من هذا القبيل؛ فعندما جمعهم للتشاور معهم في أمر سخطِ النّاس عليه، أشار عليه معاوية باستخدام القوّة ضدّهم لإسكاتهم، فيما أشار عليه عبد اللّه بن عامر قائلاً: «أن تَأمُرَهُم بِجِهاد يَشغَلُهُم عَنكَ، وأن تُجَمِّرَهُم فِي المَغازي حَتّى يَذِلّوا لَكَ، فَلا يَكون هِمَّةُ أحَدِهِم إلّا نَفسهُ».

أمّا سعيد بن العاص فقد أشار عليه قائلاً:

«إنَّ لِكُلِّ قَوم قادَةً مَتى تَهلُكُ يَتَفَرَّقوا، ولا يَجتَمِعُ لَهُم أمرٌ».

وعرض عليه معاوية في هذا المجال أن يقتل عليّاً وطلحة والزبير.

فإذا وُجدت كلّ هذه القلوب الفاسدة والنفوس المريضة والتوجّهات الجائرة المثيرة للسخط، فما الداعي بعدئذ للتساؤل عن أسباب تبلور تلك الثورة ؟

إنّ الشخص الوحيد الَّذي كان يُشير حينذاك على عثمان باخلاص رغبة في صيانة هويّة الأُمّة الإسلاميّة، ويحذّره من عواقب الأُمور، ويسعى رغم كلّ ما نزل به من ظلم إلى أن لا

that stage. If only ʿUthmān had listened to his advice and kept his promises that he made to the people!

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) in respect of his position towards ʿUthman and his associates, said: "By Allah, I never ceased to defend him until I became bashful; however Marwān, Muʿāwiyah, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir and Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ are those who led him to the chasm. When I advised him and ordered him to dismiss them, he would suspect me of deception."

These factors, among others, were what led to the uprising against ʿUthmān and prepared the grounds for revolting against the central government.

Al-Masʿūdī , in Murūj al-Dhahab, cites the reasons for the Muslims' discontent towards ʿUthmān, saying:

"In the year 35 [AH] criticism against ʿUthmān increased, and people started to denounce his actions; among his practices were: what happened between him and ʿAbdullah ibn Masʿūd and the Hudhail tribe leaving ʿUthmān as a result of that, what ʿAmmār suffered of hernia after he was beaten by him, and the Banī Makhzūm tribe leaving ʿUthmān accordingly, what al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah had done in the mosque of Kūfah... and what he did to Abū Dharr."[639]

Al-Yaʿqūbī has also quoted the reasons for the uprising against ʿUthmān as follows:

"People were resentful against ʿUthmān six years after he assumed rulership, and many things were said in this respect. They said: "He gave priority to his relatives, defended his kin, built houses, took the land and the money of Allah and the Muslims, banished Abū Dharr who was the companion of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and banished ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥanbal. He sheltered al-Ḥakam ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbdullah ibn Abī al-Sarḥ who had been both banished by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). He failed to pay the blood money for al-Hurmuzān and did not kill ʿUbaidullah ibn ʿUmar in retaliation. He appointed al-Walīd ibn ʿUqabah over Kūfah, who introduced many innovations in prayer; yet this did not prevent ʿUthmān from

تصل الأُمور إلى هذا الحدّ، هو الإمام عليّ عليه السلام . ويأليت عثمان كان يُصغي لنصانحه ويَفي بالعهود الَّتي قطعها على نفسه للنّاس.

وللإمام عليّ عليه السلام كلام جميل عن موقفه أزاء تلك الأحداث، وعن موقف بطانة عثمان، جاء في بعض منه:

«وَاللّهِ ما زِلتُ أذُبُّ عَنهُ حَتّىٰ إنّي لاَستَحي، ولٰكِنَّ مَروانَ ومُعاوِيَةَ وعَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ عامِرٍ وسَعيدَ بنَ العاصِ هُم صَنَعوا بِهِ ما تَرى. فَإذا نَصَحتُهُ وأمَرتُهُ أن يُنَحِّيَهُمُ استَغَشَّني حَتّىٰ جاءَ ما تَرىٰ».

كانت هذه العوامل وعوامل أُخرى غيرها هي الَّتي دفعت إلى الثورة على عثمان، ومهّدت للانتقاض ضدّ الحكومة المركزيّة.

ذكر المسعودي في مروج الذهب أسباب السخط على عثمان قائلاً:

«في سَنَةِ خَمسٍ وثَلاثينَ كَثُرَ الطَّعنُ عَلى عُثمانَ وظَهَرَ عَلَيهِ النَّكيرُ لِأَشياءَ ذَكَروها مِن فِعلِهِ، مِنها: ما كانَ بَينَهُ وبَينَ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ مَسعودٍ، وَانحِرافُ هُذَيلٍ عن عُثمانَ مِن أجلِهِ. ومِن ذٰلِكَ ما نالَ عَمّارُ بنُ ياسِرٍ مِنَ الفَتقِ والضَّربِ، وَانحِرافُ بَني مَخزومٍ عَن عُثمانَ مِن أجلِهِ. ومِن ذٰلِكَ فِعلُ الوَليدِ بنِ عُقبَةَ في مَسجِدِ الكوفَةِ... ومِن ذٰلِكَ ما فَعَلَ بِأَبي ذَرٍّ.

بينما ذكر اليعقوبي أسباب الثورة على النحو الآتي:

«نَقِمَ النّاسُ عَلىٰ عُثمانَ بَعدَ وِلايَتِهِ بِستِّ سِنينَ، وتَكَلَّمَ فيهِ مَن تَكَلَّمَ، وقالوا: آثَرَ القُرَباءَ، وحَمَى الحِمىٰ، وبَنَى الدّارَ، وَاتَّخَذَ الضِّياعَ والأَموالَ بِمالِ اللّهِ وَالمُسلِمينَ، ونَفىٰ أبا ذَرٍّ صاحِبَ رَسولِ اللّهِ وعَبدَ الرَّحمنِ بنَ حَنبَلٍ، وآوَى الحَكَمَ بنَ أبي العاصِ وعَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ سَعدِ بنِ أبي سَرحٍ طَريدَي رَسُولِ اللّهِ، وأهدَرَ دَمَ الهُرمُزانِ؛ ولَم يَقتُل عُبَيدَ اللّهِ بنَ عُمَرَ بِهِ، ووَلّى الوَليدَ بنَ عُقبَةَ الكوفَةَ، فَأَحدَثَ فِي الصَّلاةِ ما أحدَثَ، فَلَم يَمنَعهُ ذٰلِكَ مِن إعاذَتِهِ إيّاهُ. وأجازَ الرَّجمَ؛ وذٰلِكَ

sheltering him. He considered stoning permissible. This was when he stoned a woman from the Juhayna tribe after she gave birth to a baby six months after her marriage, so ʿUthmān ordered that she be stoned. When she was taken out, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) entered upon ʿUthmān and said: "Allah the Almighty says: '*and his gestation and weaning take thirty months.*"[640] He also said regarding breastfeeding the newborn: "*for two full years.*"[641] So ʿUthmān sent for the woman, but found that she had been stoned and was dead, and then the husband admitted that it was his child."[642]

Al-Ṭabarī refers in his al-Tārīkh to a number of these factors, but feigning ignorance he abstains from mentioning others, saying:

"We have cited many causes mentioned by his killers, which were used as an excuse to slay him, but we left out many of them for certain reasons causing us to shun those causes."[643]

We have already commented on the reasons for the uprising against ʿUthmān; however, what is more important is studying the identity of the individuals and groups that participated in this revolution.

It is clear that those who participated in the incident did not pursue the same goal, rather they had different motivations. However, we can summarise the common factors in the following:

A) The Prudent Pious Revolutionary Avengers

A great number of prominent personalities among the companions and sincere believers took part in this movement. The reality is that large masses of revolutionary crowds were moving under their guidance. No one would ever doubt these personalities or their sincerity, truthfulness and belief. We will refer here to the most outstanding of these personalities:

i) ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir

ʿAmmār was one of the first to embrace Islam and among the strong fighters. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) considered him the criterion of the truth when he said: "If people differ, the son of Sumayyah will be with the truth"[644] , "If ʿAmmār was to choose between two things,

أنَّهُ كانَ رَجَمَ امرَأَةً مِن جُهَينَةَ دَخَلَت عَلىٰ زَوجِها فَوَلَدَت لِستَّةِ أشهُرٍ، فَأَمَرَ عُثمانُ بِرَجمِها. فَلَمّا أُخرِجَت دَخَلَ إلَيهِ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب فَقالَ: إنَّ اللّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يَقولُ: ﴿وَ حَمْلُهُ وَ فِصَـــلُهُ ثَلَـثُونَ شَهْرًا﴾ وقالَ في رضاعِهِ: ﴿حَوْلَيْنِ كَامِلَيْنِ﴾، فَأَرسَلَ عُثمانُ في أثَرِ المَرأَةِ، فَوُجِدَت قَد رُجِمَت وماتَت. وَاعتَرَفَ الرَّجُلُ بِالوَلَدِ».

وأشار الطبري في تاريخه إلى بعض من تلك العوامل، متجاهلاً العوامل الأُخرى، قائلاً: «قد ذَكَرنا كَثيراً مِنَ الأَسبابِ الَّتي ذَكَرَ قاتِلوهُ أنَّهُم جَعَلوها ذَريعَةً إلىٰ قَتلِهِ، فَأَعرَضنا عَن ذِكرِ كَثيرٍ مِنها لِعِلَلٍ دَعَت إلَى الإعراضِ عَنها».

كان الكلام إلى الآن يدور حول أسباب الثورة على عثمان. بَيد أنّ النكتة الأكثر أهمّية هي دراسة ماهيّة الأفراد والفصائل المشاركة في الثورة.

من الواضح أنّ الَّذين شاركوا في تلك الواقعة لم يكونوا كلّهم على هدف واحد، وكان لبعضهم غايات أُخرى تختلف عن غايات الآخرين. ولكن يمكن على العموم تلخيص العوامل المشتركة بينهم بما يلي:

أ ـ الناقمون والثائرون العارفون بالسُّنّة

شاركت في هذه الحركة شخصيّات بارزة من الصحابة والمؤمنين المخلصين. والحقيقة هي أنّ حشود هائلة من الجماهير الثوريّة كانت تتحرّك بزعامتهم، وهذه الشخصيّات ليست من النوع الَّذي يمكن التشكيك بإخلاصها وصدقها ورسوخ عقيدتها. ونشير فيما يلي إلى بعض هذه الشخصيّات كالآتي:

1. عمّار بن ياسر

كان عمّار من المسلمين الأوائل ومن المجاهدين الأشدّاء. وقد اعتبره رسول اللّهﷺ معياراً للحق بقوله: «إذَا اختَلَفَ النّاسُ كانَ ابنُ سُمَيَّةَ مَعَ الحَقِّ» و«ما خُيِّرَ عَمّارُ بَينَ أمرَينِ إلّا اختارَ

he would choose the most reasonable and straightforward of them"[645], "'Ammār was filled with faith up to the inside of his bones"[646], "He will be with the truth wherever the truth goes."[647]

ʿAmmār who enjoyed such an honour with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was among the first and foremost of the resentful against ʿUthmān. Ibn Kathīr says:

"'Ammār would incite the people against ʿUthmān; he did not stop, withdraw or turn away."[648]

Due to these objections and criticisms, ʿAmmār was struck by the Caliph and his associates, until he lost consciousness and he became physically handicapped.[649]

ii) Zaid ibn Ṣawḥān

He was among the great ascetics and prominent figures in the history of Islam and was regarded as one of the righteous substitutes (abdāl).[650] He was one of the sincere companions of ʿAlī (a.s.), or rather he is said to be among the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), because of a tradition narrated by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) in favour of him, saying:

"Whoever wishes to see a man whose body members will go first to Heaven let him look at Zaid ibn Ṣawḥān."[651]

This man was considered one of the greatest ascetics and righteous substitutes.[652] ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb would honour him and laud him much. However, ʿUthmān banished him to Syria, whence he [went to Basra and] joined the Battle of the Camel where he was then martyred. The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) addressed him saying: "You were indeed light in (expending) provisions but great in (providing) assistance."

iii) Jibilla ibn ʿAmr al-Anṣārī

He was a jurist and one of the great companions;[653] he participated in the Battle of Uḥud.[654] He would criticise ʿUthmān much for his choice of advisors who were of bad nature and wicked intentions, being evil associates. He would address ʿUthmān in a bitter and sharp way, saying: "O foolish old man. By Allah, I shall slay you and carry you over a young camel and take you to the Hell."[655]

أرشَدَهُما» و«مَلِئَ عَمّارٌ إيماناً إلىٰ مُشاشِهِ»، «يَزولُ مَعَ الحَقِّ حَيثُ يَزولُ».

كان عمّار الحائز لهذه المكانة عند رسول اللّهﷺ من جملة الناقمين الأساسيّين والأوائل على عثمان، وكان يسعى بجدّ على هذا السبيل. ذكر ابن كثير في هذا المجال:

«كانَ عَمّارٌ يُحَرِّضُ النّاسَ عَلى عُثمانَ ولَم يَقلَع ولَم يَرجَع ولَم يَنزَع».

وبسبب هذه الاعتراضات والانتقادات تعرّض عمّار للضرب من قبل الخليفة وبطانته حتّى أُغمي عليه وأُصيب بعاهة.

2. زيد بن صَوحان

وكان من كبار الزهّاد، ومن الوجوه البارزة في تاريخ الإسلام، وقد اعتُبر من «الأبدال». وكان من خُلّص أصحاب عليّ عليه السلام، بل إنّ البعض يعتبره من صحابة رسول اللّهﷺ؛ وذلك لوجود رواية عن الرسولﷺ بشأنه؛ قال فيها:

«مَن سَرَّهُ أن يَنظُرَ إلىٰ رَجُل يَسبِقُهُ بَعضُ أعضائِهِ إلَى الجَنَّةِ؛ فَلْيَنظُر إلى زَيدِ بنِ صوحانَ».

وقد عُدّ هذا الرجل في عداد أكابر الزهّاد والأبدال. وكان عمر بن الخطّاب يُكرمه ويُثني عليه كثيراً. أمّا عثمان فقد نفاه إلى الشام، ثمّ استشهد لاحقاً في معركة الجمل، وقد خاطبه أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام بالقول: «قَد كُنتَ خَفيفَ المَؤونَةِ، عَظيمَ المَعُونَةِ».

3. جبلة بن عمرو الأنصاري

وهو من الفقهاء ومن أجلّاء الصحابة. شهد معركة أُحد. كان يؤاخذ عثمان بشدّة على اتّخاذه مستشارين سيّئي الطّباع وخبيثي النوايا بطانةَ سوء. وكان يخاطبه خطاباً مرّاً لاذعاً ويقول له: «يا نَعثَلُ! وَاللّهِ لاَقتُلَنَّكَ، ولَأَحمِلَنَّكَ عَلىٰ قُلوص جَرباءَ، ولَأُخرِجَنَّكَ إلىٰ حَرَّةِ النّارِ».

iv) Jahjāh al-Ghifārī

He was among the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) he participated in the Allegiance of al-Riḍwān; al-Bukhārī and Muslim have narrated from him.[656]

v) ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥamiq

He was among the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) ; he embraced Islam after al-Ḥudaybiyyah.[657]

vi) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUdais

He was among the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and those who pledged allegiance under the Tree.[658]

There are many more such righteous men who participated in these events including Mālik al-Ashtar, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa, Ḥakīm ibn Jibilla and others. They all had an important and active role.

Through looking at these personalities and their statements and slogans, it becomes clear that this movement had a broad dimension. Based on the strong presence of the companions in this incident, we can name this uprising against ʿUthmān as the ʿuprising of the companions'.

In Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī we read:

"When the people saw what ʿUthmān did, a number of the companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) who were in Medina wrote to different regions of the Islamic world.... that the Religion of Muḥammad has been corrupted."[659]

B) The Exploiters

The professional politicians were not absent from these enormous crowds, so they rode the waves of opposition or helped in expanding its scope out of greed for a better status. It is natural that the likes of these people were not able to perceive the circumstances of the people, nor were they aware thereof; however:

4. جهجاه الغفاري

من صحابة رسول اللّهﷺ، وممّن شهدوا بيعة الرضوان، روى عنه البخاري ومسلم.

5. عمرو بن الحمق

من صحابة رسول اللّهﷺ، أسلم بعد الحديبيّة.

6. عبد الرحمن بن عُدَيس

من أصحاب رسول اللّهﷺ، ومن المبايعين تحت الشجرة.

وشارك في هذه الوقائع أيضاً رجال صالحون من ذوي الشخصيّات البارزة كمالك الأشتر، ومحمّد بن أبي بكر، ومحمّد بن أبي حذيفة، وحكيم بن جبلّة و... وكان لهم فيها دور فاعل.

يتبيّن من خلال التأمّل في هذه الشخصيّات وفي كلماتهم وشعاراتهم أنّ هذه الحركة كانت ذات أبعاد واسعة. وانطلاقاً من الحضور الجادّ للصحابة في هذه الحادثة؛ حيث يمكن النظر إلى مشاركتهم هذه على أنّها بمثابة توجيه للجماهير المؤمنة؛ يمكن تسمية الثورة على عثمان باسم «ثورة الصحابة».

جاء في تاريخ الطبري:

«لَمّا رَأَى النّاسُ ما صَنَعَ عُثمانُ، كَتَبَ مَن بِالمَدينَةِ مِن أصحابِ النَّبِيِّﷺ إلىٰ مَن بِالآفاقِ مِنهُم... أنَّ دينَ مُحَمَّدٍ قَد أُفسِدَ».

ب ـ الاستغلاليون

ولم يغب عن تلك الحشود الغفيرة بعض محترفي السياسة، فركبوا أمواج الاعتراض أو ساعدوا على توسيع مداها طمعاً في نيل مكانة أفضل. ومن الطبيعي أنّ أمثال هؤلاء الأشخاص لم يكونوا يُدركون أوضاع النّاس وما كانوا يأبهون لها، ولكنّهم:

(1) They felt as if they were pushed behind under the distinctions and posts ʿUthmān had granted to his relatives alone.

(2) After the expansion of the uprising, they came to understand that the opportunity had come to gain their worldly goals, heedless of the outcomes following the slaying of ʿUthmān.

Therefore, their opposition to ʿUthmān did not come from their concern for the general well-being, nor out of religious zealousness and responsibility. They were only looking for standing and chieftainship.

For example, Ṭalḥa wrote to the people of Kūfah to come to Medina in order to put an end to the practices of ʿUthmān; it seems he did not anticipate anything after the slaying of ʿUthmān other than taking the post of the Caliphate. A number of his supporters had the same hopes. After Sawdān ibn Ḥamrān was done with the killing of ʿUthmān, he came out of the house and called out:

"Where is Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaidullah? We have killed Ibn ʿAffān."[660]

At the Battle of the Camel, Marwān shot Ṭalḥa with an arrow from behind and killed him, because he considered him to be the killer of ʿUthmān.

Such was also the case with ʿĀ'ishah; she hoped that victory would be in favour of her relatives; as she would say : "Kill the foolish old man (*naʿthal*), for he has become a disbeliever."[661] However, when things turned around, she changed her stance. The reason is that she was seeking something other than the truth. When they asked her in the Battle of the Camel about the reason why she would incite them to kill ʿUthmān, but she turned to seek the revenge of his blood, she said: "I said and they said, and my last words are better than my first word."[662]

Another opportunist was ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who lost his post during the reign of ʿUthmān; it was hard for him to see that the land of Egypt he had conquered became in the hands of ʿAbdullah ibn Abī Sarḥ.

Accordingly, he tried to hasten the uprising against ʿUthmān, as

1. كانوا يشعرون وكأنّهم نُحُّوا إلى الوراء في ظلّ الامتيازات والمناصب الّتي منحها عثمان لأقاربه.

2. أخذوا يشعرون بعد اتّساع رقعة الثورة أنّ الفرصة قد أصبحت مؤاتية لنيل مآربهم الدنيويّة، والحقيقة هي أنّهم لم يُدركوا ما ستؤول إليه الأوضاع بعد مقتل عثمان.

إذاً فمعارضتهم لعثمان لم تكن نابعة من حرصهم على المصلحة العامّة، ولا من باب الغيرة الدينيّة واستشعار الوظيفة الشرعيّة. ومعنى هذا أنّهم كانوا يتطلّعون إلى الجاه والرئاسة.

نشير على سبيل المثال إلى أنّ طلحة كان واحداً منهم، وقد كتب إلى أهل الكوفة بالقدوم إلى المدينة من أجل وضع حدٍّ لتصرّفات عثمان، ويبدو أنّه لم يكن يتوقّع بعد مقتل عثمان سوى تسلّم منصب الخلافة. وكان بعض أنصاره على مثل ظنّه. فبعدما انتهى سودان بن حمران من قتل عثمان، خرج من الدار ونادى:

«أينَ طَلحَةُ بنُ عُبَيدِ اللّه؟ لَقَد قَتَلنَا ابنَ عَفّانَ».

وفي معركة الجمل رماه مروان بسهم من خلفه وقتله؛ لأنّه كان يعتبره هو قاتل عثمان.

وهكذا الحال بالنسبة لعائشة أيضاً؛ فقد كانت تأمل أن تكون الغلبة لأقاربها؛ فكانت تقول: «أُقتُلوا نَعثَلاً؛ فَقَد كَفَرَ!»، ولكن بعدما انقلبت الأُمور، وآلت إلى مآل آخر، غيّرت موقفها. وهذا ينمّ عن أنّها كانت ترمي إلى شيء آخر غير الحقّ؛ فعندما أخذوا يسائلونها في وقعة الجمل عن السبب الّذي جعلها تحرّضهم قبل ذاك على قتل عثمان، ثمّ أصبحت تطلب بثأره، قالت: «قَد قُلتُ وقالوا، وقَولِيَ الأَخيرُ خَيرٌ مِن قَولِيَ الأَوَّلِ».

ومن هؤلاء الانتهازيّين أيضاً عمرو بن العاص الّذي فقد منصبه في عهد عثمان، وكان يعزّ عليه أن يرى بلاد مصر الّتي فتحها هو قد أصبحت الآن بيد عبد اللّه بن أبي سرح.

ومن هنا فهو كان يسعى لتعجيل الثورة ضدّ عثمان، وقد أشرنا إلى بعض مساعيه في هذا

previously mentioned. He would say:

"I am Abū ʿAbdullah: if I touch a sore, I would open it. I would incite against him. I would even incite against him the shepherd who tends to his herd at the peak of a mountain."[663]

Al-Zubayr, as well was in agreement with Ṭalḥa; he wished to seize the opportunity in order to gain his, and he considered himself to be the leader of this group.

C) The Opportunist Supporters

There were some people who would keep with ʿUthmān and agree with his views, but they refused to support him in this incident, or rather, they abandoned him. They plotted against him even indirectly.

The model of this group was Muʿāwiyah, as he and his followers were the real embodiment of this movement. In fact he had a key role in the slaying of ʿUthmān. He was able to send a brigade from his army in Syria to defend the Caliph or face the opposition, but he refused to do so. Even when ʿUthmān asked him for help, he came to Medina alone and ʿUthmān knew why he had come, so he said to him:

"You desire that I be killed, so you say: "I am the avenger of his blood."[664]

When ʿUthmān wrote a letter urging Muʿāwiyah to support him, the latter made excuses and procrastinated until the opportunity was gone. Let us reflect on the following historical text:

"When Muʿāwiyah received the letter, he waited, even as he disliked to show his opposition to the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), after he came to know of their agreement."

Therefore, it can be said that Muʿāwiyah was indirectly involved in the slaying of ʿUthmān and he had a key role therein, as Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) pointed out in one of his speeches.

At any rate, the trends that came from four important regions of the Islamic Caliphate conducted a widespread revolution against ʿUthmān. It is natural that the presence of a great number of Muslims

الاتّجاه، وكان يقول:

«أنَا أبو عَبدِ اللّهِ، إذا حَكَكتُ قرحةً نكأتُها! إن كُنتُ لأُحَرِّضُ عَلَيهِ، حَتّى إنّي لأُحَرِّضُ عَلَيهِ الرّاعِيَ في غَنَمِهِ في رَأسِ الجَبَلِ».

وهكذا الحال بالنسبة إلى إلزبير أيضاً؛ فهو كان مسايراً لطلحة، ويطمع في انتهاز فرصة الثورة لتحقيق ما تصبو إليه نفسه، وكان يعتبر نفسه قائداً لهذه الجماعة.

ج الأعوان الانتهازيّون

هناك أشخاص كانوا مسايرين لعثمان ويرون رأيه، ولكنّهم في هذه الحادثة لم ينصروه بل خذلوه، وصاروا عليه عوناً ـ ولو بشكل غير مباشر ـ وهذا من عجائب عِبَر الدنيا.

وأبرز نموذج لهذه الطائفة معاوية؛ فقد كان هو وزمرته تجسيداً حقيقيّاً لهذا التوجّه. والواقع أنّه كان له يد طولى في قتل عثمان. فقد كان بإمكانه أن يرسل من الشام سريّة لحماية الخليفة أو مواجهة المعارضين. بَيد أنّه لم يفعل! وحتّى بعدما استنصره عثمان، جاء إلى المدينة بمفرده. وقد أدرك عثمان الغاية من قدومه، فقال له:

«أرَدتَ أن أُقتَلَ فَتَقولَ: أنا وَلِيُّ الثَارِ».

عندما كتب عثمان كتاباً يستحثّه فيه على نصرته، أخذ يسوّف ويتعلّل إلى أن ذهبت الفرصة أدراج الرياح. لننظر إلى هذا النصّ التاريخي:

«فَلَمّا جاءَ مُعاوِيَةَ الكِتابُ تَرَبَّصَ بِهِ وكَرِهَ اظهارَ مُخالَفَةِ أصحابِ رَسولِ اللّهِ وقَد عَلِمَ اجتِماعَهُم».

وهكذا يمكن القول بأنّ معاوية كانت له يد في قتل عثمان بشكل غير مباشر. وكان لتلك اليد تأثيرها كما أشار الإمام عليّ عليه السلام إلى هذا المعنى في إحدى كلماته.

وعلى كلّ حال فقد تظافرت التيّارات المنبثقة من أربعة نقاط مهمّة في الخلافة الإسلاميّة

alongside their public opposition against the practices of ʿUthmān was not able to let him and his followers to review the past. Rather, they ignored the affairs and treated the rebels in unsuitable ways, which prepared the grounds for the killing of ʿUthmān.

From all that which has been mentioned, it becomes clear that what Sayf ibn ʿUmar has reported in which he has attempted to completely feign ignorance about the real reasons and factors mentioned above and to attribute the uprising against ʿUthmān to a person like ʿAbdullah ibn Saba', is far from the truth and historical reality.

The Rijāl sources (dealing with the evaluation of reliability of the narrators and hadith transmitters) have described Sayf ibn ʿUmar as a liar and this way have discredited him. This means that one cannot rely on his narrations. Furthermore, even if he was truthful in what he had said, what he has cited in this regard is in a manner that cannot be approved absolutely. It is clear that the role of ʿAbdullah ibn Saba' in it is baseless and is a fabricated idea.

آنذاك، وصنعت ثورة شاملة ضدّ عثمان. ومن الطبيعي أنّ حضور جموع غفيرة من المسلمين في المدينة، واعتراضهم الصريح على أعمال عثمان، لم يدفعه هو وبطانته لإعادة النظر في الماضي، بل عمدوا بدلاً من ذلك إلى تجاهل الأُمور، ومعاملة الثائرين بأساليب غير مُرضية، ممّا أدّى إلى تأزيم الأوضاع ومهّد الظروف لقتل عثمان.

يتّضح ممّا مرّ ذكره أنّ ما نقله سيف بن عمر وحاول فيه تجاهل الأسباب والعوامل المذكورة أعلاه تجاهلاً تامّاً، ونسبة الأحداث الّتي وقعت ضدّ عثمان إلى شخص كعبد اللّه بن سبأ، بعيد عن الحقيقة وعن الواقع التاريخي.

وقد وصفت المصادر الرجاليّة سيف بن عمر بالكذب، وطعنت فيه. وهذا ما يوجب عدم التعويل على أخباره. وفضلاً عن كلّ ذلك فحتّى لو كان صادقاً، فإنّ ما نقله من الأخبار جاء على نحو لا يمكن التصديق به على الإطلاق، ومن الواضح أنّ دور عبد اللّه بن سبأ فيها موضوع ولا صحّة له.

Part Five:
The Politics of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

Chapter One: The Allegiance of the Light

Chapter Two: The Reforms of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

Chapter Three: Administrative Policies

Chapter Four: Cultural Policies

Chapter Five: Economic Policies

Chapter Six: Social Policies

Chapter Seven: Judicial Policies

Chapter Eight: Security Policies

Chapter Nine: Military Policies

Chapter Ten: International Policies

Introduction

(1)

Politics in the Two Schools

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) took charge of the government on the eighteenth of Dhu al-Ḥijjah 35 AH, and he was martyred in his prayer niche on the twenty first of Ramadān 40 AH. Therefore, his ruling lasted for four years, nine months and three days.

The studies that are related to this era are as follows:

1. How the Imām came to power, the commencement of his reforms, and the foundations and dimensions of his policies;
2. The various kinds of confrontations that rose against the reforms of Imām ʿAlī, the trials erupted as a result of these reforms, and the wars broken out during the era of his government;
3. The insubordination of the army of the Imām, their disobedience, the breaking out of military attacks and invasions by Muʿāwiyah;
4. The trend of the plot to assassinate the Imām and the last moments of his martyrdom;
5. The state of the Imām's companions, the leaders and rulers during his political reign.

We have commented on each one of these five investigations in this book. However, the administration of the government and the nature of the policies the Imām (a.s.) adopted in ruling have special significance these days, especially in relation to the leaders of the

Islamic Republic of Iran, in view of its role and influence.

However, before we discuss the historical and traditional texts related to the political path of the Imām, we will at first go through defining politics and what it means in both schools: the School of Imam ʿAlī (a.s) and the Umayyad School.

Then we will briefly touch upon the main foundations of the Imām's politics and their principles.

In view of these two points, we will then treat the questions posed regarding the political vision of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and defend his politics.

The political vision according to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) is considered to be one of the primary conditions for leadership. The Imām does not only look at politics as a symbol for the perpetuity of rulership and leadership, or the continuation of the ummah's obedience to the Imām, but he constantly stressed that: "Kingdom is politics."[665]

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) asserted that political impotence is a disease that threatens leaders, and that leaders who do not enjoy a powerful political insight will have their authority crumbled away, so the era of their rulership will fall in no time. From the Imām's perspective, wrong policies are the reason for the plight of countries and the downfall of governments.

Accordingly, the School of Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) believes that running the society on the basis of Islamic principles cannot be accomplished except through the political qualification of the leaders of that society. In other words, political qualification is one of the principles of management, and there is no dispute in this regard between Islam and other religions and ideologies.

As for that which distinguishes Islam, on this plane, from the rest of the schools and methodologies, it lies in the "concept" of the Alawid politics versus the "concept" of the Umayyad politics, and in the spiritual contents involved in this term.

Politics in the Umayyad School

The Umayyad School views that politics is: "To distinguish the

goal and achieve it in any way possible". In fact, the politicians of the world in the past and present, who officially adopt this practice, do not understand from politics anything more than that.

The reality of the issue is that politics in the Umayyad School in its common meaning does not base itself on principles and foundations established by values. Oswald Spengler, a political theorizer, says: "A professional politician is not concerned that the affairs be true or false."

Similary, Bertrand Russell analyses the motives and political strategies, , saying: "The political motive according to the majority of people is based on opportunism, selfishness, rivalry and desire for power. For example: the source of all human actions in political practice lies in these elements.

The political leader must be able to convince the people through his power and fulfillment of needs, that his power may encompass all people and that all these powers have been given to him by God!

As for the political leader who overlooks these motives, he will not be able to gain the approval of the lower class and their support. It is here that the psychology of excitement is regarded as part of the program of successful political leaders and as a condition for their competence and training."[666]

He further adds: "Most political leaders gain their posts through convincing the larger population of the citizens that they enjoy human aspirations.

The suppression of people with limitations, the delivery of speeches and public sermons, the illegal punishments and war, are the stages of social movement and the procedures for general agitation.

I believe that the followers of illogical thought find a better opportunity in protecting the state of the general agitation, in order to exploit and trick them.[667]

What is mentioned in this political analysis of the political leaders of the society is completely correspondent to the interpretation

of politics and its meaning in the Umayyad School. Muʿāwiyah is the founder of this School in the history of Islam. His slogan was "Dominion is barren."[668] He was ready to do anything in order to come to power and defend it.

Politics in the School of Imām ʿAlī

Keeping this in mind, we move to the government policy of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) with his words: "Dominion is politics." He does not mean that resorting to any means to gain power is something permissible, or rather, it is not permissible to use illegitimate political instruments, even if it leads to the loss of the government/power itself.

Politics in the school of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) is to have knowledge of the legitimate political instruments and use them to run the society and secure the material and spiritual welfare of the people. Moreover, illegitimate policies cannot be called 'politics', or rather it is deception, trickery and craftiness.[669]

From the perspective of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) the procedure for managing the system and protecting the power does not need illegitimate political means, for the hearts can be subjected through applying correct and legitimate policies in order to guide the society towards material and spiritual perfection.

Illegitimate policies might be temporarily useful to strengthen the domination of official politics, but it will not last long, or rather, it will bring harm to the people.

The Reform Movement of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

Based on this, after people pledged their allegiance to the Imām (a.s.), and he assumed political power, he immediately began the reform movement of the government, based on the slogan of social and economical justice. He (a.s.) clearly announced that the philosophy behind his coming to power lies in undertaking reforms. He (a.s.) believed that the Islamic society had changed dramatically when he was distant from the political scene, and that which was practised in the name of the Islamic government is extremely far from Islam and

the teachings and sunnah of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).

From another perspective, the Imām knew well that the new procedure he would introduce, which is identical with the reform of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), was not in concordance with the disposition of society in light of the political situation dominant at that time. In this regard, he (a.s.) said: "The hearts will not bear it, nor will the intellects welcome it." The process of facing corruption and fighting against deviation will yield a lot of political turmoil.

Therefore, the universal process of the political and social reform is in need of an in-depth and well-organised plan.

The Policies of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) for Facing Corruption

The Imām (a.s.) did not deal with the ruling corruption hastily. For the direct confrontation of all the deviations to which the society was accustomed to for years would lead to public displeasure. It would also result in disunity and enfeeblement of the foundation of the government. That is why the Imām (a.s.) divided the reforms his government must undertake into two parts. These are:

1. Confronting Administrative and Economical Corruption
2. Confronting Cultural Deviations

The Policies of Administrative and Economical Reform

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) endeavoured to confront the administrative and economical corruption from the very early days of his political reign. He dismissed the unqualified agents and restored the public funds to the Muslim Treasury.

From the first day of the Imām's pledge of allegiance, he (a.s.) pointed out his fundamental procedure for reform and referred to his policies in this regard in a concise way, saying: "Know that if I answer your call, I will lead you as I know and I will not listen to the saying of the sayer or the admonishing of the admonisher."[670]

On the second day of his Caliphate he stood upon the pulpit and announced, saying: "Lo! every land that ʿUthmān gave away and every

money from the property of Allah that he gave will be restored to the Muslim Treasury. Indeed, nothing can invalidate the rights of the past; even if I find that women were thereby married or it was thereby dispersed around countries, I would bring it back to its proper place. There is room for justice; whoever finds it hard to act justly should find it harder to deal with injustice."

In an elaborate sermon Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) delivered on the same day, he spoke in detail about the responsibility of the leaders of the society in the implementation of justice. He clearly announced that he will not allow any person - without exception - to take advantage of the Public Funds. Those who have accumulated their wealth through illegal means, from the Public Funds, and acquired thereby fertile lands, valuable horses or beautiful bondmaids should know that ʿAlī would confiscate them all and return them to the Muslim Treasury.

This speech by the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) was like a thunderbolt that came down on the heads of those concerned with this issue.

On the third day of the reign of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), he invited the people to receive funds from the Muslim Treasury. He (a.s.) ordered his scribe ʿAbdullah ibn Abī Rāfiʿ to observe the following instructions: "Begin with the Muhājirīn; call them and give every man three dinars, then call the Anṣār and do the same thing with them, and then do the same thing to any person, whether red or black."

The leaders of the people realised that economical justice under the ruling of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was not just a slogan, or rather, a serious principle that cannot be disregarded. So they began to use excuses and show displeasure about these steps. When Abī Rāfiʿ had to go back to the Commander of the faithful (a.s.), the Imām was not surprised at the spark of opposition and rejection by distinguished personalities. He declared with determination that his reform policy will continue; he said: "By Allah, if I remain alive, I will certainly lead them to the straight path."

It was from this very pit that the issue of seeking revenge of ʿUthmān began. What is surprising is that a number of the wealthy put two conditions in order for them to pledge their allegiance to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). The first is that the Imām should not get close to their wealth which they accumulated during the reign of ʿUthmān. The second is that he should punish the killers of ʿUthmān.

The Imām knew that the retribution was meant to be an excuse for refusal to restore their illegitimate wealth. However, he did not succumb to any of these two conditions and faced with determination and firmness these suggestions.

The Policies of Cultural Reform

The situation was suitable for the implementation of the administrative and economical reform, as a result of the revolt of the general masses against the government of ʿUthmān. Therefore, the Imām put into practice the reforms movement from the first days of his ruling, regardless of the outcomes of that movement. The cultural reform movement, however, needed much more time in order for the Imām's government to establish itself. That is why he (a.s.) said: "If my steps remain firm over these violation, I will alter many things."

It was not easy for the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) to directly and immediately face the cultural heritage to which people were naturally accustomed throughout a quarter of a century, because this practice would result in antipathy and discontent of the people, and the ummah would fall into disunity. This is why the Imām left the subject of confronting cultural deviations for an appropriate opportunity.

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) proceeded with his accurate and well-planned reform program to bring back the Islamic society to the teachings of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and his sunnah, beginning from the issue of social justice and the basis of administrative and economical reform. He remained loyal to this procedure until the last moments of his life, since he did not fall short of that even during the most difficult political situations. He spared no effort to complete this project and

create a society on the basis of the original Islamic values and goals.

We will touch upon the most important principles of Imām ʿAlī's reform movement and the most prominent of its foundations in the area of administrative, cultural, economical, social, judicial, security and military reforms in light of the historical and traditional texts.

We will then move to summarise the views of the Imām over the international level, and explain what is effective in the area of positive relations between governments. In conclusion, we will present the texts related to the policies of the Imām and their references.

(2)

Method of Ruling over the Hearts

Islam is a religion of governance. A close study of the Islamic sources in respect of the principles and foundations of the Islamic system shows that Islam is a religion of ruling over the hearts. The political foundations of the Islamic government are principles based on this kind of ruling and management. The political principles of the Imām ʿAlī's government are identical with the foundations of Islamic management itself.

Islam is a path for the material and spiritual perfection of the human being; love is the most important element in this path. The position of love in the Islamic government and its role in the teachings of this religion for the advancement of the human society has reached such a stage that Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) sees Islam as nothing other than the religion of love, saying: "Is religion anything other than love?"[671]

According to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), the fundamental pillars of Islam and the principles of its perfecting path are based on the love of Allah. He said:

"This Islam is the religion of Allah that He has choosen for Himself, formulated before His eyes, kept it for the choice of His creatures and established its pillars on His love."[672]

The Imāms of religion and the honest political leaders of the Islamic ummah are the manifestations of people's love for the Creator, and so people's love for them is nothing but love for Allah.[673]

Accordingly, the strong foundation on which the Islamic government is established surpasses the boundary of allegiance and the opinion of people, because Islamic ruling has a firm root in the love of people and their hearts. Here lies the secret of all of the concentration of the Qur'ān and tradition on love for Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) and devotion to them.[674]

From another perspective, we know that love cannot be based on command, for a person can be forced to do something contrary to his desire or his inner inclination, but it is not possible to force him to love somebody without being attracted to that person or having an inclination to him.

The human being by nature loves beauty, and he loves all manifestations of beauty, material and spiritual. When a person loves the path of another person and his conduct, and is in harmony with his deeds and actions, he will be inclined towards him and strengthen his relationship with him. But if he dislikes that person and detests his acts and conduct, he will not love him.

We understand that the philosophy of the necessity of love for Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) lies in the signifance of knowledge of them, because their teachings and conduct are based on beauty and attraction. Every person with a human conscience and human principles feels affection towards them.

This is the very reason for the love of all those who come to know ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims.

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) during his lifetime, especially during his short political reign, was able to reflect the most brilliant picture of humanity and the greatest form of ruling that is based on the foundations of human values. It is impossible for someone to look at the beauty of the acts of ʿAlī and his government, but he does not fall in love with him.

The following is a glance at the political principles of the Imām in respect of the government. These principles represent the political bases

for ruling over the hearts. We hope thereby that the government of the Islamic Republic and its leaders draw closer to the Imām (a.s.) more and more, in order to reflect to the world features of the illuminative picture of Imām ʿAlī's Government.

The Principles of Administrative Policies

The administrative policies of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) can be summarised in the following principles:

1. Honesty in Politics

Honesty in politics is the key principle in the administrative policy of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.). It is the symbol of the creative influence and eternal attraction of Imām ʿAlī's ruling, even as it is also the dividing line between his politics and the Umayyads'. There is no meaning for honesty nor is there a place for it in the dictionary of the Umayyad politics; lying is the primary tool in the different political activities of professional politicians.

The late Imam Khomeini mentioned that one of the officials of the previous monarchy regime visited him when he was in jail and said to him: "Politics is wickedness, lying and deception...., so leave it to us."

Imam Khomeini concluded: "What he said was correct. If politics means nothing other than these things, then it would be theirs alone"[675]

If lying is taken away from politics in the world of professional politicians, nothing of it (i. e. politics) will be left.

However, in the dictionary of the politics of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), honestly is the first condition for ruling and political qualification. If there is no political truthfulness, there will be no meaning for the supremacy of truth, the sovereignty of the law, human rights, social justice and many more such constructive programs and policies. These attributes will all turn to empty words that have no meaning and will change to a tool for further transgression of human rights.

In the teachings of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), it is not permissible to employ political stratagems except in one case, which is in war. War is the only exception to resort to trickery, as will be explained when discussing the military policies of the Imām (a.s.).

2. The Centrality of Truth

The centrality of the truth (al-ḥaqq) is considered a manifestation of political truthfulness in Imām ʿAlī's government. If we ponder into the attitude of the Imām (a.s.) and his political conduct in all areas of ruling, we will see that adherence to this principle is clear in every aspect of his life. The Imām believed that upholding the truth was the pillar of the philosophy of his ruling; he would not think of anything other than reviving the truth and eradicating the falsehood.

In light of this, the Imām (a.s.) would strongly confront flattering and justification in managing the affairs of the society, as is clearly seen in the Umayyad politics.

3. The Supremacy of Law

The respect Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) showed for the law was such that he did not see himself an exemption to the law. He believed that no one was above the law, and nobody was able to hinder the execution of Divine law.

4. Administrative Discipline

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was firmly inclined to the application of order and discipline in individual and social affairs, especially in relation to the government. He maintained that one of the goals of the revelation of the Qur'ān was to create order in life and society. He said: "Verily, it [the Qur'ān] has knowledge of the future, and the past; it is the remedy for your sicknesses and the source of order among you."

He would always urge his governors not to neglect the attribute of administrative discipline when they undertake their task, and that they should spend their effort to accomplish every duty in its specific time.

He (a.s.) was very concerned about order, such that he enjoined his sons to observe it even on his martyrdom-bed.

5. Appointment of Competent Governors

From the perspective of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), it is necessary to choose

officials for the Islamic government on the basis of qualification, not on the basis of status or kinship. Therefore, in the process of choice, moral competency, noble lineage, qualification and expertise are the criteria. Furthermore, it is not permissible for the managers in the Islamic system to distribute posts on the basis of family kinship or political relations. He who does not have a noble descent is not allowed to lead the affairs of people, nor should responsibility be given to one who lacks qualification, expertise, or righteousness.

6. Providing the Governors with Their Financial Needs

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) believed that what prevents administrative corruption is to provide the governors with their financial needs and secure their noble lives. The intention is to establish the grounds for their reform and to prevent their greed for the Public Funds. In this way they will not be inclined towards corruption and betrayal.

7. Special Attention towards the Armed Forces

From among the workers within the system of the Islamic government, the Imām (a.s.) focuses on the armed forces; it is necessary to show special care to them, and it is also incumbent upon the ruler to treat them as parents treat their children.

8. Monitoring the Function of the Governors

During the political reign of the Commander of the faithful (a.s.), he would forbid the practise of spying and interfering in the personal affairs of the individuals.[676] However, he deemed it necessary to establish an organization to monitor the heads of the Islamic government. He would do that by appointing secret agents, so that these heads may not neglect performing their duties or transgress the rights of people by misusing the power they enjoy.

The letters the Imām sent to such governors as al-Ashʿath ibn Qays, Ziyād ibn Abīh, Qudāmah ibn ʿAjlān, Maṣqalah ibn Hubairah, al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd show the form of an effective monitoring

system responsible for supervising those working with him during his political reign.

The secret informants and workers in the monitoring body in the government of the Imām had such a great level of justice and authenticity that their reports turned into a principle to rely on. He (a.s.) would encourage the good workers and dismiss the corrupt after they were proven guilty, where he would also punish them to be an example and lesson for others.

9. Prevention of Gifts

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) launched his government policy on the basis of the prohibiton of gifts and bribery, in order to fight administrative corruption.

10. Strictness along with Leniency

In his treatment of the heads and chiefs within the governmental system, Iman ʿAlī (a.s.) followed a procedure that combines firmness and leniency. From the Imām's point of view, harshness is regarded as a disease that threatens the administrative order, even as unlimited leniency brings damage to the management of society. Therefore, successful administration is one that combines – in the expression of the Imām - strictness and compassion and brings together sternness with leniency. Where sternness is needed, one must act with strictness, and where leniency is more effective, one must observe the policy of kindness and tolerance.

The Principles of Cultural Policies

The foundations of the cultural policies of the Imām lie in the following points:

1. The Development of Education and Teaching

The cultural development in Imām ʿAlī's administration precedes the economical development. The economical development cannot be accomplished without cultural development. The soul's need for

education and knowledge outweighs the body's need for food and drink.

In fact, the purpose of revelation and prophecy and the philosophy of government in the program of divine prophets is nothing but the upbringing and teaching of the human being, and all the efforts spent are only a preliminary for the making of the perfect human being. Therefore, the prophets and their executors personally undertake the role of educating and teaching people, as practised by the Commander of the faithful (a.s.).

2. Reforming the public Culture

Among the primary elements of Imām ʿAlī's government is setting right the culture of society. He continued to defend the constructive traditions and cultural practises and attack the wrong customs and behaviour.

3. Constructive Criticism instead of Flattering

One of the most important initiatives of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) to correct the public social culture is his confrontation with the practice of flattery and laudation of the political leaders.

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) urged the rulers and his governors to bring close to them one who is more daring in speaking the truth and more frank in proclaiming it. He encouraged them to teach those around them not to flatter them more than what they deserve.

As for the Imām (a.s.) himself, he disapproved any kind of praise or laudation and would confront in public the flatterers. He also urged people not to laud him for carrying out his divine duties; instead of praise, they should give advice, offer counsel, and express constructive criticisms of his programs if any.

4. Adherence to the Truth rather than Personalities

One of the key instructions of the Imām (a.s.) to correct the public

culture is establishing the truth as a criterion in following political and social personalities.

The majority of political and social deviations originate from centrality on the concept of the personality. In this regard, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) warned the society that no matter how much personalities enjoy love, respect and eminence, the ruling criterion should be the pursuance of truth. He (a.s.) then tried to raise the cultural awareness of the society to a level where they can measure great personalities with the criterion of truth, not to measure the truth with the criterion of men.

The Principles of Economical Policies

The principles of economical policies in the government of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) fall under the following pillars:

1. Promotion of Work Ethos

From the perspective of the Commander of the faithful (a.s.), economical poverty is considered a result of the culture of laziness and inability. Otherwise, a society that is dominated by the culture of work cannot ever be inflicted with the disease of poverty, which is itself regarded as the origin for many material and spiritual sicknesses in both individual and social areas.

Therefore, the Imām (a.s.) began to spread within the society the culture of work, by describing working as an act of worship.

2. Agricultural Development

The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) paid great attention to agricultural development in an attempt to eliminate poverty in society. He chides the ummah that possesses water and land, but is still stricken with poverty. He said: "Whoever finds water and dirt and then becomes poor, Allah will send him far."

In the teachings of the Imām (a.s.), one of the criteria of evaluating the efficiency of governments is agricultural development. That is why

he considered agricultural development among the primary duties of the workers in his government; he enjoined the commanders of the armies to defend the rights of farmers.

3. Industrial Development

Even though manufacture had no key role in the economy prevailing during the era of the ruling of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), he still gave it special importance. The Imām (a.s.) described crafts and industries as treasures; he ordered the chiefs and directors in his government to support the craftsmen and artisans. He (a.s.) also urged manufacturers to observe precision in their work and not to sacrifice quality and efficiency for the sake of speed.

4. Commercial Development

Trading in the early years of Islam and during the reign of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) played sensitive role in securing the economical needs of the society. Therefore, the Imām's government embarked on protecting the merchants and traders.

5. Direct Supervision of the Market

As the market enjoys special importance in economy, the Imām (a.s.) endeavoured to supervise it directly. He would personally monitor the market within a schedule he followed by visiting the markets of Kufah every morning. It was as if he were on a mission as 'teacher of children'. He would urge the sellers to adhere to piety to refrain from lying and wrongdoing. He would also forbid them from any kinds of sins that they might be inclined to commit in this regard. He would request from them to observe fairness and Islamic morals when dealing with buyers.

6. The Policy of Tax-Collection

The policy of the collection of taxes or Islamic funds was not conducted in one manner, for he would also take into consideration the rights of those who paid these funds. Within the framework of

Imām ʿAlī's ruling, the tax institution and the staff responsible for collecting taxes were enjoined, in addition to high accuracy, to observe fairness and attention to Islamic manners when dealing with the people.

7. Not Delaying the Distribution of Public Funds

The Imām (a.s.) considered it impermissible to withhold money in the government treasury or delay its distribution even for one night. He (a.s.) believed that what belonged to the people had to be given to them at the first possible opportunity.

8. Equal Distribution of the Public Funds

The Imām (a.s.) followed the policy of equal distribution of the public funds among all the Muslims. He would equally give the Arabs and the non-Arabs, the Muhājirīn In and the Anṣār, the black and the white. Moreover, he would not differ between the slave and his master in his share of the public fund.

9. Securing the Basic Needs for Everyone

The economical policy of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) is based on uprooting poverty from the society. He (a.s.) would say: "No poor one becomes hungry, except through a rich one enjoying that share." Accordingly, he believed that the Islamic government was responsible for securing the requirements and basic needs for everyone who lived within the geographical range of the Islamic territories.

Even as those who lived in Kūfah had to enjoy relative welfare and not face problems in such basic needs as food and accommodation, so should be the case with everyone else in other regions. The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) focused on protecting the weak class in society and showed special attention to orphans and the families of martyrs.

10. The Prohibition of Giving Gifts form the Public Funds

The Imām (a.s.) regarded the public funds as a trust among those who worked within the system of the government. He did not permit

the directors and governors to spend money or distribute it as gifts and grants, saying: " The governors' generosity with the wealth of the Muslims is a wrongdoing and betrayal."

11. Prohibition of Giving Privileges to Children and Close Associates

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) did not recognise any special privilege to anybody when distributing the public funds. None was an exception to that law, whether distinguished political or social figures, his children or those close to him. The Imām (a.s.) in this regard would always show caution towards those close to him, so that it would be a lesson for others.

12. Economization with the Public Funds

The Imām's policy in spending the public funds inspires lessons and examples. In order to push his agents and his governors to the utmost limit of austerity, he issued an administrative order to the effect that they should not forget this principle even when writing to him. He said in this regard: "Sharpen your pens and make the lines closer to each other. When writing to me, do not add excessive words and be precise in your meanings. Refrain from writing too much, because the Muslim Treasury does not endure further harm."

The Imām's concern for the Muslim Treasury and his personal conduct in spending is indeed something wonderful. He was not ready to use the lantern of the Muslim Treasury when answering someone who came to pay him a personal visit at night! When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) was busy writing that which is related to the distribution of the Muslim Treasury, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr paid him a personal visit, so he (a.s.) went to the lantern of the Public Funds and turned it off, requesting to bring another lantern from his house.

The Principles of Social Policies

The principles of social policies in the government of Imām ʿAlī

(a.s.) are based on the following points:

1. Social Justice

Justice is of vital and critical importance to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and his government, such that the name of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) is intertwined with the word 'justice'. The name of Imām ʿAlī has become a model for justice, and justice has become a title that refers to the name ʿAlī.

The meaning of this connection is that government can claim to have followed the Imām ʿAlī's government as an example for it only when it prompts its leaders to observe justice more than anything else.

It is obvious that such kind of emulation cannot be accomplished through slogans and words alone, as practiced by the contemporary world. It can be achieved through undertaking justice in words and deeds.

Government cannot sacrifice anything for justice or bury it on the altar of 'interests', as there is no interest from the perspective of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) higher than the interest of justice.

Finally, governments can announce that their highest example is ʿAlī (a.s.) if they can rule the hearts through giving priority to justice over interests, not giving preference to transient interests.

2. Respect for Mutual Rights

According to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) governments cannot last long unless their ruling system respects the rights of the people. On the other hand, the people must show their respect to the rights of the ruling system. Without observing reciprocal rights between the government and the people there will be no social justice.

It is natural that such process is hard to follow. At the level of words all people respect rights and know its importance, but when it comes to the scope of action those who do observe rights are few: "*And most of them are averse to the truth.*"[677]

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) expresses this in a beautiful

way, saying: "Truth is the broadest of things in description, but the narrowest of them in equitability." Therefore, social justice and respect for human rights never exceeded throughout history the boundary of slogans. Rather, this slogan was turned into an instrument to exploit the rights of people.

Throughout the history of Islam, after the era of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), there was only one opportunity to establish social justice, that is, during the short reign of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). However, the ummah did not seize this opportunity, or rather, the subjects themselves would do wrong to the government of the Imām, such that he said: "If the people prior to my era complained of the injustice of their rulers, today I complain about the injustice of my own people."

Our responsibility is to take an example from others and pave the necessary grounds for the implementation of social justice.

3. The Development of Legitimate and Constructive Freedoms

Freedom is the first step towards the achievement of justice and respect for the rights of the ummah; however, this freedom should be constructive not destructive, that is freedom from the captivity of internal limits and external chains. This is the very freedom that the Qur'ān invites people to enjoy. He said: "*and relieves them of their burdens and the shackles that were upon them.*"[678] This is also exactly what the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) paid attention to and considered the philosophy of the mission of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), saying: "Indeed Allah sent Muḥammad to bring forth His creation from worshipping His creation to worshipping Him..... and from following His creation to following Him."

According to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), all people are free and must not be slaves to others. What drives push people to the captivity of servitude and governments to arrogance, dictatorship and tyranny, are the internal shackles and inner servitude. If a human society desires to

climb to the peak of freedom and achieve real independence, it must first strengthen its relation with Allah, and observe the conditions of servanthood to Allah, as expressed by Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).

The conditions for servanthood to Allah is in fact the laws of real freedom for people; if humanity does not succumb to these conditions, then their external freedom and independence will only be temporary and will certainly return to servitude.

4. The Policy of Leniency

One of the primary elements in the social path of the Imām ʿAlī's government is the principle of affability. Contrary to the practices of the politicians, who seek to satisfy the elite in order to suppress the rights of the masses and oppress them, the policy of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) is based on the principle of satisfying the broad base among the people, even if that brought about the discontent of the elite; he (a.s.) said: "The discontent of the public is detrimental to the content of the elite, whereas the discontent of the elite can be forgiven with the content of the public."

In an attempt to conduct the policy of leniency and gain the content of the public, the Imām ordered his agents to treat people with love and affection, and that they should have direct contact with the people. They should meet their citizens face to face, listen to their problems directly without a medium, tolerate their bad manners and be patient with their mistreatment and unsuitable behaviour.

He (a.s.) also urged his agents not to frown at people or to meet them with an overcast face or think ill of them. He (a.s.) forbade them from spying on the personal affairs of the people.

Among the other important points the Imām enjoined on the governors is to observe the policy of tolerance and give necessary explanations about that which might bring about people's distrust in respect of the denial of their rights. From the perspective of the Commander of the Faithful, it is not permissible to belittle the state

of distrust among the citizens. It is necessary for the governors and officials to tell the people the reasons of their actions truthfully and humbly, and explain to them what they are doing.

5. Protecting the Oppressed

In order to uproot the factors that help transgress the rights of people and in order to spread the state of confronting the oppressors and transgressors, the Imām ʿAlī's government took the initiative to strengthen the culture of protecting the oppressed.

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) seized every opportunity in order to expand the culture of fighting oppression and protect the oppressed. He would also encourage the people to help him in reforming their society, calling out: "O people, assist me against yourselves; by Allah, I will take revenge for the oppressed from the oppressor and will control the oppressor by his rein."

There are stories about the 'model of justice' defending the oppressed, which are worthy of reading. They are full of lessons and examples for those who hold the slogan of emulating this great Imām.

6. Establishing the Complaint Box

Muslims had no knowledge of this initiative before ʿAlī (a.s.). For the first time in Islamic history, when the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) assumed power, he set up a complaint box (bayt al-qaṣaṣ), so it may be a place to deal with the problems and complaints of the people. He who cannot verbally deliver his problem or does not wish to express it, is able to write his need and submit his case in written form.

7. Fostering the Unity of the Society and its Harmony

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) believed that unity secures the perpetuity of governments and that disunity is a reason for the fall of governments and its destruction. This is why he said: "No one is more concerned about the unity of the ummah of Muḥammad and its harmony more

than I am."

When there was an affair related to his person, he would overlook it, lest the Islamic ummah fall into disunity, because he believed that the disagreement of the ummah will end up with the victory of the people of falsehood.

The Imām's attention to the unity of the Islamic ummah reached such a level that he ordered the judicial system under his government to refrain from putting into practice the laws of Islam if they were to create differences, as will be explained when speaking about the principles of the judicial policies.

The Principles of the Judicial Policies

The principles of the judicial policies of the Imām (a.s.) can be clarified in the following points:

1. Appointment of Qualified Judges

The judge is considered to be the fundamental element in the judicial organization, which plays a major role in securing the rights of the people. The stronger the judge is in respect of knowledge, behaviour and morals, the more effective he is in the application of the judicial system. Therefore, it is necessary to choose well-qualified people to assume the position of arbitration.

2. Securing the Financial Needs of the Judges

Qualified judges in the Imām ʿAlī's government are privileged with a good salary and a competitive financial state; their need for people should not push them to deviate from the truth or fall into corruption, so the judicial system may depart from its aims, that is reforming the society.

3. Job Security for the Judges

Qualified judges in the Imām ʿAlī's government enjoy an elevated position in respect of their occupation. They are assured that the closest of people to the leading system of the government cannot hinder his

work or obstruct his responsibility or prevent him from being loyal to the rights of people.

4. Observing the Manners of Judging

Judgement has certain code of principles; in the government of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), it is necessary for the judge to observe the etiquette of arbitration, whether obligatory or recommended. His undivided attention to this issue was such that he explained to a judge the reasons for dismissing him from the judicial system, saying: "I saw that you speak more loudly than the adversary does."

5. Strict Supervision over the Judges

The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) considered himself responsible for the veracity of the judicial system and its well-being; and he did not content himself with the language of admonition or warning the judges against neglecting the rights of the society, or rather, he had direct supervision over the work of the judges and monitored their verdicts.

In view of the place the judicial system holds in reforming the affairs of the society, the Imām himself would also practise arbitration through the 'platform of judging', even though he had so many duties and responsibilities.

6. Unifying the Judicial Procedures

According to the Commander of the faithful (a.s.), it is not permissible for judges in the Islamic system to disagree when issuing verdicts; it is necessary to have a unified judicial vision. The responsibility for setting this unity that organises the verdicts of the judicial system is in the hands of the leadership.

7. The Equality of All before the Law

In the Imām ʿAlī's government all people are equal before the law. The judicial system enjoyed independence and held a special position that allowed it to carry out the law in society in an equal manner. The

society, in all its classes, are equal before the judge and the judicial system, including the Imām or the leader who appointed the judge and authorised him to practice arbitration.

The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) was submissive to the judicial system during his government, even though he was privileged with a distinguished status in knowledge, practise and politics. On one occasion he attended the court to answer the questions of a judge he himself appointed.

It was through this conduct that the Imām practically showed the status the judiciary holds. Thereby, he was teaching the leaders of the future an important lesson in submission to the judicial system.

8. The Position of the Interests of the Government

Nothing can obstruct the application of the original Islamic laws in the judicial system of Imām ʿAlī, except if it leads to the disunity of the Islamic ummah or the convulsion of the pillars of the Islamic government. This unique state appeared during the era of the Imām as a result of the special political and social situations. In confronting such situations, Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) addressed the judge Shurayḥ, saying: "Judge as you would judge, so that the affair of the people is brought together."

The Principles of Security Policies

The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) showed critical importance to security affairs and considered any place lacking security to be the worst of places. He also asserted that he accepted to come to power to establish security reforms.

The principles of the security policies of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) can be classified under the following:

1. Establishing an Active Security System

Even though history has not recorded anything about an independent establishment within the government of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

as a security establishment, viewing different narrations that are related to the duty of security and the actions the Imām undertook to gather secret information, all refer to the actual existence of organisations within his government whose duty was to gather information regarding internal security, military intelligence and to the actions of the governors and rulers.

However, we still do not have any detailed information about these organisations within one or more security establishments.

2. Removal of Tension

The instructions of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) in respect of reconciliation with the enemies and, the adoption of the principle of cautious peace with the enemies show the Imām's commitment to the policy of removing any tension in order to stabilise the internal security of the Islamic society.

3. Caution and Seizing the Opportunities

Along with the policy of removing tension, the Imām would order the Muslims not to anticipate any good counsel from the enemy at all. He would invite them not to underestimate the enemies or belittle their plans and urge them to observe extreme caution towards the enemies who do not reveal their hostility.

4. Refraining from the Policy of Horror

The Imām refrained from adopting the policy of spreading terror and fear or taking unlawful violent means in confronting the opposition. He (a.s.) never resorted to the practise of punishment for the accused before the crime has been committed.

5. The Principle of Applying the Law in Confronting the Perpetrators

Not only did the Imām ʿAlī's government prohibit resorting to torture in confronting the accused or the suspects, but also it forbade the punishment of criminals; no human being has the right to

humiliate a criminal. If a crime is proven in a court, the divine law is carried out against the criminal; if at times the executor of the law exceeds the boundaries of the stipulated punishment intentionally or by accident, retribution (qiṣāṣ) will be due. When Qanbar exceeded the limit of whipping by three lashes, the criminal retaliated against him.

6. Tolerance towards Political Opponents

The Imām (a.s.) would resort to the principle of affability with political opponents as long as they did not exceed the boundaries of corruption and conspiracy. He (a.s.) believed that the policy of leniency and tolerance with the opposition alleviates their grudge and decreases their disagreement. The Imām (a.s.) refrained from fighting the Khawārij as long as they had not committed murder or disrupted the safety of the Islamic society, or rather, he tolerated their revilement and insult, and did not deprive them from their share of the Muslim Treasury.

As for dealing with the conspirers against public security, Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) would choose what was appropriate for the scope of the conspiracy and its depth. He would either exile the conspirers, and other times he would jail them, or resort to military confrontation and force as a solution.

The Principles of Military Policies

The warfare policies of the Imām include lessons and examples and are worthy of attention. These policies are based on the following foundations:

1. Attention to Military Training

The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) is considered to be one of the most outstanding military leaders in experience. He spent his life in battlefields and was privileged with exceptional strength and courage. He was also completely versed in different military arts and tactics.

The Imām would himself undertake the task of training his army;

before launching a battle he would coordinate the forces and organise them with special arrangement. He would also inform them of the training plans they needed.

During the invasions launched by Muʿāwiyah, voices were raised accusing the Imām that he had no knowledge of warfare! In reply he said: "You have ruined opinion through insubordination and disobedience, so much that Quraysh started to say: "The son of Abū Ṭālib is brave, but he knows nothing of war."

May Allah have mercy on their fathers! Which one of them is more experienced in battlefield than I am? I entered when I was still in my teens, and now I am sixty; however, he who is not obeyed has no opinion."[679]

The Imām was aware of how to train the fighters the finest points of different military tactics, such as seizing suitable opportunities to inflict a strike at the enemy, looking at the enemy forces, how to perform a tactical retreat, and so on.

2. Formation of Special Forces

One of the most outstanding features in the warfare policies of the Imām is his formation of a special force by the name of 'The Special Forces' (shurṭat al-khamīs)[680] or what is known today as commandos.

The most loyal and most sincere of the companions of the Imām joined the Special Forces. These forces enjoyed great qualifications so the Imām would seek their help in special missions.

He (a.s.) addressed these special forces in one of his sermons, saying: "You are the supporters of the Truth and brethren in religion. You are the shields on the day of tribulation, and (my) trustees among the rest of the people. Through your support I strike the runner away and have hope in the obedience of the follower. Therefore, assist me with support that is free from deceit and pure from doubt, because, by Allah, I have better claim to people than their own souls."[681]

In modern times these forces can be deemed almost equivalent to the

expression "principlists" having the state of ḥizbullāh (confederates of God) enjoying rationality, expertise and competence standing firm in support of the Imam. They had the power of constructive criticism at times; they were loyal to the Imām and his friendship in the most difficult situations.

They were called Shurṭat al-Khamīs, because of the special signs they were known by, or because of a special covenant they had with the Imām. When al-Aṣbagh ibn Nubāta was asked: "O Aṣbagh, why were you called Shurṭat al-Khamīs?" He said: "Because we guaranteed to sacrifice our lives for him, and he guaranteed victory for us" in reference to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.).[682]

3. Strengthening the Troops' Morale

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) showed vital importance to the psychological aptitude of the armed forces, their spiritual determination and high sacrificing spirit. Accordingly, he (a.s.) tried to utilise any possible means to reinforce the spiritual morale of the armed forces when confronting the enemy.

The Imām would spread among the fighting forces the spirit of selflessness and sacrifice and ignite in it the spirit of enthusiasm and readiness to face martyrdom, through his flaming sermons and stirring slogans.

What is interesting here is his employment of the element of 'inculcation' in strengthening the psychological aspect of the fighters. He disciplined his son Muḥammad while described his personal experience, saying: "I did not face anyone in battle but that I inculcated myself with the idea that I would kill him, so inculcate yourself (with victory), with the help of Allah, and you will be victorious over them."

As for the infusion of weakness to oneself and fear, it is one of the reasons for being overcome by the enemy. Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) says in this regard, when asked: "How did you overcome your competitors?", : "I faced no one but he assisted me against himself."[683]

Another means of strengthening the psychological zeal of the fighters in the battlefield was warning the army against the dangerous consequences of retreat from the enemy or fleeing from the battlefield in this world and the next.

The Imām also put emphasis on concealing that which would weaken the spirit of resistance among the followers.

4. Trickery in War

We have already mentioned that there is no place for trickery and deception in the administrative policy of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.); that is what distinguishes his school from the Umayyads'. However, it is necessary to notice that there is only one exception represented in the position of trickery in war.

Even though Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) strongly opposed the employment of trickery and resort to deception outside war, he permitted it in war, or rather, he recommended it. He would frequently say: "Rely on your tactics and crafts more than your power and strength."

5. The Manners of War

One of the key warfare policies adopted by Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) is his assertion of the proprieties at war. The principles of the military manner from the perspective of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) can be summed up in the following points:

a. Refraining from Initiating War

This policy comes as an emphasis on Imām ʿAlī's inclination to peace and opposition to at war. At all the battles broken out during his reign, he would prohibit his army from starting the war, and would order it not to declare war unless the enemy starts.

Jundub al-Azdī is reported to have said: "ʿAlī would command us in wherever we encounter an enemy, saying: "Do not fight the people until they start, for by the grace of Allah, you have the proof, and leaving them to declare war is another proof for you."

b. Avoiding the Invitation to Combat

In an attempt to establish the policy of warfare tendency, the Imām would prohibit the fighters from inviting the enemy to combat, unless enemy calls to.

c. Political Immunity of the Enemy's Envoys

One of the principles of the international policies in Islam is the principle of political immunity of the representatives of foreign countries and envoys of the enemy. Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) would order his army to abide to this rule seriously. He appealed them to hesitate in dubious cases, thus if a person claimed that he was a messenger of the enemy, it would not be permissible to confront him before carrying out close investigation.

d. Furnishing the Evidence before Starting the War

The Imām showed great attention to the awareness and enlightenment of people's insight; he spared no effort to guide the enemy. He would spend much effort to guide them, even in the battlefield and would continuously furnish the evidence against the enemy.

e. Supplication at War

When the army of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was ready to clash with the enemy, the Imām would turn to supplication. He would remember Allah in order to seek assistance from Him. Jihad is a preliminary introduction for love of Allah, proximity to Him and a means to achieve the human goals and values.

f. Starting the War at Noon

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) tried not to start war until after midday, because it would be closer to night, and would cause to a great extent that the fighting would end shortly, the number of deaths would decrease, the fighters would go back and the defeated would be able to flee.

g. Kindness to the Survivors of the Enemy

The Imām (a.s.) would command his army to observe good conduct with the defeated army and urge them to be lenient with the prisoners and those left behind, especially women. He asserted that they must not pursue the retreating, kill the wounded, enter a house, or take money from houses, or attack women, even if they were to swear at them or insult their commanders or righteous people.

The Principles of International Policies

We have already alluded to the principles of the Imām ʿAlī's policy in different administrative areas. What we mean by the international policies of the Imām here is the employment of his teachings and recommendations to manage the country and strengthen its political unity, regardless of belief or affiliation.

This means that these political and social recommendations are identical with the natural disposition and sound intellect. Every human being can testify to the validity of these political and social foundations of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) in managing the country and guiding it into political unity.

Chapter Ten is dedicated to the policies of the Imām on the international level and the principles of country management and political unity, which can be divided into three parts:

1. The Principles that secures the perpetuation of Governments

This group is comprised of several principles compliance whit which is necessary for the perpetuity of the government, such as the attempt to establish social justice, rely on good planning in managing the affairs of the society and leniency in dealing with the people. We can also add caution against freedoms, security of independence, dignity and the individual and social rights of the people.

2. The Principles that Lead to the Fall of Governments

This group contains a number of laws and policies that would ultimately lead to the decline of the government such as abusing the

rights of people, bloodshed, bad planning in managing the affairs and giving preference to the officials of the government out of their own personal interests.

Other factors include neglect in the foundations of the government and its principles, government officials' attention to petty things, appointment of unqualified people, and so on.

3. Efficient in International Relations and Policies

This group includes the instructions issued by the Imām (a.s.) in the area of international relations, such as respect for human rights, adherence to the principle of dignity, attention to the policy of removing tension with other countries, loyality to agreements and covenants, trustfulness in relation to the rights of others, utilization of foreign countries' sciences and arts, and preservation of cultural independence.

In addition to these three groups, there are many more such key elements of international relations, which have extremely educational value.[684]

Summary

That which has been mentioned so far in this summary on the government policies of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and political and administrative teachings shows that politics, from his perspective, is an instrument of ruling according to rights and the real needs of people, but not an instrument to establish the power of the strong and transgressors over the rights of the people.

In light of these principles, one can easily respond to any criticism that might be put forth regarding the political qualification and eligibility of the Imām (a.s.).

(3)

Defending Imam ʿAlī's Statesmanship

Those who view politics as a tool for dominance over the community, and not solely as a means for ruling on the basis of rights and real

needs of the people, consider certain political stances of the Imam as evidence for his lack of competence in politics.

They say that if ʿAlī (a.s.) had been a man of politics, why had he not accepted the proposal of `Abd al-Raḥmān in the six-person electoral council (that was appointed by `Umar to assign a caliph after him) when he suggested that he would swear allegiance to him (a.s.) on the condition that the Imam acts according the conduct of Abī Bakr and `Umar? Political prudence suggests that he should have accepted the condition, and after the establishment of his government, act in his own way and follow his own path. Did `Uthman who accepted the condition, follow their (i.e. the caliphs') footsteps?!

The add: Had the Imam acted the way politicians do, he should not have treated the opposition the way he did, especially, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr and Mu'āwiyah. He should have compromised for a while and fulfilled their demands, and later, after the establishment of his government, he should have begun to extirpate them.

There are many similar occasions where he took such problematic stances. The Imam's insistence on moral and Islamic values created problems in the establishment of his authority and dominance and resulted in destabilization of his government.

Before continuing, we will refer to the words of Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd in this respect.

> "Know that a group of those who do not know the real virtue of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) claim that `Umar was more diplomatic that he was, even though [they considered] him as being more knowledgeable that `Umar."

Ibn Abi al-Ḥadīd goes on saying:

> "His (i.e. the Imam's) enemies and opponents assumed that Mu'āwiyah was ahead of him in politics and so was his management."

What shortly follows here is a general response to all criticisms raised regarding Imam ʿAlī's policies, and the detailed responses are

presented in their appropriate places.

The most important point in response to this issue is emphasis on the way in which, politics and government is looked at. If politics is viewed as a means for ruling over the hearts or interpreted as ruling on the basis of people's rights and [fulfilment of] real needs of the society, and if we look at Imam ʿAlī's stances from such perspective the new will realize that Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) is the greatest statesman throughout history, second to the Holy Prophet (s.a.w.). But if we consider politics and statesmanship as a means to achieve power and domination, or interpret it as taking advantage of the people and exploitative domination over them, then the Imam's stances are not defendable indeed.

It is evident that it does not mean that the Imam was not aware of politics in this meaning, but it means that due to his commitment to Divine laws, ethical values and his stress on the people's rights, he did not deem their use permissible. The Imam was the most conversant man of the deficiencies of politics and its illegitimate trickeries aiming to impose domination over people. It is he who said:

"If it was not that plotting and deception have their place in Hellfire, I would have been the trickiest person."

He also had said:

> "Alas! Had it not been for God wariness, I would have been the craftiest of all Arabs!"

He also had stated:

> "I swear by God, that Mu'āwiyah is not cleverer than me, but he practices deception and commits debauchery; and if it were not for the hideousness of deception, I would have been the shrewdest of all people! However, every kind of deception is sin, and every sin darkens (the heart) and for any deceiver there will be a banner raised on the Day of Resurrection, by which he will be identified."

Accordingly, the Imam knew well how to suppress voices; how to

bring down loud cries to silence; how to deceive people with tricks; how to cast fear in their hearts by force; how to subdue the unruly the greedy misers by allurement and consequently, by violating the people's rights to suppress internal oppositions and rebellions. However, he was ʿAlī, the axis of truth, conscious of God and a believer in Resurrection Day, whose commitment to the Truth and ethical values, and whose stressing on Divine teachings prevented him from perpetrating illegitimate policies. The Imam frequently referred to these facts by saying:

> "I certainly know what can reform you and straighten your crookedness. But I shall not improve you by way of corrupting myself."

He clearly states that he knows how to reform people and is familiar with the oppressive policies that suppress them for a short period of time, but he does not apply them since he views them as corrupting to the reformer.

Furthermore, Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) viewed that above all, such actions lead the statesman to the dreadful domain of harassing, domination and, in his own words, corruption. That is why he calls out: "There will never be reformation at the cost of the corruption of the reformer!"

The Imam's lofty words indicate that superficial reformation will inevitably lead to corruption.

By this the Imam obviously meant unlawful reformation, such as the undergoing economic reformation in contemporary world, at the cost of sacrificing social justice. The Imam does not tolerate such reforms. On the one hand, he knew well, how to deceive the influential political opponents and outlaws and keep them silent, by promising to fulfill their avarices and then, gradually eliminate them; and on the other hand, to promise people to restore their rights and stress on developing Divine and human values; and as soon as he would have established the foundations of his rule, he would do whatever he wished and break all promises, as politicians have always done. If he

did so, he would no longer be ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, but rather a politician like any other politicians and in whom there existed an exemplar while they consider politics as a tool to impose domination over people, and not as a means to administer justice and fulfill the social rights.

Imam ʿAlī's reformations were solely intended to revitalize the Prophet's method of government. Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) could not have followed immoral, antireligious and antihuman policies. That is why he (a.s.) faced the same difficulties that the Holy Prophet (s.a.w.) did.

Through tolerating hardships and practicing patience toward difficulties, Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) attempted to replicate once again the illuminant outlook of the Prophetic rule and the government policies of the Messenger of Allah in the history of Islam, presenting an efficient, just, and perfect way of conduct to the generations and nations to come.

Towards the end of this brief study, we present the following important question:

If the administration of state on the basis of the aforementioned policies are applicable and such policies are proper and competent, why then did the people distance themselves after a short time from such a truth-centered statesman as Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) whom they had elected as their leader with their widespread support in a free election and left him alone and solitary during the last months of his life?

Therefore, the reasons for the people's distance from the government of Imam ʿAlī (a.s.) is not to be sought in the inconsistency of his method, but there are other reasons and causes to be delved into, that will be mentioned elaborately in the final chapter of Part Seven of this abridged Encyclopaedia dealing with the Imam's destiny which resulted eventually in aching loneliness.

Chapter One

The Allegiance of Light

A) The History of the Allegiance to Imām ʿAlī

Historians and hagiographers have differed in determining the precise date of the people's pledge of allegiance to the Imām (a.s.). Some said: It took place on the day ʿUthmān was killed.[685] Others: It occurred several days after the assassination of ʿUthmān, varying from one to five days.[686]

It is recorded in some historical references that: "The pledge of allegiance of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was accomplished on Friday, five days before Dhul – Ḥijjah [the twenty fifth], when people reckoned that it was the day ʿUthmān was killed."[687]

However, al-Ṭabarī reports from Abū al-Malīḥ[688], even as Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd reports from Abū Jaʿfar al-Iskāfī,[689] as is mentioned in Tārīkh Dimashq and Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ[690], that the people's pledge of allegiance took place on the eighteenth of Dhul – Ḥijjah, 35 [AH].

In our view, the second opinion is closer to reality, as it agrees with the view of the coincidence of the date of ʿUthmān's assassination – which took place on is the eighteenth of Dhul – Ḥijjah[691]– the date of the Imām's pledge of allegiance in addition to the explicit declaration of the previous sources.

From another perspective, if we consider the political conditions prevailing over the Islamic society at that time and the unique

الفصل الأوّل
بَيْعَةُ النّورِ

أ ـ تاريخُ بَيعَةِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

اختلف المؤرّخون وكُتّاب السِّيرة في تعيين التاريخ الدقيق لبيعة النّاس للإمام عليه السلام، فقال البعض: إنّها حصلت في اليوم الّذي قُتل فيه عثمان. وقال آخرون: إنّها وقعت بعد قتل عثمان بفترة؛ واختلفوا في تحديدها بين اليوم الواحد والخمسة أيّام.

فورد في بعض المصادر التاريخيّة: «بويعَ عَلِيٌّ يَومَ الجُمُعَةِ لِخَمسٍ بَقينَ مِن ذِي الحِجَّةِ وَالنّاسُ يَحسَبونَ مِن يَومِ قَتلِ عُثمانَ».

لكن نقل الطبري عن أبي المليح ونقل ابن أبي الحديد عن أبي جعفر الإسكافي، كما جاء في تاريخ دمشق وتذكرة الخواصّ، أنّ بيعة النّاس كانت يوم الثامن عشر من ذي الحجّة سنة (٣٥ هـ).

والّذي نراه هو أنّ القول الثاني أقرب إلى الواقع؛ حيث أنّه يلائم القول باتّحاد تاريخ قتل عثمان الّذي هو ١٨ ذي الحجّة على أصحّ الأقوال مع تاريخ بيعة الإمام، مضافاً إلى تصريح المصادر السابقة بذلك.

ومن جهة أُخرى إذا لاحظنا الشرائط السياسيّة الحاكمة على المجتمع الإسلامي آنذاك،

personality of the Imām, we will conclude that an interval between the assassination of ʿUthmān and the appointment of a new leader for the ummah is most unlikely.

B) The Freedom of People in Electing the Imām (a.s.)

186. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to the people of Kūfah when he was proceeding from Medina to Baṣra [for the Battle of Camel]: "The people pledged allegiance to me without any force or compulsion, or rather, out of free choice and of their own accord."[692]

C) Imām ʿAlī's Reluctance to Rulership

187. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in a sermon he delivered after the pledge of allegiance: "Lo! I was reluctant to assume rulership over the ummah of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) –and Allah in His Heavens and above His Throne knows this–, until you all agreed upon it, and so I accepted."[693]

ولاحظنا شخصيّة الإمام العديمة النظير، فإنّه يبعد غاية البُعد ـ وقوع فاصل زماني بين قتل عثمان وتعيين القائد الجديد للأُمّة.

ب ـ حُرِّيَّةُ النّاسِ فِي انتِخابِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

186. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ في كِتابِهِ إلى أهلِ الكوفَةِ عِندَ مَسيرِهِ مِنَ المَدينَةِ إلَى البَصرَةِ ـ : بايَعَني النّاسُ غَيرَ مُستَكرَهينَ، ولا مُجبَرينَ، بَل طائِعينَ مُخَيَّرينَ.

ج كَراهَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لِلحُكومَةِ

187. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ في خُطبَتِهِ بَعدَ البَيعَةِ ـ : أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنّي قَد كُنتُ كارِهاً لِهٰذهِ الوِلايَةِ ـ يَعلَمُ اللّهُ في سَماواتِهِ وفَوقَ عَرشِهِ ـ عَلى أُمَّةِ مُحَمَّدٍ صلى الله عليه وآله، حَتّى اجتَمَعتُم عَلى ذٰلِكَ، فَدَخَلتُ فيهِ.

An Analysis of the Reasons for Imām ʿAlī's Reluctance to Accept Rulership

The uprising against ʿUthmān was intensive and inclusive; the wide scale revolution and people's anticipation for an outstanding personality had taken caliphate out of the hands of conflicting parties. This meant that the people themselves were the decision makers in electing the political leader.

All the hearts at that time were directed towards the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), without the slightest doubt. He (a.s.) was the most qualified person to succeed the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), whose name was on everyone's tongue, even twenty–five years of seclusion.

The inclination of the public towards him was so strong that no person could oppose this public movement. Therefore those who claimed they were equal to him (a.s.) thought that it was necessary to hasten to pledge allegiance to him.

People from all walks of life proceeded towards him (a.s.) to pledge allegiance to him, but he stood firmly with sharpness and rejected the allegiance. He requested from the people to leave him and to look for someone else; he said: "I am better for you as an agent than as a ruler."

It is surprising that the one who saw himself to be the immediate successor to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and who continued to express his better claim is now refusing the pledge of allegiance when people were rushing to him and turning to him with their hearts and souls. They

نظرة تحليلية حول أسباب كراهة الإمام لقبول الحكومة

كانت الثورة على عثمان بسبب ممارساته في الحكم عامّة شاملة، وقد أفضى شمول الثورة وتطلّع النّاس إلى شخصيّة بارزة للخلافة إلى أن تكون مقدّرات الخلافة خارجة من قبضة التيّارات المتباينة؛ أي أنّ النّاس أنفسهم كانوا أصحاب القرار في اختيار القائد السياسي.

وكانت القلوب بأسرها يومئذ تتشوّف إلى الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام وحده بلا أدنى تردّد، فقد كان أكفأ إنسان لخلافة النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله، وها هو اسمه تردّده الألسن وإن زُوي مدّةً دامت خمساً وعشرين سنةً.

وكان الإقبال الشعبي العامّ إليه بنحو لم يتّسَنَّ لأحد أن يخالفه فيه قطّ. من هنا شعر مدّعو الخلافة الّذين كانوا يزعمون أنّهم نظائره عليه السلام، وكانوا معه في الشورى السداسيّة أنّ الحنكة السياسيّة تتطلّب المبادرة إلى بيعته والسبق إليها.

وكانت الأمواج البشريّة العارمة تنثال عليه من كلّ جانب لبيعته، بَيْد أنّه عليه السلام وقف بحزم وصرامة ورفضَ البيعة، وطلب من النّاس أن يَدَعوه ويلتمسوا غيره، وقال لهم: «أنَا لَكُم وَزيراً خَيرٌ لَكُم مِنّي أميراً».

ومن العجيب أنّ الرجل الّذي كان يرى نفسه الخليفة المباشر للنبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله، وما برح يعرض

were well–pleased that he be their caliph; they wanted him to lead their government in a free and direct election. Why did he hate and relinquish it? Why did the Imām (a.s.) take such a position?

Did he renounce it considering someone else to be more qualified for the government, or did he intend to express political formality in order to attract the attention of more and more people? Or are there other reasons we do not know?

The reality is that the slightest knowledge of his biography, attitude, and insight would not leave any place to doubt that he was far from political formalities. He was not seeking after the government and ruling over people, because caliphate for him was a tool to uphold the truth, establish justice and bring about equality. So, were the political, social and cultural circumstances at that time appropriate for the fulfillment of these goals?

Indeed not. Such an atmosphere was not ready, for the political, social and ideological instabilities and the spiritual and intellectual changes that took place throughout twenty–five years to the alteration of the companions and friends and change of ways of thinking, criteria and so on.

The new generation - who stood at the top of the political positions at that stage - were not aware of the criteria of the religion and its fixed principles. They had no knowledge of the era of the Message and the Prophetic sīrah, nor did they have correct vision about ʿAlī (a.s.) or his lofty position in religion as well as his great role and status.

The innovations in interpretations and explanations of religious texts and the changes of laws, especially during the era of the third Caliph, all made the foundations of religion, its correct standards and its sound laws, foreign to people. This is what drove the ummah to rise against ʿUthmān; they used to say: "He brought about innovations and opposed the ruling of the Book."[694] When they were confronted, they would say: "Because of his innovations."[695]

All of these things formed a picture in the minds to the effect it was

ظلامته ويتحدّث عن أهليّته وجدارته للخلافة خلال المدّة الطويلة لإزوانه كلّما اقتضى المقام منه ذلك، وكان يصرخ من وحي الحرقة والألم ومن أعماق قلبه متأوّهاً لاستلاب حقّه، وزحزحة الحقّ عن مكانه... ها هو الآن يرفض البيعة، وقد انثال عليه النّاس انثيالاً عجيباً مدهشاً، مقبلين عليه بقلوبهم وأرواحهم وبكلّ وجودهم، راضين به خليفةً لهم، مؤكّدين تصدّيه لحكومتهم في انتخاب حرٍّ مباشر !فما له يكره ذلك، ويرغب عن قبول هذه المهمّة؛ معلناً ذلك بصراحة؟!ولماذا وقف الإمام عليه السلام هذا الموقف؟

هل رغب عنها حقّاً لنفسه ورجّح لها شخصاً آخر أم أنّه أراد بموقفه هذا أن يعبّر مثلاً عن شيء من المجاملة السياسيّة ومثله لا يجامل من أجل أن يسترعي انتباه النّاس أكثر فأكثر، أو كان لموقفه الثّناني هذا مسوِّغ أو مسوِّغات أُخرى لا نعرفها؟!

والواقع أنّ معرفة ولو يسيرة بسيرته وأُسلوبه وبصيرته ونهجه عليه السلام لا تدَع مجالاً للشكّ في أنّه كان بعيداً عن المجاملات السياسيّة، نافراً من نفس الحكومة بما هي حكومة. فهو لم يكن طالبَ حكم وتسلّط على النّاس؛ إذ الخلافة عنده أداة لإحقاق الحقّ، وبسط العدل، وإقامة القسط، فهل كانت الظروف السياسيّة والاجتماعيّة والثقافيّة آنذاك مهيّأة لتحقيق الأهداف المذكورة؟

كلّا، إنّ مثل هذه الظروف لم تكن مهيّأة؛ فالتقلّبات السياسيّة والاجتماعيّة والفكريّة، والتغيّرات الروحيّة والفكريّة الّتي حدثت بعد خمس وعشرين سنةً قد استتبعت تغيّر الصحابة ورفاق الدرب أيضاً بأفكار مغايرة، ومعايير مباينة، ومقاييس أُخرى للحياة...

إنّ الجيل الجديد والّذين يقفون على رأس المواقع السياسيّة في هذه الفترة المتأخّرة إنّما يعيشون في ظروف يجهلون فيها معايير الدين وموازينه الراسخة، ولا يَعُون طبيعة عصر الرسالة والسيرة النبويّة، ولا يعرفون عليّاً عليه السلام ومنزلته الرفيعة في الدين ودوره وشأنه العظيمين معرفةً صحيحةً.

فما مرّ على الدين خلال ربع قرن، وما ابتُدع من تفسيرات وتأويلات للنصوص الدينيّة، وما ظهر من تغييرات في الأحكام، خاصّة في عهد الخليفة الثالث، كلّ ذلك جعل مبادئ الدين

difficult to put into practice the Qur'ān and the Sunnah apart from formalities and flattering. The Imām (a.s.) knew that bringing things back would create dissension, and that the implementation of truth would lead the people of falsity to stand up against him. that is why he refused the pledge of allegiance and asserted his rejection, in order to furnish the proof (ḥujjah) against those who oppose in the future. On one occasion he (a.s.) said:

"Leave me and seek someone else. We are facing a matter which has [several] faces and colours, which neither hearts can stand nor intellects can accept. The horizons are covered up by clouds and the right path is not discernible. Know that if I respond to you, I will lead you according to what I know and will not care about whatever one may say or admonish. However, if you leave me, then I am like unto you, and I might even listen and obey to whomever you elect in charge of your affairs. I am better for you as an agent [or a councellor] than as a ruler."[696]

These are indeed eloquent and expressive words that carry deep meanings. What we face is that which has various colours and multiple conflicting aspects.....We are facing waves followed by storms and violent winds; justice will be followed by loud cries and screams rising from all sides.....

He (a.s.) desired to pave the grounds and assign to people the criteria and standards of behaviour. He touched on the basic principles of the government, so that people can choose their path with awareness and make their decision with discernment.

The following points can be derived from the sermon:

1.

He asserted that he had no love for ruling and was not a seeker of it; if he spoke about himself or was displeased about what happened after the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), in respect of leadership, he only meant to explain the realities and highlight the interests.

If he takes charge of the affairs and accepts the caliphate, it is only

ومقاييسه الصحيحة وأحكامه السديدةَ غريبةٌ على النّاس، وهو الّذي سوّغ للأُمّة ثورتها على عثمان؛ فقد كان الثوّار يقولون في عثمان: «أحدَثَ الأَحداثَ، وخالَفَ حُكمَ الكِتابِ». وحيث كان يُشتكى من مقتله وسرّ الثورة عليه، يقولون: لأحداثه.

هذه كلّها رسمت صورةً في الأذهان وأجرت على الألسن صعوبة العمل على أساس الكتاب والسنّة بعيداً عن المجاملات والمداهنات. وكان الإمام عليه السلام يعلم علم اليقين أنّ إرجاع المياه إلى مجاريها يُثير عليه الفتن، وأنّ تطبيق الحقّ يُنهض أصحاب الباطل المعاندين للحقّ. من هنا كان عليه السلام يرفض البيعة، ويؤكّد رفضه؛ كي تتمّ الحجّة على المخالفين في المستقبل. وفي إحدى المناسبات قال عليه السلام:

«دَعوني وَالتَمِسوا غَيري؛ فَإنّا مُستَقبِلونَ أمراً لَهُ وجوهٌ وألوانٌ، لا تَقومُ لَهُ القُلوبُ، ولا تَثبُتُ عَلَيهِ العُقولُ. وإنَّ الآفاقَ قَد أغامَت، وَالمَحَجَّةَ قَد تَنَكَّرَت. وَاعلَموا أنّي إن أجَبتُكُم رَكِبتُ بِكُم ما أعلَمُ، ولَم أُصغِ إلى قَولِ القائِلِ، وعَتبِ العاتِبِ، وإن تَرَكتُموني فَأنَا كَأَحَدِكُم، ولَعَلّيَ أسمَعُكُم وأطوَعُكُم لِمَن وَلَّيتُموهُ أمرَكُم، وأنَا لَكُم وَزيراً خَيرٌ لَكُم مِنّي أميراً».

إنّه لكلامٌ بليغ، كلام معبّر، وذو مغزى. إنّ ما نستقبله أمر ذو ألوان شتّى، وله وجوه وأشكال متباينة... نستقبل أمواجاً تبدأ بعدها العواصف والأعاصير، والعدل الّذي أُصِرّ عليه يستتبع صيحات تعلو، وصرخات تتصاعد هنا وهناك... .

وكان عليه السلام يريد أن تتمهّد الأرضيّة، ويضع للناس معايير التعامل ومقاييسه، ويعيد الكلام حول الخطوط الأصليّة للحكومة، ويستبين المستقبل ليختار الناسُ سبيلهم بوعي، ويتّخذوا موقفهم عن بصيرة.

في كلامه عليه السلام، بعد امتناعه ورفضه في الخطبة المذكورة وفي مواضع أُخرى:

1. تأكيد على أنّه غير عاشق للرئاسة وليس من طلّابها؛ فإذا تحدّث عن نفسه، وتأوّه ممّا حدث بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، وأكّد زعامته وإمامته، فذلك كلّه لتوضيح الحقائق، وتأكيد المصالح.

to uphold the truth and establish a government according to the most excellent mode, so that no one would think that the Imām (a.s.) is indebted to him because of his allegiance to him.

2.

He confirmed that certain changes had occurred to the teachings of the religion, and that the Divine Message after its Prophet was afflicted with alterations and instabilities. So, if he assumes control of the affairs, he will fight against the deviations in order to uproot them. He will also uplift the veil from the face of the true religion.

3.

Here is sign of the Imām's minute knowledge of the society and the human soul. This shows that he (a.s.) was not deceived by the rushing of people to him to pledge their allegiance. He saw the future of his government and knew that the grounds were not paved for bringing back the ummah to the teachings of its Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and his Sīrah and Sunnah. He knew well that the purpose of public revolt against ʿUthmān was not to return to the original Islamic values, and that such insurgents, as ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, did what they did for certain political and social motives.

Therefore, their motive for pledging allegiance to the Imām (a.s.) was not in harmony with his goal of assuming the authority.

If they do not reach the required result and realise that ʿAlī will not agree to compromise with them, nor will he grant any of them a privilege contrary to the truth and justice, then they will oppose his reforms and drag the Islamic society to division and disunity.

4.

To Pledge allegiance to him is to pledge allegiance to his goals, so whoever shakes his hand and vows to him must be ready to accompany him. He must be prepared to follow the Imām to eradicate the distortions and bring back the spiritual construction of the society, strengthen the religion, and unveil the realities that were afflicted by changes and alterations.....

وإذا تسلّم زمام الأُمور، ورضي بالخلافة، فلإقامة الحقّ، وبناء حكومة على النهج الَّذي يعرفه هو ويرتضيه؛ كي لا يرى أحد أو جماعة أو قبيلة أنّ الإمامعليه السلام مَدين لهم بسبب تعالي صيحاتهم لبيعته، فيفرضوا عليه أهواءهم وطلباتهم.

2. تأكيد على أنّ تغييرات قد لحقت بتعاليم الدين، وأنّ الرسالة الإلهيّة بعد نبيّها أُصيبت بداء التبدّلات والتقلّبات. فإذا أخذ بزمام الأُمور فإنّه يكافح التحريفات ويقارعها، ويزيح الستار عن الوجه الحقيقي للدين، وينفض عنه غبار التحريف. وهذا كلّه يستتبع توتّرات سياسيّة واجتماعيّة.

3. آيةٌ على معرفة الإمامعليه السلام الدقيقة بالمجتمع وبالنفس الإنسانيّة وخبرته بزمانه. ويدلّ هذا الكلام على أنّهعليه السلام لم ينخدع بانثيال النّاس عليه لبيعته في ذلك الجوّ السياسيّ السائد يومئذ. وكان يرى مستقبل حكومته بوضوح، وكان يعلم جيّداً أنّ الأرضيّة غير ممهَّدة للإصلاحات العلويّة، ولإعادة الأُمّة إلى نهج نبيّهاصلى الله عليه وآله وسيرته وسُنّته، وكان أدرى من غيره بأنّ سبب الثورة العامّة على عثمان لم يكن من أجل العودة إلى القيم الإسلاميّة الأصيلة، وأنّ بعض الثائرين لا سيما مَن ركب الموجة منهم كعائشة، وطلحة، والزبير قاموا بما قاموا به لأسباب سياسيّة واقتصاديّة معيّنة، فالباعث لهم على بيعة الإمامعليه السلام لا ينسجم مع هدفه من قبول الحكومة. وإذا ما بلغوا النتيجة الحتميّة وأدركوا أنّ عليّاً لا يسايرهم ولا يماشيهم ولا يمنح أحداً امتيازاً خلاف الحقّ والعدل، فسيناهضون إصلاحاته، ويجرّون المجتمع الإسلاميّ إلى التفرقة والتشتّت.

4. مبايعته مبايعة للأهداف العلويّة؛ فمن صافحه وعاهده فعليه أن يكون متأهّباً لمرافقته، وملازمته من أجل إزالة التحريفات، وإعادة بناء المجتمع معنويّاً، وتحكيم الدين تحكيماً حقيقيّاً، وإحياء ما نَسيَته الأذهان، وكشف الحقائق الَّتي مُنيت بالتغيير والتبديل...

وأرادعليه السلام أن يلقي الحجّة على الأمواج البشريّة العارمة الَّتي كانت تنادي باسمه للخلافة،

He (a.s.) desired to furnish the proof against the enormous waves of people who were calling him for the caliphate. He wished to teach them that he sought nothing but to establish justice, uphold the truth and revive the religion of Allah.

D) The Imam's Motive for the Acceptance of the Rulership

188. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Behold, by Him who split the grain [to grow] and created living beings, if people had not come to me and the proof had not been furnished, and if there had been no covenant of Allah with the learned to the effect that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressor and the hunger of the oppressed, I would have cast the rope of Caliphate on its own shoulders, and would have given the last one what had been given as to the first one. Then you would see that this world of yours is no better than the sneezing of a goat."[697]

E) The First to Pledge Allegiance

189. **Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh:** "When ʿUthmān was killed, the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) from the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār gathered, including Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. They went to ʿAlī and said to him: "The people must have a leader!" He said: "I have no need for this affair of yours, and so I will be well pleased with whoever you choose." They said: "We will choose nobody save you."

They paid him a visit many times and, at the end, said to him: "We do not know any one more worthy of it than you are, in respect of your precedence [in Islam] and kinship to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)." He said: "Do not do that. I am better for you as an agent than as a ruler" They said: "By Allah, we will do nothing until we pledge allegiance to you." He said: "Then let it be done at the mosque, for my allegiance will not be pledged secretly." He was in his house at that time or in the garden of Banī ʿAmr ibn Mabdhūl tribe.

So he left for the mosque, wearing a loincloth, a cloak and a

وأراد أن يُعلمها أنّه لايستهدف من قبول الخلافة إلّا بسط العدل، وإقامة الحقّ، وإحياء دين اللّه، وهذا هو السبيل لا غيره.

د ـ دَوافِعُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لِقَبولِ الحُكومَةِ

188. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام**: أما وَالَّذي فَلَقَ الحَبَّةَ، وبَرَأَ النَّسَمَةَ، لَولا حُضورُ الحاضِرِ، وقِيامُ الحُجَّةِ بِوُجودِ النّاصِرِ، وما أخَذَ اللّهُ عَلَى العُلَماءِ ألّا يُقارّوا عَلىٰ كِظَّةِ ظالِمٍ، ولا سَغَبِ مَظلومٍ، لَأَلقَيتُ حَبلَها عَلىٰ غارِبِها، وَلَسَقَيتُ آخِرَها بِكَأسِ أوّلِها، ولَأَلفَيتُم دُنياكُم هٰذِهِ أزهَدَ عِندي مِن عَفطَةِ عَنزٍ.

هـ ـ أوّلُ مَن بايَعَ

189. **الكامل في التاريخ**: لَمّا قُتِلَ عُثمانُ، اجتَمَعَ أصحابُ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ وفيهِم طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ، فَأَتَوا عَلِيّاً، فَقالوا لَهُ: إنَّهُ لابُدَّ لِلنّاسِ مِن إمامٍ! قالَ: لا حاجَةَ لي [في] أمرِكُم؛ فَمَنِ اختَرتُم رَضيتُ بِهِ. فَقالوا: ما نَختارُ غَيرَكَ.

وتَرَدَّدوا إلَيهِ مِراراً، وقالوا لَهُ في آخِرِ ذٰلِكَ: إنّا لا نَعلَمُ أحَداً أحَقَّ بِهِ مِنكَ؛ لا أقدَمَ سابِقَةً، ولا أقرَبَ قَرابَةً مِن رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله. فَقالَ: لا تَفعَلوا، فَإنّي أكونُ وَزيراً خَيراً مِن أن أكونَ أميراً. فَقالوا: وَاللّهِ ما نَحنُ بِفاعِلينَ حَتّى نُبايِعَكَ. قالَ: فَفِي المَسجِدِ؛ فَإنَّ بَيعَتي لا تَكونُ خَفِيَّةً، ولا تَكونُ إلّا فِي المَسجِدِ وكانَ في بَيتِهِ، وقيلَ: في حائِطٍ لِبَني عَمرِو بنِ مَبذولٍ ـ.

فَخَرَجَ إلَى المَسجِدِ وعَلَيه إزارٌ وطاقٌ وعِمامَةُ خَزٍّ، ونَعلاهُ في يَدِهِ، مُتَوَكِّئاً عَلىٰ قَوسٍ،

turban made from wool (khaz), with his sandals in his hands, leaning on a bow. The people pledged allegiance to him; the first to pledge was Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaidullah. Ḥabīb ibn Dha'ūb looked at him and said: "We indeed return to Allah! The first to pledge allegiance is a feeble hand. This affair will not settle." Then al-Zubayr pledged allegiance to him.

ʿAlī said to the both of them: "If you wish, you can pledge allegiance to me, and if you wish I can pledge allegiance to you!" They said: "We will pledge allegiance to you."[698]

F) The Allegiance of the Masses

190. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** describing the pledge of allegiance to him: "You drew out my hand towards you for allegiance, but I held it back, and you stretched it, but I contracted it. Then you crowded over me as thirsty camels crowd over watering cisterns when taken there, so much that shoes were torn, cloaks fell off and the weak were trampled. The happiness of people for their allegiance to me was so apparent that small children felt joyful, the old staggered towards it [pledging allegiance], the sick hurried for it and even young girls revealed their faces [to witness the scene]."[699]

191. **Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā:** "When ʿUthmān was killed on Friday, the eighteenth of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, 35 [AH], allegiance was pledged to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in Medina to assume the Caliphate one day after the assassintion of ʿUthmān. Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd ibn Zaid ibn ʿAmr ibn Nufail, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, Usāmah ibn Zaid, Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, Zaid ibn Thābit, Khuzaimah ibn Thābit, as all the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) who were in Medina, all pledged allegiance to him."[700]

G) Those who Failed to Pledge Allegiance to the Imām (a.s.)

The pledging of allegiance to the Imām (a.s.) was widespread where inclusive, and all the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār participated in it,[701] along with everyone in Medina. Everyone swore allegiance of his own

فَبايَعَهُ النّاسُ. وكانَ أوّلُ مَن بايَعَهُ مِنَ النّاسِ طَلحَةَ بنَ عُبَيدِ اللّهِ. فَنَظَرَ إلَيهِ حَبيبُ بنُ ذُؤَيبٍ فَقالَ: إنّا للّهِ! أوّلُ مَن بَدَأَ بِالبَيعَةِ يَدٌ شَلّاءُ، لا يَتِمُّ هذَا الأَمرُ! وبايَعَهُ الزُّبَيرُ. وقالَ لَهُما عَلِيٌّ: إن أحبَبتُما أن تُبايِعاني، وإن أحبَبتُما بايَعتُكُما! فَقالا: بَل نُبايِعُكَ.

و ـ بَيعَةُ عامَّةِ النّاسِ

190. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في وَصفِ بَيعَتِهِ ـ : بَسَطتُم يَدي فَكَفَفتُها، ومَدَدتُموها فَقَبَضتُها، ثُمَّ تَداكَكتُم عَلَيَّ تَداكَّ الإبِلِ الهيمِ عَلىٰ حِياضِها يَومَ وِردِها، حَتّى انقَطَعَتِ النَّعلُ، وسَقَطَ الرِّداءُ، ووُطِئَ الضَّعيفُ، وبَلَغَ مِن سُرورِ النّاسِ بِبَيعَتِهِم إيّايَ أنِ ابتَهَجَ بِهَا الصَّغيرُ، وهَدَجَ إلَيهَا الكَبيرُ، وتَحامَلَ نَحوَها العَليلُ، وحَسَرَت إلَيهَا الكِعابُ.

191. **الطبقات الكبرى:** لَمّا قُتِلَ عُثمانُ يَومَ الجُمُعَةِ لِثمانِيَ عَشْرَةَ لَيلَةً مَضَت مِن ذِي الحِجَّةِ سَنَةَ خَمسٍ وثَلاثينَ، وبويعَ لِعَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ؛ بِالمَدينَةِ الغَدَ مِن يَومَ قُتِلَ عُثمانُ، بِالخِلافَةِ، بايَعَهُ طَلحَةُ، وَالزُّبَيرُ، وسَعدُ بنُ أبي وَقّاصٍ، وسَعيدُ بنُ زَيدِ بنِ عَمرِو بنِ نُفَيلٍ، وعَمّارُ بنُ ياسِرٍ، وأُسامَةُ بنُ زَيدٍ، وسَهلُ بنُ حُنَيفٍ، وأبو أيّوبَ الأَنصاريُّ، ومُحَمَّدُ بنُ مَسلَمَةَ، وزَيدُ بنُ ثابِتٍ، وخُزَيمَةُ بنُ ثابِتٍ، وجَميعُ مَن كانَ بِالمَدينَةِ مِن أصحابِ رَسولِ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله، وغَيرُهُم.

ز ـ مَن تَخَلَّفَ عَن بَيعَتِهِ

كانت بيعة الإمامعليه السلام عامّة شاملة، وقد اشترك فيها جميع المهاجرين والأنصار، وتمام من كان في المدينة. وقد بايع الجميع عن اختيار كامل، وحرّية تامّة. ثمّ بايعه أهالي مكّة والحجاز والكوفة.

accord and absolute freedom. Then the people of Mecca, Ḥijāz and Kūfah pledged their allegiance to him.[702]

The Imām (a.s.) himself declared that the pledge of allegiance to him was widespread and inclusive[703]; many historical sources have also stated that the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār all gathered to pledge allegiance to the Imām (a.s.).[704]

However, some sources recorded narrations to the effect that some people failed to pledge allegiance such as ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Muḥammad ibn Maslama, Usāma ibn Zaid, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, Kaʿb ibn Mālik, ʿAbdullah ibn Salām, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ and al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah.[705]

There are two theories about their failure to pledge allegiance to the Imām:

First: They refrained from pledging allegiance to the Imām, because they would oppose the very pledge of allegiance to him.

Second: They did not oppose the pledge of allegiance itself, or rather, they refrained from accompanying the Imām in his internal wars.

After al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī quotes the narrations already mentioned about the people's pledge of allegiance to the Imām, he says: "As for the doctrine says that that ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar, Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣarī, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, Muḥammad ibn Maslama al-Anṣarī and Usāma ibn Zaid refrained from pledging allegiance to him, the words of such is one who denies the realities of that time."

He then mentioned that these people did pledge allegiance to the Imām (a.s.), but they did not accompany him in the internal wars for certain reasons, and this made some believe that they opposed the pledge of allegiance to the Imām (a.s.).[706]

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has also adopted this opinion in his book Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, attributing it to the Muʿtazilah.[707]

If we contemplate on the texts, we will find that those who were known to have refrained from pledging allegiance did in fact pledge

وقد صرّح الإمام عليه السلام بأنّ بيعته عامّة شاملة، كما صرّحت المصادر التاريخيّة الكثيرة باجتماع المهاجرين والأنصار على بيعة الإمام عليه السلام .

لكن ذكرت بعض المصادر أخباراً تدلّ على تخلّف أمثال: عبد اللّه بن عمر، وسعد بن أبي وقّاص، ومحمّد بن مسلمة، وأُسامة بن زيد، وحسّان بن ثابت، وكعب بن مالك، وعبد اللّه بن سلام، ومروان بن الحكم، وسعيد بن العاص، والوليد بن عقبة، عن البيعة.

وفي تخلّف هؤلاء عن البيعة نظريّتان:

الأُولى: إنّ هؤلاء تخلّفوا عن بيعة الإمام، بل كانوا مخالفين لبيعته واقعاً.

الثانية: إنّهم لم يخالفوا أصل البيعة، وأنّ ما ورد في النصوص مشعراً بذلك فهو بمعنى عدم مُسايرتهم للإمام في حروبه الداخليّة.

قال الحاكم النيسابوري بعد ذكر الأخبار الواردة في بيعة النّاس للإمام ـ: «أمّا قول من زعم أنّ عبد اللّه بن عمر وأبا مسعود الأنصاري وسعد بن أبي وقّاص وأبا موسى الأشعري ومحمّد بن مسلمة الأنصاري وأُسامة بن زيد قعدوا عن بيعته، فإنّ هذا قول مَن يجحد حقيقة تلك الأحوال»، ثمّ ذكر أنّ هؤلاء بايعوا الإمام لكن لم يسايروه في حروبه الداخليّة؛ لأسباب دَعَتهم إلى ذلك، ممّا أوقع البعض في اعتقاد أنّهم مخالفين لبيعة الإمام عليه السلام .

وقد ارتضى هذا الرأي ابن أبي الحديد، ونسبه إلى المعتزلة في كتابه شرح نهج البلاغة.

وإذا تأمّلنا نصوص الباب نجد أنّ أكثر من عُرف بالتخلّف عن البيعة قد بايع الإمام عليه السلام، لكنّ بيعة بعضهم نظير: عبد اللّه بن عمر، وسعد بن أبي وقّاص لم تكن بمعنى الوفاء لقيادة الإمام؛ حيث أعلنوا صراحة عدم مرافقتهم للإمام في حروبه. كما أنّ بيعة بعض آخر منهم نظير: مروان بن الحكم، وسعيد بن العاص، والوليد بن عقبة كانت بدوافع سياسيّة.

ومن هنا يمكن عدّ هؤلاء في المتخلّفين عن البيعة؛ لأنّ بيعتهم لم تكن حقيقيّة وكاملة،

allegiance to the Imām (a.s.); however, the pledge of allegiance of such personalities as ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar and Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, did not mean their loyalty to the leadership of the Imām. They clearly announced that they would not participate with the Imām in his wars. The pledge of allegiance of Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, was only for political motives.[708]

It can therefore be concluded that these people failed to pledge allegiance, because their allegiance was not true, even though they were among those who did pledge allegiance, because they participated in the official pledge of allegiance ceremony.

A third possibility is that they refrained from participating in the public pledge of allegiance which took place at the mosque and produced excuses to justify their action. However, when the pledge of allegiance was accomplished and the caliphate of the Imām (a.s.) was well established, they desired to pledge allegiance.

What confirms that is that Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, al-Walīd ibn ʿUqbah and Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ came to the Imām after the public pledge of allegiance and swore allegiance after a discussion with him.

The confession of ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar, Usāmah ibn Zaid and Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ that they pledged allegiance to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), as mentioned in some sources, may testify to the last alternative.

كما يكن عدّهم في المبايعين؛ لاشتراكهم من المراسم الرسميّة للبيعة. وبهذا يمكن الجمع بين النظريّتين.

وهنا احتمال ثالث، وهو: أنّهم تخلّفوا عن البيعة العامّة الشاملة والّتي كانت في المسجد، وقد اختلقوا أعذاراً لتبرير ذلك، لكن لمّا تمّت البيعة واستحكمت خلافة الإمامعليه السلام رغبوا في البيعة.

ويؤيّد ذلك أنّ مروان بن الحكم والوليد بن عقبة وسعيد بن العاص جاؤوا إلى الإمام بعد انتهاء البيعة العامّة فبايعوه بعد نقاش.

كما يشهد له اعتراف عبد اللّه بن عمر وأُسامة بن زيد وسعد بن أبي وقّاص ببيعة الإمام عليّعليه السلام، كما ورد في بعض النصوص.

Chapter Two

The Reforms of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

A) The Voice of Justice and its Echo

192. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha,** narrating from Abū Jaʿfar al-Iskāfī who, said: "He [ʿAlī (a.s.)] stood upon the pulpit on the second day of his pledge allegiance, on Saturday, the nineteenth of Dhu-'l-Ḥijjah. He praised Allah and lauded Him, and then mentioned Muḥammad and praised him; then he mentioned the blessings of Allah upon the people of Islam. He then mentioned this world and invited people to forsake it, and mentioned the hereafter and invited them to desire for it, and then he said:

"Lo!, when the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w) passed away, the people appointed Abū Bakr as Caliph, and then he appointed ʿUmar who followed the footsteps of Abū Bakr. ʿUmar made it be decided by a council of six people, who concluded by the appointment of ʿUthmān; he was besieged and killed, and so came to me. I am one of you I have what you have and bear what you bear. Allah opened the door between you and the Muslims, and dissensions have come like parts of a dark night; nobody could bear this affair [of ruling] but a person who is patient, who has insight and knowledge of the circumstances of the government. I will let you tread the path of your Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and execute what I have been ordered to, if you follow me, and Allah is the Supporter.

الفصل الثاني

الإصلاحات العلوية

أ ـ صَوتُ العَدالَةِ وصَداها

192. **شرح نهج البلاغة عن أبي جعفر الإسكافيّ:** صَعِدَ [عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام] المِنبَرَ فِي اليَومِ الثّاني مِن يَومِ البَيعَةِ وهُوَ يَومُ السَّبتِ لِاحدىٰ عَشْرَةَ لَيلَةً بَقينَ مِن ذِي الحِجَّةِ، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنىٰ عَلَيهِ، وذَكَرَ مُحَمَّداً فَصَلّىٰ عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ ذَكَرَ نِعمَةَ اللّهِ عَلىٰ أهلِ الإسلامِ، ثُمَّ ذَكَرَ الدُّنيا فَزَهَّدَهُم فيها، وذَكَرَ الآخِرَةَ فَرَغَّبَهُم إلَيها، ثُمَّ قالَ:

أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنَّهُ لَمّا قُبِضَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله استَخلَفَ النّاسُ أبا بَكرٍ، ثُمَّ استَخلَفَ أبو بَكرٍ عُمَرَ فَعَمِلَ بِطَريقِهِ، ثُمَّ جَعَلَها شورىٰ بَينَ سِتَّةٍ، فَأفضَى الأمرُ مِنهُم إلىٰ عُثمانَ، فَعَمِلَ ما أنكَرتُم وعَرَفتُم، ثُمَّ حُصِرَ وقُتِلَ، ثُمَّ جِئتُموني طائِعينَ فَطَلَبتُم إلَيَّ، وإنَّما أنَا رَجُلٌ مِنكُم، لي ما لَكُم وعَلَيَّ ما عَلَيكُم، وقَد فَتَحَ اللّهُ البابَ بَينَكُم وبَينَ أهلِ القِبلَةِ، وأقبَلَتِ الفِتَنُ كَقِطَعِ اللَّيلِ المُظلِمِ، ولا يَحمِلُ هذَا الأمرَ إلّا أهلُ الصَّبرِ وَالبَصَرِ وَالعِلمِ بِمَواقِعِ الأمرِ، وإنّي حامِلُكُم عَلىٰ مَنهَجِ نَبِيِّكُم صلى الله عليه وآله ومُنَفِّذٌ فيكُم ما اُمِرتُ بِهِ، إنِ استَقَمتُم لي وبِاللّهِ المُستَعانُ. ألا إنَّ مَوضِعي مِن

Verily, my position in relation to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) after his death is like my position in relation to him during his lifetime, so keep what you are ordered, and stop doing what you have been prohibited to do. Do not hasten to do something until we explain it to you, for we will have evidence for everything you do not like.

Verily, Allah knows from above His Heaven and Throne that I was reluctant to assume the authority over the ummah of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.), until you all agreed upon this affair. I have heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say: "Any ruler who rules the government after me will be halted on the line of the Ṣirāṭ and the angels will open his book of deeds. If he is just, Allah will save him with His justness, but if he is unjust, the Ṣirāṭ will shake him until his limbs fall apart, and then he falls into Hell, where the first thing to burn will be his face." However, when you all agreed, there is no place for me to refuse."

Then he (a.s.) turned right and left, and said:

"Let not men among you who have been engrossed in this world, so they take to themselves gardens, burst the rivers, ride fast horses, and possess very beautiful bondmaids who may be a disgrace for them, when I prohibit them tomorrow from what they are committing, complain about it or denounce it, saying: ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib has deprived us of our rights.

Verily, any one from the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār among the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) who see that he has virtue over others because of his companionship, must know that virtue is with Allah tomorrow, and its reward is upon Allah. Any one who responds to the call of Allah and the Messenger, believes in our creed, enters our religion and faces our Qiblah, will enjoy the rights of Islam and its boundaries.

You are the servants of Allah and wealth is the wealth of Allah which should be equally divided among you. No person has

رَسولِ اللّهﷺ بَعدَ وَفاتِهِ كَمَوضِعي مِنهُ أيّامَ حَياتِهِ، فَامضوا لِما تُؤمَرونَ بِهِ وقِفوا عندَ ما تُنهَونَ عَنهُ، ولا تَعجَلوا في أمر حَتّى نُبَيِّنَهُ لَكُم، فَإنَّ لَنا عَن كُلِّ أمرٍ تُنكِرونَهُ عُذراً.

ألا وإنَّ اللّهَ عالِمٌ مِن فَوقِ سَمائِهِ وعَرشِهِ أنّي كُنتُ كارِهاً لِلوِلايَةِ عَلى أُمَّةِ مُحَمَّد حَتّى اجتَمَعَ رَأيُكُم عَلىٰ ذلِكَ؛ لِأنّي سَمِعتُ رَسولَ اللّهِﷺ يَقولُ: «أيُّما والٍ وَلِيَ الأَمرَ مِن بَعدي أُقيمَ عَلى حَدِّ الصِّراطِ، ونَشَرَتِ المَلائِكَةُ صَحيفَتَهُ؛ فَإن كانَ عادِلاً أنجاهُ اللّهُ بِعَدلِهِ، وإن كانَ جائِراً اِنتَفَضَ بِهِ الصِّراطُ حَتّى تَتَزايَلَ مَفاصِلُهُ، ثُمَّ يَهوي إلَى النّارِ؛ فَيَكونُ أوَّلُ ما يَتَّقيها بِهِ أنفَهُ وحَرَّ وَجهِهِ» ولكِنّي لَمَّا اجتَمَعَ رَأيُكُم لَم يَسَعني تَركُكُم.

ثُمَّ التَفَتَ عليه السلام يَميناً وشِمالاً فَقالَ:

ألا لا يَقولَنَّ رِجالٌ مِنكُم غَداً قَد غَمَرَتهُمُ الدُّنيا فَاتَّخَذُوا العِقارَ، وفَجَّرُوا الأَنهارَ، ورَكَبُوا الخُيولَ الفارِهَةَ، وَاتَّخَذُوا الوَصائِفَ الرّوقَةَ فَصارَ ذلِكَ عَلَيهِم عاراً وشَناراً، إذا ما مَنَعتُهُم ما كانوا يَخوضونَ فيهِ وأصَرتُهُم إلى حُقوقِهِمُ الَّتي يَعلَمونَ، فَيَنقِمونَ ذلِكَ ويَستَنكِرونَ ويَقولونَ: حَرَمَنَا ابنُ أبي طالِب حُقوقَنا.

ألا وأيُّما رَجُل مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ مِن أصحابِ رَسولِ اللّهِﷺ يَرىٰ أنَّ الفَضلَ لَهُ عَلىٰ مَن سِواهُ لِصُحبَتِهِ، فَإنَّ الفَضلَ النَّيِّرَ غَداً عِندَ اللّهِ، وثَوابَهُ وأجرَهُ عَلَى اللّهِ، وأيُّما رَجُلٍ اِستَجابَ لِلّهِ وَلِلرَّسولِ فَصَدَّقَ مِلَّتَنا ودَخَلَ في دِيننا وَاستَقبَلَ قِبلَتَنا، فَقَدِ استَوجَبَ حُقوقَ الإسلامِ وحُدودَهُ، فَأنتُم عِبادُ اللّهِ، وَالمالُ مالُ اللّهِ يُقسَمُ بَينَكُم بِالسَّوِيَّةِ، لا فَضلَ فيهِ لِأَحَدٍ عَلى أحَدٍ، ولِلمُتَّقينَ عِندَ اللّهِ غَداً أحسَنُ الجَزاءِ وأفضَلُ الثَّوابِ، لَم يَجعَلِ اللّهُ الدُّنيا لِلمُتَّقينَ

priority over another; the God-wary will receive tomorrow the best of rewards and greatest of recompense. Allah did not make this world as a reward and a recompense for the God-wary; what is with Allah is better for the righteous.

If tomorrow comes, by the will of Allah, then come to us, for we have wealth to distribute among you. Every free Muslim must be present and nobody should be left behind, whether an Arab or non-Arab. This is what I have to say, and I seek forgiveness from Allah for you and for myself." He then descended from the pulpit.

[Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says] Our teacher Abū Jaʿfar [al-Iskāfī] said: "This was the first of that which people disliked, so they began to grudge him. When the next day came and people attended to receive their share of money, he (a.s.) told his scribe ʿUbaidullah ibn Abī Rāfiʿ: Begin with the Muhājirīn; call them and give every man present three dinars; then call the Anṣār and do the same thing to them; and then give the same measure to all present, whether red or black [Arab or non-Arab]."

Sahl ibn Ḥunayf said: "O Commander of the Faithful, this was my servant yesterday, and I have freed him today." He (a.s.) said: "We will give him what we give you." So he (a.s.) gave each one of them three dinars and did not prefer anyone over another. Those who did not attend the distribution were: Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar, Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, men of Quraish and others."

He [Abū Jaʿfar] said: "'Ubaidullah ibn Abī Rāfiʿ heard ʿAbdullah ibn al-Zubayr say to his father and to Ṭalḥa, Marwān and Saʿīd: "What ʿAlī meant in his words yesterday was not hidden to us at all." Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ said while looking at Zaid ibn Thābit: "It is you I am addressing, but the neighbour should listen." Then ʿUbaidullah ibn Abī Rāfiʿ said to Saʿīd and ʿAbdullah ibn al-Zubayr: "Allah says in His Book: "*But most of you were averse to the truth.*"[709]

After this ʿUbaidullah ibn Abī Rāfiʿ informed ʿAlī (a.s.) about

أجراً ولا ثَواباً وما عِندَ اللّهِ خَيرٌ لِلأَبرارِ.

وإذا كانَ غَداً إن شاءَ اللّهُ فَاغدوا عَلَينا فَإنَّ عِندَنا مالاً نَقسِمُهُ فيكُم، ولا يَتَخَلَّفَنَّ أحَدٌ مِنكُم عَربِيٌّ ولا عَجَمِيٌّ، كانَ مِن أهلِ العَطاءِ أو لَم يَكُن إلّا حَضَرَ إذا كانَ مُسلِماً حُرّاً. أقولُ قَولي هذا وأستَغفِرُ اللّهَ لي ولَكُم. ثُمَّ نَزَلَ.

قالَ شَيخُنا أبو جَعفَرٍ: وكانَ هٰذا أوَّلَ ما أنكَروهُ مِن كلامِهِ عليه السلام، وأورَثَهُمُ الضِّغنَ عَلَيهِ، وكَرِهوا إعطاءَهُ وقَسمَهُ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ. فَلَمّا كانَ مِنَ الغَدِ غَداً وغَداً النّاسُ لِقَبضِ المالِ، فَقالَ لِعُبَيدِاللّهِ بنِ أبي رافِعٍ كاتِبِهِ: اِبدَأ بِالمُهاجِرينَ فَنادِهِم وأعطِ كُلَّ رَجُلٍ مِمَّن حَضَرَ ثَلاثَةَ دَنانيرَ، ثُمَّ ثَنِّ بِالأَنصارِ فَافعَل مَعَهُم مِثلَ ذٰلِكَ، ومَن يَحضُرُ مِنَ النّاسِ كُلِّهِمُ الأَحمَرِ وَالأَسوَدِ فَاصنَع بِهِ مِثلَ ذٰلِكَ.

فَقالَ سَهلُ بنُ حُنَيف: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، هذا غُلامي بِالأَمسِ وقَد أعتَقتُهُ اليَومَ، فَقالَ: نُعطيهِ كَما نُعطيكَ، فَأَعطى كُلَّ واحِدٍ مِنهُما ثَلاثَةَ دَنانيرَ، ولَم يُفَضِّل أحَداً عَلىٰ أحَدٍ، وتَخَلَّفَ عَن هذَا القَسمِ يَومَئِذ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ وعَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عُمَرَ وسَعيدُ بنُ العاصِ ومَروانُ بنُ الحَكَمِ ورِجالٌ مِن قُرَيشٍ وغَيرِها.

قالَ: وسَمِعَ عُبَيدُ اللّهِ بنُ أبي رافِعٍ عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ الزُّبَيرِ يَقولُ لِأَبيهِ وطَلحَةَ ومَروانَ وسَعيدٍ: ما خَفِيَ عَلَينا أمسِ مِن كَلامِ عَلِيٍّ ما يُريدُ، فَقالَ سَعيدُ بنُ العاصِ وَالتَفَتَ إلىٰ زَيدِ بنِ ثابِتٍ: إيّاكَ أعني واسمَعي يا جارَة، فَقالَ عُبَيدُ اللّهِ بنُ أبي رافِعٍ لِسَعيدٍ وعَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ الزُّبَيرِ: إنَّ اللّهَ يَقولُ في كِتابِهِ: ﴿وَ لَـكِنَّ أَكْثَرَكُمْ لِلْحَقِّ كَـرِهُونَ﴾.

ثُمَّ إنَّ عُبَيدَ اللّهِ بنَ أبي رافِعٍ أخبَرَ عَلِيّاً عليه السلام بِذٰلِكَ فَقالَ: وَاللّهِ، إن بَقيتُ وسَلِمتُ لَهُم

this, and so he (a.s.) said: "By Allah, if I remain alive, I will let them tread the right path. May Allah kill Ibn al-ʿĀṣ! He knows what I said when I looked at him yesterday that I meant him and his companions."[710]

B) Dismissal of ʿUthmān's Governors

193. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "ʿAlī dismissed the governors of ʿUthmān in the cities, except for Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, about whom [Mālik] al-Ashtar spoke, and so he kept him."[711]

194. **Al-Ikhtiṣāṣ:** "All the people gathered around him [ʿAlī] (a.s.) and said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, write to those who oppose you and then dismiss them." He (a.s.) said: "Cunningness, deception and trickery are in Hellfire."[712]

C) Revoking the Money of the Public Treasury

195. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** regarding the revocation of the lands granted by ʿUthmān their restoration to the Muslims: "By Allah, if I find that women were married by that wealth [by way of dowry] or slave-maids were purchased by it, I would bring it back to its proper place. There is room for justice; whoever finds it hard to act justly should find it harder to deal with injustice."[713]

D) The Difficulty of Certain Reforms

196. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "If my feet stay firm in these slippery places, I will alter many things."[714]

لأُقيمَنَّهُم عَلَى المَحَجَّةِ البَيضاءِ وَالطَّريقِ الواضِحِ. قاتَلَ اللّهُ ابنَ العاصِ، لَقَد عَرَفَ مِن كَلامي ونَظَري إلَيهِ أمسِ أنّي أُريدُهُ وأصحابَهُ مِمَّن هَلَكَ فيمنَ هَلَكَ.

ب ـ عَزلُ عُمّالِ عُثمانَ

193. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** عَزَلَ عَلِيٌّ عُمّالَ عُثمانَ عَنِ البُلدانِ خَلا أبي موسَى الأَشعَرِيِّ، كَلَّمَهُ فيهِ الأَشتَرُ فَأَقَرَّهُ.

194. **الاختصاص:** إجتَمَعَ النّاسُ عَلَيهِ جَميعاً، فَقالوا لَهُ: أُكتُب يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ إلى مَن خالَفَكَ بِوِلايَتِهِ ثُمَّ اعزِلهُ، فَقالَ: المَكرُ وَالخَديعَةُ وَالغَدرُ فِي النّارِ.

ج ـ اِستِردادُ أموالِ بَيتِ المالِ

195. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ مِن كَلامٍ لَهُ فيما رَدَّهُ عَلَى المُسلِمينَ مِن قَطائِعِ عُثمانَ ـ : وَاللّهِ لَو وَجَدتُهُ قَد تُزُوِّجَ بِهِ النِّساءُ، ومُلِكَ بِهِ الإماءُ؛ لَرَدَدتُهُ، فَإِنَّ فِي العَدلِ سَعَةً، ومَن ضاقَ عَلَيهِ العَدلُ فَالجَورُ عَلَيهِ أضيَقُ.

د ـ تَعَذُّرُ بَعضِ الإِصلاحاتِ

196. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: لَو قَدِ استَوَت قَدَمايَ مِن هذِهِ المَداحِضِ لَغَيَّرتُ أشياءَ.

Chapter Three

Administrative Policies

A) Honesty in Politics

197. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.):** "Far be it! If it had not been for god-wariness, I would have been the most cunning of Arabs."[715]

198. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.):** "By Allah, Muʿāwiyah is not shrewder than I am, but he deceives and commits evil deeds. Had I not been averse to deceit, I would have been the most cunning of all men. However, every deceit is a sin, and every sin is disobedience [to Allah], and every deceitful person will have a banner by which he will be recognised on the Day of Judgement. By Allah, I cannot be made forgetful by deception, nor shall I be overpowered by hardships."[716]

B) Commitment to Truthfulness

199. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Impose the right upon whomsoever it is incumbent, those close to you or those far, and be patient and look for your ultimate account, even if it affects those of your kin or the closest to you' desire the ultimate end, and seek its outcome with all its difficulties, for its ultimate result will be praiseworthy."[717]

C) Commitment to Law

200. **Al-Ghārāt, in mention of the poet al-Najāshī:** "He was the poet of ʿAlī (a.s.) in Ṣiffīn, but he drank alcohol in Kūfah, so the

الفصل الثالث

السّياسَةُ الإدارِيَةُ

أ ـ الصِّدقُ فِي السِّياسَةِ

197. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: هَيهاتَ! لَولاَ التُّقى لَكُنتُ أدهَى العَرَبِ.

198. **عنه**عليه السلام: وَاللّهِ ما مُعاوِيَةُ بِأَدهىٰ مِنّي، ولكِنَّهُ يَغدِرُ ويَفجُرُ، ولَولا كَراهِيَةُ الغَدرِ لَكُنتُ مِن أدهَى النّاسِ، ولٰكِن كُلُّ غُدَرَةٍ فُجَرَةٌ، وكُلُّ فُجَرَةٍ كُفَرَةٌ، ولِكُلِّ غادِرٍ لِواءٌ يُعرَفُ بِهِ يَومَ القِيامَةِ. وَاللّهِ ما أُستَغفَلُ بِالمَكيدَةِ، ولا أُستَغمَزُ بِالشَّديدَةِ.

ب ـ الإلتِزامُ بِالحَقِّ

199. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِك الأَشتَرِ ـ : ألزِم الحَقَّ مَن لَزِمَهُ مِنَ القَريبِ وَالبَعيدِ، وكُن في ذٰلِكَ صابِراً مُحتَسِباً، واقِعاً ذلِكَ مِن قَرابَتِكَ وخاصَّتِكَ حَيثُ وَقَعَ، وَابتَغِ عاقِبَتَهُ بِما يَثقُلُ عَلَيكَ مِنهُ، فإنَّ مَغَبَّةَ ذلِكَ مَحمودَةٌ.

ج ـ الإلتِزامُ بِالقانونِ

200. **الغارات** ـ في ذِكرِ النَّجاشِي الشّاعِرِ ـ : كانَ شاعِرَ عَلِيٍّعليه السلام بِصفّينَ، فَشَرِبَ الخَمرَ بِالكوفَةِ، فَحَدَّهُ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَعليه السلام، فَغَضِبَ ولَحِقَ بِمُعاوِيَةَ وهَجا عَلِيّاًعليه السلام ... .

Commander of the Faithful executed the punishment on him. He got angry, so he joined Muʿāwiyah and satirised ʿAlī (a.s.)....

When ʿAlī (a.s.) punished al-Najāshī, his companions from the al-Yamāniyya tribe got angry. The closest person to him was Ṭāriq ibn ʿAbdullah ibn Kaʿb ibn Usāmah al-Nahdī, who visited the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, we never knew that people of disobedience and people of obedience, or the people of disparity and the people of unity, are regarded the same in the eyes of just rulers and mines of virtue, until I saw how you dealt with my brother al-Ḥārith [al-Najāshī], and so you hurt our hearts, dispersed our opinions and put us on the path that leads to Hellfire."

So, ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "*And it is indeed hard except for the humble.*"[718] O brother of Banī Nahd, is he but a man among the Muslims, who has violated that which Allah has forbidden, and so we executed the punishment onto him. Allah the Almighty says: "*And ill feeling for a people should never lead you to be unfair. Be fair; that is nearer to Godwariness.*"[719][720]

D) Rejection of Compromise

201. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.):** "Keep your tongues from criticizing ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, for he is strict for the sake of Allah and is uncompromising in His religion."[721]

202. **Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',** narrating from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Dimashqī, who said: "Ḥawshab al-Khayrī called out to ʿAlī on the day of Ṣiffīn, saying: "O son of Abū Ṭālib, leave us; and be mindful of Allah as regards our blood and yours, and we will let you return to your land of Iraq, and you let us return to Syria, and so we will preserve the blood of Muslims."

ʿAlī said in reply: "Far be it, O son of Um Ẓalīm! By Allah, if I knew that there was a room for compromise in the religion of Allah, I would do it, and it would be easier for me in price; but Allah is not well pleased that the people of the Qur'ān compromise and stay silent while He is being disobeyed."[722]

لَمّا حَدَّ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام النَّجاشِيَّ غَضِبَ لِذٰلِكَ مَن كانَ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ مِنَ اليَمانِيَّةِ، وكانَ أخَصُّهُم بِهِ طارِقَ بنَ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ كَعبِ بنِ أُسامَةَ النَّهدِيَّ، فَدَخَلَ عَلى أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام فَقالَ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، ما كُنّا نَرى أنَّ أهلَ المَعصِيَةِ وَالطّاعَةِ وأهلَ الفُرقَةِ والجَماعَةِ عِندَ وُلاةِ العَدلِ ومَعادِنِ الفَضلِ سِيّانِ فِي الجَزاءِ، حَتّى رَأَيتُ ما كانَ مِن صَنيعِكَ بِأَخِي الحارِثِ، فَأَوغَرتَ صُدورَنا، وشَتَّتَ أُمورَنا، وحَمَلتَنا عَلَى الجادَّةِ التَّي كُنّا نَرىٰ أنَّ سَبيلَ مَن رَكِبَها النّارُ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام: ﴿وَ إِنَّهَا لَكَبِيرَةٌ إِلَّا عَلَى الْخَـٰشِعِينَ﴾، يا أخا بَني نَهد، وهَل هُوَ إلّا رَجُلٌ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ انتَهَكَ حُرمَةَ مَن حَرَّمَ اللّهُ فَأَقَمنا عَلَيهِ حَدّاً كانَ كَفّارَتَهُ، إنَّ اللّه تَعالىٰ يَقولُ: ﴿وَلَا يَجْرِمَنَّكُمْ شَنَـَٔانُ قَوْمٍ عَلَى أَلَّا تَعْدِلُوا۟ ۚ اعْدِلُوا۟ هُوَ أَقْرَبُ لِلتَّقْوَىٰ﴾ .

د ـ عَدَمُ المُداهَنَةِ

201. **رسول الله** صلى الله عليه وآله: إرفَعوا ألسِنَتَكُم عَن عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ، فَإِنَّهُ خَشِنٌ في ذاتِ اللّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ، غَيرُ مُداهِنٍ في دينِهِ.

202. **حلية الأولياء عن عبد الواحد الدمشقي:** نادىٰ حَوشَبٌ الخَيرِيُّ عَلِيّاً يَومَ صِفّينَ، فَقالَ: إنصَرِف عَنّا يَابنَ أبي طالِبٍ، فَإِنّا نَنشُدُكَ اللّهَ في دِمائِنا ودَمِكَ، نُخَلّي بَينَكَ وبَينَ عِراقِك، وتُخَلّي بَينَنا وبَينَ شامِنا، وتَحقِنُ دِماءَ المُسلِمينَ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: هَيهاتَ يابنَ أُمِّ ظَليمٍ! وَاللّهِ لَو عَلِمتُ أنَّ المُداهَنَةَ تَسَعُني في دينِ اللّهِ لَفَعَلتُ، ولَكانَ أهوَنَ عَلَيَّ في المَؤونَةِ، ولٰكِنَّ اللّهَ لَم يَرضَ مِن أهلِ القُرآنِ بِالإدهانِ وَالسُّكوتِ، واللّهُ يُعصىٰ.

E) Organising the Affairs

203. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said, in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar:** "Each day perform the work of that day, for each day has its own work... Beware of being hasty to (accomplish) affairs befor their (proper) time, or neglecting them when it is possible, or being persistent in doing them when they are impracticable or showing weakness in them when they become clear. So put everything in its place and perform every action at its time."[723]

F) Election of Righteous Governors

204. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Elect the people of piety, knowledge and politics to take charge of the work you have."[724]

G) Refraining from Employing the Treacherous and the Incompetent

205. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The blight of works is the incapacity of workers."[725]

206. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba suggested to me to appoint Muʿāwiyah as governor of Syria and I rule over Medinah, but I rejected his suggestion, for Allah will never see me take the misguided as assistants."[726][727]

207. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Rifāʿa, his judge in Ahwāz: "O Rifāʿa, know that this rulership is trust. Whoever betrays will have the damnation of Allah until Judgment Day, and whoever employs a traitor, then Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) is indeed averse (barī') to him in this world and the hereafter."[728]

H) Generosity in Providing Governors with Daily Sustenance

208. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then bestow provisions upon them abundantly, for that will empower them to reform themselves and it will make them needless from consuming what is under their authority and it is an argument against them if they should disobey your command or sully your trust."[729]

هـ ـ تَنظيمُ الأُمورِ

203. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِكِ الأَشتَرِ ـ : وأمضِ لِكُلِّ يَومٍ عَمَلَهُ؛ فإنَّ لِكُلِّ يَومٍ ما فيهِ... إيّاكَ وَالعَجَلَةَ بِالأُمورِ قَبلَ أوانِها، أوِ التَّسَقُّطَ فيها عِندَ إمكانِها، أو اللَّجاجَةَ فيها إذا تَنكَّرَت، أوِ الوَهنَ عَنها إذا استَوضَحَت. فَضَع كُلَّ أمر مَوضِعَهُ، وأوقِع كُلَّ أمرٍ مَوقِعَهُ.

و ـ اِنتِخابُ العُمّالِ الصّالِحينَ

204. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلىٰ مالِك الأَشتَرِ ـ : فَاصطَفِ لِوِلايَةِ أعمالِكَ أهلَ الوَرَعِ وَالعِلمِ وَالسِّياسَةِ.

ز ـ عَدَمُ استِعمالِ الخائِنِ وَالعاجِزِ

205. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: آفَةُ الأَعمالِ عَجزُ العُمّالِ.

206. **عنه**عليه السلام: إنَّ المُغيرَةَ بنَ شُعبَةَ قَد كانَ أشارَ عَلَيَّ أن أستَعمِلَ مُعاوِيَةَ عَلَى الشّامِ وأنَا بِالمَدينَةِ، فَأَبَيتُ ذٰلِكَ عَلَيهِ، ولَم يَكُنِ اللّهُ لِيَراني أتَّخِذُ المُضِلّينَ عَضُداً.

207. **عنه**عليه السلام مِن كِتابِهِ إلىٰ رِفاعَةَ قاضِيهِ عَلَى الأَهوازِ ـ : اِعلَم يا رِفاعَةُ أنَّ هذِهِ الإمارَةَ أمانَةٌ؛ فَمَن جَعَلَها خِيانَةً فَعَلَيهِ لَعنَةُ اللّهِ إلىٰ يَومِ القيامَةِ، ومَنِ استَعمَلَ خائِناً فَإنَّ مُحَمَّداًصلى الله عليه وآله بَريءٌ مِنهُ فِي الدُّنيا وَالآخِرَةِ.

ح ـ إسباغُ الأَرزاقِ عَلَى العُمّالِ

208. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِكٍ الأَشتَرِ ـ : ثُمَّ أسبِغ عَلَيهِمُ الأَرزاقَ؛ فَإنَّ ذٰلِكَ قُوَّةٌ لَهُم عَلَى استِصلاحِ أنفُسِهِم، وغِنىً لَهُم عَن تَناوُلِ ما تَحتَ أيديهِم، وحُجَّةٌ عَلَيهِم إن خالَفوا أمرَكَ أو ثَلَموا أمانَتَكَ.

I) Choosing Secret Agents to Monitor Governors

209. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then look into the affairs of your administrators and employ them after having tested (them)....Then investigate their actions. Dispatch truthful and loyal observers (to watch) over them, for your investigation of their affairs in secret will incite them to carry out their trust faithfully and to act kindly towards the subjects. Be mindful of aides. If one of them should extend his hand in a treacherous act, concerning which the intelligence received against him from your observers, and you are satisfied with that as a witness, subject him to corporeal punishment and hold him responsible for the consequences of his actions. Then subject him to humilation, brand him with treachery and gird him with the shame of accusation."[730]

J) Rewarding the Good-doer and Punishing the Evil-doer

210. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Never let the good-doer and the evil-doer possess an equal station before you, for that would cause the good-doer to abstain from his good-doing and urge the evil-doer to his evil-doing. Impose upon each of them what he has imposed upon himself."[731]

K) Strictness towards Governors

i) Al-Ashʿath ibn Qays

211. **Nathr al-Durr:** "He [ʿAlī (a.s.)] said to al-Ashʿath ibn Qays: "Return [that which you unrightfully took from the Muslim Treasury], or else I will strike you with a sword." So al-Ashʿath returned what was due. He (a.s.) said to him: "Who would have protected you if we were to have hit you with a sword?" He said: "You are among those who, when they say something, do it."[732]

ii) Ziyād ibn Abīh

212. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Ziyād ibn Abīh: "I swear by

ط ـ اِختِيارُ العُيونِ لِمُراقَبَةِ العُمّالِ

209. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلىٰ مالِكٍ الأَشتَرِ ـ: ثُمَّ انظُر في أُمورِ عُمّالِكَ فَاستَعمِلهُمُ اختِباراً... ثُمَّ تَفَقَّد أعمالَهُم، وَابعَثِ العُيونَ مِن أهلِ الصِّدقِ وَالوَفاءِ عَلَيهِم؛ فَإِنَّ تَعاهُدَكَ فِي السِّرِّ لِأُمورِهِم حَدوَةٌ لَهُم عَلَى استِعمالِ الأَمانَةِ، وَالرِّفقِ بِالرَّعِيَّةِ، وتَحَفَّظ مِنَ الأَعوانِ؛ فَإن أحَدٌ مِنهُم بَسَطَ يَدَهُ إلىٰ خِيانَةٍ اِجتَمَعَت بِها عَلَيهِ عِندَكَ أخبارُ عُيونِكَ، اكتَفَيتَ بِذٰلِكَ شاهِداً، فَبَسَطتَ عَلَيهِ العُقوبَةَ فِي بَدَنِهِ، وأخَذتَهُ بِما أصابَ مِن عَمَلِهِ، ثُمَّ نَصَبتَهُ بِمَقامِ المَذَلَّةِ، ووَسَمتَهُ بِالخِيانَةِ، وقَلَّدتَهُ عارَ التُّهَمَةِ.

ي ـ إكرامُ المُحسِنِ وعُقوبَةُ المُسِيءِ

210. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلىٰ مالِك الأَشتَرِ ـ: ولا يَكونُ المُحسِنُ وَالمُسيءُ عِندَكَ بِمَنزِلَةٍ سَواءٍ؛ فَإنَّ في ذٰلِكَ تَزهيداً لِأَهلِ الإحسانِ فِي الإحسانِ، وتَدريباً لِأَهلِ الإساءَةِ عَلَى الإساءَةِ. وألزِم كُلّاً مِنهُم ما ألزَمَ نَفسَهُ.

ك ـ المَوقِفُ الحازِمُ مَعَ العُمّالِ

1. الأَشعَثُ بنُ قَيسٍ

211. **نثر الدرّ:** قالَ [عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام] لِلأَشعَثِ بنِ قَيسٍ: أدِّ [يعنى: ما أخذه من بيت المال ظلماً] وإلّا ضَرَبتُكَ بِالسَّيفِ. فَأَدّى ما كانَ عَلَيهِ، فَقالَ لَهُ: مَن كانَ عَلَيكَ لَو كُنّا ضَرَبناكَ بِعَرضِ السَّيفِ؟ فَقالَ: إنَّكَ مِمَّن إذا قالَ فَعَلَ.

2. زِيادُ بنُ أبيهِ

212. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ مِن كِتابِهِ إلى زِيادِ بنِ أبيهِ ـ: إنّي أُقسِمُ بِاللّهِ قَسَماً صادِقاً، لَئِن بَلَغَني

Allah an honest oath that if I come to know you have betrayed the wealth of the Muslims, small or large, I will punish you in such a way that will leave you with an empty hand a heavy burden and humiliated."[733]

L) Dismissing Treacherous Governors

213. **Al-Istīʿāb:** "ʿAlī (a.s.) would.....only appoint the faithful and the trustworthy in the cities. If he was informed that someone had betrayed, he would write to him: "There has certainly come to you an admonition from your Lord. Observe fully the measure and the balance, and do not cheat the people in their goods and do not act wickedly on earth causing corruption. What remains of Allah's provisions is better for you, should you be faithful, and I am not a keeper over you.[734] When my letter reaches you, settle what you are in charge of until I dispatch to you he who will take it over from you."

He then turned his face to the sky and said: "O Allah, you indeed know that I did not command them to oppress Your creatures, nor to abandon Your rights."

His sermons, admonitions and orders to his governors are numerous and well known."[735]

M) Punishing the Treacherous among the Governors

214. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "If one of them should extend his hand in a treacherous act concerning which the intelligence received against him from your observers, and if you are satisfied with that as a witness, subject him to corporeal punishment and charge him for what befell from his action. Then set him in a position of degradation, brand him with treachery and gird him with the shame of accusation."[736]

أنَّكَ خُنتَ مِن فَيءِ المُسلِمينَ شَيئاً صَغيراً أو كَبيراً، لاَشُدَّنَّ عَلَيكَ شِدَّةً تَدَعُكَ قَليلَ الوَفر، ثَقيلَ الظَّهرِ، ضَئيلَ الأَمرِ. وَالسَّلامُ.

ل ـ عَزلُ مَن ثَبَتَت خِيانَتُهُ مِنَ العُمّالِ

213. **الاستيعاب:** كانَ عَليٌّ عليه السلام ... لا يَخُصُّ بِالوِلاياتِ إلّا أهلَ الدِّياناتِ وَالأَماناتِ، وإذا بَلَغَهُ عَن أحَدِهِم خِيانَةٌ كَتَبَ إلَيهِ: قَد جاءَتكُم مَوعِظَةٌ مِن رَبِّكُم فَأَوفُوا الكَيلَ وَالميزانَ بِالقِسطِ ولا تَبخَسُوا النّاسَ أشياءَهُم ولا تَعثَوا فِي الأَرضِ مُفسِدينَ. بَقِيَّةُ اللّهِ خَيرٌ لَكُم إن كُنتُم مُؤمِنينَ وما أنَا عَلَيكُم بِحَفيظٍ. إذا أتاكَ كِتابي هذا فاحتَفِظ بِما في يَدَيكَ مِن أعمالِنا حَتّىٰ نَبعَثَ إلَيكَ مَن يَتَسَلَّمُهُ مِنكَ، ثُمَّ يَرفَعُ طَرفَهُ إلَى السَّماءِ فَيَقولُ: اللّهمَّ إنَّكَ تَعلَمُ أنّي لَم آمُرهُم بِظُلمِ خَلقِكَ، ولا بِتَركِ حَقِّكَ.

وخُطَبُهُ ومَواعِظُهُ ووَصاياهُ لِعُمّالِهِ إذ كانَ يُخرِجُهُم إلى أعمالِهِ كَثيرَةٌ مَشهورَةٌ لَم أرَ التَّعَرُّضَ لِذِكرِها، لِئَلّا يَطولَ الكِتابُ، وهِيَ حِسانٌ كُلُّها.

م ـ عُقوبَةُ الخَوَنَةِ مِنَ العُمّالِ

214. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ مِن عَهدِهِ إلىٰ مالِك الأَشتَرِ في مُراقَبَةِ العُمّالِ ـ: فَإن أحَدٌ مِنهُم بَسَطَ يَدَهُ إلى خِيانَةٍ اجتَمَعَت بِها أخبارُ عُيونِكَ، اكتَفَيتَ بِذٰلِكَ شاهِداً، فَبَسَطتَ عَلَيهِ العُقوبَةَ في بَدَنِهِ، وأخَذتَهُ بِما أصابَ مِن عَمَلِهِ، ثُمَّ نَصَبتَهُ بِمَقامِ المَذَلَّةِ، ووَسَمتَهُ بِالخِيانَةِ، وقَلَّدتَهُ عارَ التُّهَمَةِ.

Chapter Four

Cultural Policies

A) Development of Education

215. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "It is incumbent upon the leader to teach his subjects the laws and boundaries of Islam and faith."[737]

216. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Qutham ibn al-ʿAbbās, his governor in Mecca: "[After glorifying Allah and praising the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)] Now, let it be it known to you that you should make all the necessary arrangements for the Ḥajj pilgrimage and remind people of the importance of the Days of Allah. Sit for audience in the mornings and evenings, answer the questions, teach the ignorant and discuss with the learned."[738]

217. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "When ʿAlī (a.s.) prays morning prayers, he keeps on with after-prayer invocation until sunrise; when the sun rises, the poor, the needy and other people gather around him, and he teaches them religion and the Qur'ān. He has also a special time for the end of gathering."[739]

B) Prohibition of Abolishing Righteous Customs

218. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Abolish no proper custom (sunna) which has been acted upon by the leaders of this community, through which harmony has been strengthened and because of which the subjects have prospered.

الفصل الرابع

السّياسَةُ الثَقافِيَةُ

أ ـ تَنمِيَةُ التَّعليمِ وَالتَّربِيَةِ

215. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: عَلَى الإمامِ أن يُعَلِّمَ أهلَ وِلايَتِهِ حُدودَ الإسلامِ والإيمانِ.

216. عنه عليه السلام ـ مِن كِتاب لَهُ عليه السلام إلى قُثَم بنِ العَبّاسِ، وهوَ عامِلُهُ عَلى مَكَّةَ ـ : أمّا بَعدُ، فَأَقِم لِلنّاسِ الحَجَّ، وذَكِّرهُم بِأيّامِ اللّهِ، وَاجلِس لَهُمُ العَصرَينِ، فَأَفتِ المُستَفتِيَ، وعَلِّمِ الجاهِلَ، وذاكِرِ العالِمَ.

217. **الإمام الباقر**عليه السلام: كانَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام إذا صَلّى الفَجرَ لَم يَزَل مُعَقِّباً إلى أن تَطلُعَ الشَّمسُ، فَإذا طَلَعَتِ اجتَمَعَ إلَيهِ الفُقَراءُ وَالمَساكينُ وغَيرُهُم مِنَ النّاسِ، فَيُعَلِّمُهُمُ الفِقهَ وَالقُرآنَ، وكانَ لَهُ وَقتٌ يَقومُ فيهِ مِن مَجلِسِهِ ذٰلِكَ.

ب ـ النَّهيُ عَن نَقضِ السُّنَنِ الصّالِحَةِ

218. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِك الأشتَرِ ـ : لا تَنقُض سُنَّةً صالِحَةً عَمِلَ بِها صُدورُ هذِهِ الأُمَّةِ، وَاجتَمَعَت بِهَا الألفَةُ، وصَلَحَت عَلَيهَا الرَّعِيَّةُ، ولا تُحدِثَنَّ سُنَّةً تَضُرُّ بِشَيءٍ مِن

Create no new custom which might in any way damage the customs of the past, lest their reward belong to him who originated them and the burden be upon you for abolishing them. It is incumbent upon you to recall the just government, the excellent customs, the sunna of our Prophet (s.a.w.) and the obligations (promulgated) in the Book of God, which preceded you (and follow them)."[740]

C) Fighting against Evil Customs

219. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Know that the most distinguished servants of God, before God is the just leader (imām) who has been guided [by God] and guides others, and so he establishes the recognised customs of the Prophet's sunna and destroys unrecognised innovations. The [Prophet's] ways are clear and have signs, while innovations are also clear and have signs as well."[741]

D) Criticism Instead of Praise

220. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar after mentioning the characteristics of the righteous people: "So choose these men as your special companions in privacy and at assemblies. Then let the most influential among them be he who speaks most to you with the bitterness of the truth and supports you least in activities which God dislikes in His friends, even though this may contradict your pleasure. Cling to men of piety and veracity. Then accustom them not to lavish praise upon you nor (to try to) gladden you by (attributing to you) a vanity you did not do, for lavishing of abundant praise causes arrogance and draws (one) close to pride."[742]

ماضي تِلكَ السُّنَنِ؛ فَيَكونَ الأَجرُ لِمَن سَنَّها، وَالوِزرُ عَلَيكَ بِما نَقَضتَ مِنها... وَالواجِبُ عَلَيكَ أن تَتَذَكَّرَ مامَضىٰ لِمَن تَقَدَّمَكَ مِن حُكومَةٍ عادِلَةٍ، أو سُنَّةٍ فاضِلَةٍ، أو أثَرٍ عَن نَبِيِّنا صلى الله عليه وآله، أو فَريضَةٍ في كِتابِ اللّهِ.

ج ـ الأَمرُ بِمُكافَحَةِ السُّنَنِ الطّالِحَةِ

219. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام: اِعلَم أنَّ أفضَلَ عِبادِ اللّهِ عِندَ اللّهِ إمامٌ عادِلٌ، هُدِيَ وهَدىٰ، فَأَقامَ سُنَّةً مَعلومَةً، وأماتَ بِدعَةً مَجهولَةً، وإنَّ السُّنَنَ لَنَيِّرَةٌ لَها أعلامٌ، وإنَّ البِدَعَ لَظاهِرَةٌ لَها أعلامٌ.

د ـ النَّقدُ بَدَلُ الإطراءِ

220. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلىٰ مالِكٍ الأَشتَرِ بَعدَ ذِكرِ خَصائِصِ البِطانَةِ الصّالِحَةِ ـ : فَاتَّخِذ أُولئِكَ خاصَّةً لِخَلَواتِكَ وحَفَلاتِكَ، ثُمَّ لِيَكُن آثَرُهُم عِندَكَ أقوَلَهُم بِمُرِّ الحَقِّ لَكَ، وأقَلَّهُم مُساعَدَةً فيما يَكونُ مِنكَ مِمّا كَرِهَ اللّهُ لِأَولِيائِهِ، واقِعاً ذلِكَ مِن هَواكَ حَيثُ وَقَعَ. وَالصَق بِأَهلِ الوَرَعِ وَالصِّدقِ، ثُمَّ رُضهُم عَلىٰ أَلّا يُطروكَ ولا يَبجَحوكَ بِباطِلٍ لَم تَفعَلهُ؛ فَإِنَّ كَثرَةَ الإطراءِ تُحدِثُ الزَّهوَ، وتُدني مِنَ العِزَّةِ.

Chapter Five

Economical Policies

A) Encouragement to Work

221. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "When things were paired, laziness and incompetence were paired, and poverty was produced from them."[743]

222. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "No early rising of any of you for the sake of Allah is greater than the early rising of one who seeks to earn what is most appropriate for his children and family."[744]

223. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha,** in mentioning the charities of the Commander of the faithful (a.s.): "He would work with his own hands, cultivate the land irrigate, plant date palms, and would do all that himself."[745]

B) Country Development

224. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Qaraẓa ibn Kaʿb al-Anṣārī: "After this [praising of Allah[746] and His Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)], Indeed some men from among the protected people (Ahl al-Dhimma) in your area have reported that a river in their land has been destroyed and submerged. They have the rights over the Muslims to engender prosperity for them. See into this matter along with them, then repair and improve the river. By my life, bringing prosperity is more pleasant for us than their leaving or undergoing poverty or falling short of that which sets right the cities. Wassalām."[747]

الفصل الخامس

السِّياسَةُ الإقتِصادِيَةُ

أ ـ الحَثُّ عَلَى العَمَلِ

221. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: إنَّ الأَشياءَ لَمَّا ازدَوَجَتِ ازدَوَجَ الكَسَلُ وَالعَجزُ، فَنُتِجا بَينَهُما الفَقرَ.

222. **عنه**عليه السلام: ما غُدوَةُ أحَدِكُم في سَبيلِ اللّهِ بِأَعظَمَ مِن غُدوَتِهِ يَطلُبُ لِوُلدِهِ وعِيالِهِ ما يُصلِحُهُم.

223. **شرح نهج البلاغة** ـ في ذِكرِ صَدَقاتِ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام ـ : كانَ يَعمَلُ بِيَدِهِ، ويَحرُثُ الأَرضَ، ويَستَقِي الماءَ، ويَغرِسُ النَّخلَ، كُلُّ ذٰلِكَ يُباشِرُهُ بِنَفسِهِ الشَّريفَةِ.

ب ـ عِمارَةُ البِلادِ

224. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ مِمّا كَتَبَهُ إلى قَرَظَةَ بنِ كَعبٍ الأَنصارِيِّ ـ : أمّا بَعدُ، فَإِنَّ رِجالاً مِن أهلِ الذِّمَّةِ مِن عَمَلِكَ ذَكَروا نَهراً في أرضِهِم قَد عَفا وَادُّفِنَ، وفيهِ لَهُم عِمارَةٌ عَلَى المُسلِمينَ، فَانظُر أنتَ وهُم، ثُمَّ اعمُر وأصلِحِ النَّهرَ؛ فَلَعَمري لَأَن يَعمُروا أحَبُّ إلَينا مِن أن يَخرُجوا وأن يَعجِزوا أو يُقَصِّروا في واجِبٍ مِن صَلاحِ البِلادِ. وَالسَّلامُ.

C) Agricultural Development

225. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "People's lives are based on five things: "Verily, there are five ways of [earning] livelihood for people: rulership, developing, trading, leases and taxes...Concerning development, God Almighty says: "*He brought you forth from the earth and made it your inhabitation [to develop it].*"[748] It is implied here that God the Exalted has commanded his servants to construct the earth so that it will be a means for their livelihood through what grows from it such as grain, fruits and other things which God has made as provision for people."[749]

D) Industrial Development

226. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "A person's profession is a treasure."[750]

227. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Allah loves one who has a profession and is trustworthy."[751]

E) Commercial Development

228. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Practise trade, since it makes you self-sufficient and independent of what is in the hands of people [in what they own]."[752]

229. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** to the retainers: "Practise trade, and Allah will give blessings to you, for I heard the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) say: "Sustenance contains ten parts; nine parts are in trade and one is in other occupations."[753]

F) Direct Supervision of the Market

230. **Daʿā'im al-Islām:** "He [ʿAlī (a.s.)] would walk in the markets holding a whip in his hand, with which he would punish the defrauders who used short measures and the cheaters in trading with other Muslims. Al-Aṣbagh said: "One day I said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful, I will undertake this duty, you can sit in your house." He (a.s.) said: "O Aṣbagh [by saying this] You do not wish good for me."[754]

ج ـ التَّنمِيةُ الزِّراعِيَّةُ

225. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: إنَّ مَعايِشَ الخَلقِ خَمسَةٌ: الإمارَةُ، وَالعِمارَةُ، وَالتِّجارَةُ، وَالإجارَةُ، وَالصَّدَقاتُ... وأمّا وَجهُ العِمارَةِ فَقَولُهُ تَعالى: ﴿هُوَ أَنشَأَكُم مِّنَ الأَرْضِ وَ اسْتَعْمَرَكُمْ فِيهَا﴾، فَأَعلَمَنا سُبحانَهُ أنَّهُ قَد أمَرَهُم بِالعِمارَةِ؛ لَيَكونَ ذٰلِكَ سَبَباً لِمَعايِشِهِم بِما يَخرُجُ مِنَ الأَرضِ؛ مِنَ الحَبِّ، وَالثَّمَراتِ، وما شاكَلَ ذٰلِكَ، مِمّا جَعَلَهُ اللّهُ مَعايِشَ لِلخَلقِ.

د ـ التَّنمِيَةُ الصِّناعِيَّةُ

226. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: حِرفَةُ المَرءِ كَنزٌ.

227. **عنه**عليه السلام: إنَّ اللّهَ عَزَّ وجَلَّ يُحِبُّ المُحتَرِفَ الأَمينَ.

هـ ـ التَّنمِيَةُ التِّجارِيَّةُ

228. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: تَعَرَّضوا لِلتِّجارَةِ؛ فَإنَّ فيها غِنىً لَكُم عَمّا في أيدِي النّاسِ.

229. **عنه**عليه السلام ـ لِلمَوالي ـ: اِتَّجِروا، بارَكَ اللّهُ لَكُم؛ فَإنّي قَد سَمِعتُ رَسولَ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ: الرِّزقُ عَشَرَةُ أجزاءٍ؛ تِسعَةُ أجزاءٍ فِي التِّجارَةِ، وَواحِدَةٌ في غَيرِها.

و ـ مُراقَبَةُ السّوقِ مُباشَرَةً

230. **دعائم الإسلام**: إنَّهُ [عَلِيّاًعليه السلام] كانَ يَمشي فِي الأَسواقِ، وبِيَدِهِ دِرَّةٌ يَضرِبُ بِها مَن وَجَدَ مِن مُطَفِّفٍ أو غاشٍّ في تِجارَةِ المُسلِمينَ.

قالَ الأَصبَغُ: قُلتُ لَهُ يَوماً أنَا أكفيكَ هذا يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، وَاجلِس في بَيتِكَ !قالَ: ما نَصَحتَني يا أصبَغُ.

231. **Rabīʿ al-Abrār:** "ʿAlī (a.s.) would walk in the market among the sellers and say to them: "Do good and sell goods to the Muslims at cheap prices, for it increases the blessings."[755]

G) Prevention of Hoarding

232. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Rifāʿah: "Forbid the act of hoarding, and discipline whoever commits it, and then punish him by revealing what he had hoarded."[756]

H) The Policy of Taking Taxes

233. **al-Kāfī, narrating from al-Muhājir,** from a man from the Thaqīf tribe who, said: " ʿAli ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) appointed me as tax collector in the region of Bānqiyā and a village in Kufa and told me in the presence of the people, 'See into the (land) taxes and make attempts in (collecting) them. Do not neglect even a single dirham, and whenever you want to go there come to me (first).'"

[He said,] "I went to him and he told me: 'Indeed, what you heard from me was a kind of plan and tactic. Never beat a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian for a dirham of tax; or sell an animal used by people for [levying] taxes, because we are ordered to take from them the extras [to their income]."[757]

I) Equal Distribution of Public Funds

234. **Al-Kāfī, narrating from Abī Mikhnaf, who said:** "A group of the Shi'ites came to 'Alī (a.s.) and said: 'O Commander of the Faithful! Why don't you distribute these assets among the dignitaries and chiefs and give them priority to us so that things can settle down? Then, later you can return to the best of your character that God has bestowed on you, which is making equal distributions and practicing justice among citizens."

The Commander of the Faithful said: "Woe onto you! You are commanding me to seek support by doing injustice and inequity to the Muslims over whom I have been chosen as a guardian. By

231. **ربيع الأبرار:** كانَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام يَمُرُّ فِي السّوقِ عَلَى الباعَةِ، فَيَقولُ لَهُم: أحسِنوا، أرخِصوا بَيعَكُم عَلَى المُسلِمينَ؛ فإنَّهُ أعظَمُ لِلبَرَكَةِ.

ز ـ مَنعُ الاحتِكارِ

232. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ مِن كِتابِهِ إلىٰ رِفاعَةَ ـ : إنهَ عَنِ الحُكرَةِ، فَمَن رَكِبَ النَّهيَ فَأَوجِعهُ، ثُمَّ عاقِبهُ بِإظهارِ مَا احتَكَرَ.

ح ـ سِياسَةُ أخذِ الخَراجِ

233. **الكافي عن مهاجر عَن رَجُل مِن ثَقيف:** اِستَعمَلَني عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب عليه السلام عَلىٰ بانِقيا وسَواد مِن سَوادِ الكوفَةِ، فَقالَ لي وَالنّاسُ حُضورٌ ـ : اُنظُر خَراجَكَ فَجُدَّ فيهِ، ولا تَترُك مِنهُ دِرهَماً، فَإذا أرَدتَ أن تَتَوَجَّهَ إلى عَمَلِكَ فَمُرَّ بي.

قالَ: فَأَتَيتُهُ، فَقالَ لي: إنَّ الَّذي سَمِعتَ مِنّي خُدعَةٌ، إيّاكَ أن تَضرِبَ مُسلِماً أو يَهودِيّاً أو نَصرانِيّاً في دِرهَمِ خَراجٍ، أو تَبيعَ دَابَّةَ عَمَلٍ في دِرهَمٍ، فَإنَّما اُمِرنا أن نَأخُذَ مِنهُمُ العَفوَ.

ط ـ تَوزيعُ أموالِ العامَّةِ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ

234. **الكافي عن أبي مِخنَف:** أتىٰ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ رَهطٌ مِنَ الشَّيعَةِ، فَقالوا: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، لَو أخرَجتَ هذِهِ الأَموالَ فَفَرَّقتَها في هؤُلاءِ الرُّؤَساءِ وَالأَشرافِ، وفَضَّلتَهُم عَلَينا، حَتّى إذَا استَوسَقَتِ الاُمورُ عُدتَ إلىٰ أفضَلِ ما عَوَّدَكَ اللّهُ مِنَ القَسمِ بِالسَّوِيَّةِ، وَالعَدلِ فِي الرَّعِيَّةِ! ! فَقالَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام: أ تَأمُروني ـ وَيحَكُم ـ أن أطلُبَ النَّصرَ

God, I will not do that as long as the world remains and as long as I see stars in the skies. By God, even if it were my wealth, I would distribute it equally among them; how could it be when the wealth is theirs?"[758]

بِالظُّلمِ وَالجَورِ فيمَن وُلّيتُ عَلَيهِ مِن أهل الإسلامِ! ! لا وَاللّهِ، لا يَكونُ ذٰلِكَ ما سَمَرَ السَّميرُ، وما رَأَيتُ فِي السَّماءِ نَجماً، وَاللّهِ لَو كانَت أموالُهُم مالي لَساوَيتُ بَينَهُم، فَكَيفَ وإنَّما هِيَ أموالُهُم! !

An Explanation on the Method of Distribution of Public Revenue in Early Islam

The term "Public Treasury" in the hadith texts is a general term for the public income of the Muslims that is left to the Islamic state to be spent. A comprehensive study of hadith (narrations) reveals that there are two categories of expenditure for the public treasury: the specific and the general.

1. Specific Expenditure

This category includes a series of public expenditure that has specific titles, such as: providing for the poor, the needy, the disabled and the families of martyrs; providing salaries for judges and troops; education and health care; the prisoners' expenditures; [discharging the] debts of the [desperate] debtors; [discharging] blood money (diya) for the murdered who had no personal perpetrators; the developing and building of cities, etc.

2. General Expenditure

In early Islam, after providing for the specific expenditure, the surplus of public treasury was distributed among the Muslims. In hadith texts, this type of expenditure is referred to as the people's general right in the public treasury.

The ideal distribution of the public treasury from an Islamic viewpoint relies on two fundamental features: 1) Observing justice and fairness in distribution, 2) Not locking up any public assets.

وَقْفَةٌ مَعَ أُسْلُوبِ تَوْزِيعِ الْأَمْوَالِ الْعَامَّةِ فِي صَدْرِ الْإِسْلَامِ

إنّ عنوان «بيت المال» في النصوص الروائيّة هو مصطلح عامّ للعائدات العامّة للمسلمين، ويكون تحت اختيار الحكومة الإسلاميّة ويتبيّن من خلال نظرة جامعة للروايات أنّ بيت المال ينفق في وجهين:

1. النفقات العامّة ذات العنوان الخاصّ، مثل ضمان الفقراء، والمساكين، والعاجزين، وأُسر الشهداء، ورواتب العاملين في بيت المال، والقضاة، والجنود، ومصارف التعليم، والصحّة، وقروض الغرماء، ودِيات المقتولين الَّذين ليس لهم ضامن، والعمران، وغيرها...

2. تقسيم الفائض: بعد أن يتمّ إعطاء المذكورين حصصهم من بيت المال، ففي صدر الإسلام كان يتمّ تقسيم الفائض عن ذلك بين عامّة المسلمين وقد عرّفت الروايات هذا القسم بالحقّ العام للأفراد من بيت المال.

إنّ التوزيع المطلوب لبيت المال من وجهة نظر الإسلام يستند على ركيزتين أساسيّتين هما:

1. رعاية العدالة في التقسيم: للعدالة الاقتصاديّة في توزيع الثروات العامّة معياران أصليّان في الإسلام:

1. Observing justice in distribution: Economic justice in the distribution of public facilities in Islam, incorporates two main criteria: giving priority to social welfare and fulfilling the needs of the underprivileged and vulnerable strata and increasing their welfare; observing justice regarding equal entitlements.

The clearest instance of these two criteria is seen in Imām 'Alī's distribution policies. In his letters to his governors, he would always assert the allocation of part of treasury resources to the underprivileged and the low-income class. His strong emphasis on canceling undue and ambiguous privileges and granting equal rights to relatives and non-relatives, Arabs and non-Arabs, men and women, the famous and the unknown has displayed a brilliant image of human justice to those searching for justice in the world.

2. Not locking up public assets: Hastening in spending (infāq) and the avoidance of locking up public assets are among the basic characteristics of economic policies in Islam. Despite its emphasis on the necessity of moderation and even planning and precautions in spending, Islam has strongly condemned the locking up of the public property and stressed on speed in disbursement.

Considering the two above features, the ideal practice of spending from the public treasury can be stated as follows: Whenever part of the (state's) incomes is dedicated through certain planning to a particular purpose in a way that both the income and the expense are immediate, delay in spending in such cases is regarded as 'storing' and 'parsimony', and that is what the hadiths concerning the 'avoidance of accumulating public property' refer to.

The holy Prophet's concern for observing this principle was so great that when even a small amount of the property that was supposed to be handed over to those who were entitled to it, remained in his hand, he would become very sorrowful. In the time of `Umar, when there had been an unprecedented increase in public incomes, the government proceeded to establish public treasury and to set up state council. The

أحدهما: أولويّة الضمان الاجتماعي، والاهتمام بالطبقات الاجتماعيّة الضعيفة والمحرومة، والسعي في التوسعة عليهم.

والآخر: رعاية المساواة في الحقوق المتكافئة.

وإذا لاحظنا سياسة الإمام عليّ عليه السلام في توزيع الأموال نلمس فيها أوضح مصاديق هذين المعيارين، إذ نقرأ في كتبه إلى عمّاله تأكيده الدائم على تخصيص قسم من مصادر بيت المال للطبقات المحرومة وذات الدخل المحدود، وتأكيداته الجمّة، ووصاياه الكثيرة بإلغاء الامتيازات الوهميّة المجحفة، ومنح الحقوق المتساوية للقريب والبعيد، والعربي والأعجمي، والمرأة والرجل، وذي السابقة في الإسلام وحديثي العهد به. فترتسم لطلّاب العدالة صورة مشرقة للعدالة الإنسانيّة.

2. عدم حبس الحقوق العامّة: الإسراع في الإنفاق، واجتناب حبس الحقوق العامّة، فمع تأكيد الإسلام على لزوم الاعتدال في الإنفاق والتخطيط له، والإنفاق بمقدار، نجده ذمّ بشدّة حبس الحقوق العامّة بلا مسوّغ، وأوصى بالإسراع في إنفاقها.

وإذا لاحظنا هاتين الخصوصيّتين يمكن بيان المنهج القويم في صرف أموال بيت المال بهذا النحو: إذا تمّ حبس جزء من الدخل لمصارف خاصّة بحيث كان كلّ من الدخل والمصرف حاليّين فهذا الحبس هو الإمساك والادّخار المنهيّ عنه في الروايات.

بل بلغ اهتمام النبيّ الأعظم صلى الله عليه وآله برعاية هذا المبدأ مرتبة قصوى تظهر معها آثار الغمّ على صفحات وجهه الكريم بسبب بقاء مقدار قليل من الأموال الّتي ينبغي أن تصل إلى مستحقّيها. وحين زادت عائدات بيت المال في عهد عمر بشكل لم يسبق له مثيل قامت الحكومة بتأسيس

public incomes were collected and stored all year round then finally distributed among Muslims at the end of the year.

Rejecting this policy, Imām 'Alī (a.s.) took up the Prophet's procedure in this respect after he took reign over the government. His avoidance of delaying the distribution of the public treasury, even for a single night, and his emphasis on distributing what existed in the public treasury and even the dividing of a rope into seven portions indicates his great concern for refraining from piling up public property.

J) Securing the Essential Needs of the Society

235. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "There is no one in Kufa who does not have a good welfare. The lowest among them in rank has wheat bread, sits in the shade and drinks from the Euphrates."[759]

K) Supporting the Lower Class

236. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Look into what has been collected from the wealth of Allah, and then spend it on those around you, who have families and are hungry, making sure it reaches the poor and the needy. Then send whatever is left, so we can divide it among those who are around us."[760]

L) Special Concern for the Orphans

237. **Rabīʿ al-Abrār, narrating from Abī al-Ṭufayl, who said:** "I saw ʿAlī call the orphans and feed them honey, so much so that some of his companions said: "I wish I were an orphan."[761]

M) Refraining from preferring one's Children and Close Associates

i) Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.)

238. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from Dāwūd ibn Abī ʿAwf, from a man from the Khathʿam tribe, who said: "I saw Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.) eating bread, vinegar and herbs, so I asked: "You are eating such food, when there are various kinds of food in the courtyard (al-raḥba)![762] They said to him: "How unaware you are of the Commander of the Faithful?"[763]

بيت المال وتشكيل الديوان، وكانت العائدات تُجمع فيه وتُدَّخر على طول السنة، ثمّ تُوزّع على عامّة المسلمين في نهاية السنة بشكل فردي.

وعندما تقلّد الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام الخلافة رفض هذه السياسة، وسار بسيرة النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله. وامتناعه عن التأخير في تقسيم بيت المال حتّى بمقدار ليلة واحدة، وتأكيده على توزيع جميع ما في بيت المال، يدلّ بوضوح على شدّة اهتمامه باجتناب الادّخار.

ي ـ تَوفيرُ الحاجاتِ الضَّرورِيَّةِ لِلجَميعِ / السياسة الاقتصاديّة

235. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام:** ما أصبَحَ بِالكوفَةِ أحَدٌ إلّا ناعِماً؛ إنَّ أدناهُم مَنزِلَةً لَيَأكُلُ مِنَ البُرِّ ويَجلِسُ فِي الظِّلِّ ويَشرَبُ مِن ماءِ الفُراتِ.

ك ـ حِمايَةُ الطَّبَقَةِ السُّفلى

236. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ مِن كِتابِهِ إلىٰ قُثَم بنِ العَبّاسِ ـ وانظُر إلىٰ ما اجتَمَعَ عِندَكَ مِن مالِ اللّهِ فَاصرِفهُ إلىٰ مَن قِبَلَكَ مِن ذَوِي العِيالِ وَالمَجاعَةِ، مُصيباً بِهِ مَواضِعِ الفاقَةِ وَالخَلّاتِ، وما فَضَلَ عَن ذٰلِكَ فاحمِلهُ إلَينا لِنَقسِمَهُ فيمَن قِبَلَنا.

ل ـ العِنايَةُ الخاصَّةُ بِالأَيتامِ

237. **ربيع الأبرار عن أبي الطُّفيل:** رَأَيتُ عَلِيّاً ـ كَرَّمَ اللّهُ وَجهَهُ ـ يَدعُو اليَتامىٰ فَيُطعِمُهُمُ العَسَلَ، حَتّىٰ قالَ بَعضُ أصحابِهِ: لَوَدِدتُ أنّي كُنتُ يَتيماً.

م ـ عَدَمُ استِئثارِ الأَولادِ والأَقرِباءِ

1. الحَسَنُ وَالحُسَينُ عليهما السلام

238. **أنساب الأشراف عن داوودَ بنِ أبي عَوفٍ عَن رَجُلٍ مِن خَثعَمٍ:** رَأَيتُ الحَسَنَ وَالحُسَينَ عليهما السلام يَأكُلانِ خُبزاً وخَلّاً وبَقلاً، فَقُلتُ: أ تَأكُلانِ هذا وفِي الرَّحبَةِ ما فيها! فَقالا: ما أغفَلَكَ عَن أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ!

239. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha,** narrating from Khālid ibn Muʿammar al-Sadūsī, who said to 'Ilbā' ibn al-Haytham [who desired to leave Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and join Muʿāwiyah]: "What do you expect from a man who, when I asked to add a few dirhams to the share of Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.), so that they could make up for the shortage of their lives, refused, became angry and declined."[764]

ii) Um Kulthūm

240. **Al-Ikhtiṣāṣ:** "A gift from the sea was brought for 'Alī (a.s.) from Basra whose price was not known, so his daughter Umm Kulthūm said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful! Will you give it to me to wear it around my neck as ornament?"

The Imām said: "O Abu Rāfi`! Take it to the Treasury! There is no way to that, except when all Muslim women have one like that."[765]

N) Strictness and Caution in Spending from the Public Treasury

241. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to his governors: "Sharpen your pens and make the lines closer to each other. When writing to me, be brief and precise in your meanings. Refrain from writing too much, because Muslim Treasury does not bear loss."[766]

242. **Makārim al-Akhlāq,** narrating from ʿAqīl ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khawlānī who said: "My aunt was the wife of ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib; she once visited ʿAlī (a.s.) in Kūfah, while he was sitting on a donkey's torn-out pack-saddle. She said: "A wife of ʿAlī (a.s.), who was from Banī Tamīm, came in, so I said to her: "Woe unto you! Your house is full of furniture and goods, but the Commander of the Faithful sits on a torn packsaddle!" The woman said: "Do not blame me, for whatever he sees that is not familiar to him, he takes it away and puts it in the Muslim Treasury."[767]

239. **شرح نهج البلاغة عن خالد بن مُعَمَّر السَّدوسيّ** ـ لِعِلباء بنِ الهَيثَمِ ـ : ماذا تُؤَمِّلُ عِندَ رَجُلٍ أَرَدتُهُ عَلى أن يَزيدَ في عَطاءِ الحَسَنِ والحُسينِ دُرَيهماتٍ يَسيرَةً رَيثَما يَرأَبانِ بِها ظَلَفَ عَيشِهِما، فَأَبى وغَضِبَ فَلَم يَفعَل!

2. أُمُّ كُلثوم

240. **الاختصاص:** بُعِثَ إلَيهِ [عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام] مِنَ البَصرَةِ مِن غَوصِ البَحرِ بِتُحفَةٍ لا يُدرىٰ ما قِيمَتُها، فَقالَت لَهُ ابنَتُهُ أُمُّ كُلثومٍ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، أتَجَمَّلُ بِهِ ويَكونَ في عُنُقي ؟فَقالَ: يا أبا رافِعٍ، أدخِلهُ إلىٰ بَيتِ المالِ؛ لَيسَ إلىٰ ذٰلِكَ سَبيلٌ حَتّىٰ لا تَبقَى امرَأَةٌ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ إلّا ولَها مِثلُ ذٰلِكَ!

ن ـ التَّقَشُّفُ وَالاِحتِياطُ فِي النَّفَقَةِ مِن بَيتِ المالِ

241. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ في كِتابِهِ إلىٰ عُمّالِهِ ـ : أدِقّوا أقلامَكُم، وقارِبوا بَينَ سُطورِكُم، وَاحذِفوا عَنّي فُضولَكُم، وَاقصِدوا قَصدَ المَعاني، وإيّاكُم وَالإكثارَ؛ فإنَّ أموالَ المُسلِمينَ لا تَحتَمِلُ الإضرارَ.

242. **مكارم الأخلاق عن عقيل بن عبد الرحمن الخَولانيّ:** كانَت عَمَّتي تَحتَ عَقيلِ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ، فَدَخَلَت عَلىٰ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام بِالكوفَةِ وهُوَ جالِسٌ عَلى بَرذَعَةِ حِمارٍ مُبَتَّلَةً، قالَت: فَدَخَلَت عَلى عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام اِمرَأَةٌ لَهُ مِن بَني تَميمٍ فَقُلتُ لَها: وَيحَكِ! إنَّ بَيتَكِ مُمتَلِئٌ مَتاعاً وأميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام جالِسٌ عَلىٰ بَرذَعَةِ حِمارٍ مُبَتَّلَةً!

فَقالَت: لا تَلوميني، فَوَاللّهِ ما يَرى شَيئاً يَنكُرُهُ إلّا أخَذَهُ فَطَرَحَهُ في بَيتِ المالِ.

Chapter Six

Social Policies

A) Establishing Justice

243. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Let the dearest of your affairs be those which are the nearest of them to rightfulness, most inclusive in justice and most comprehensive in (establishing) the pleasure of the subjects. ...Verily the foremost delight of the eye for rulers is the establishment of justice in the land and the appearance of friendship among the subjects."[768]

B) Commitment to Rights

244. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "God the Glorified has put the rights of His servants ahead of His own rights (giving priority to their rights). Therefore, whoever fulfils the rights of the servants of God will fulfill the rights of God."[769]

C) Development of Constructive Freedom

245. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "O people! [Prophet] Adam did not beget slave men and women; indeed all people are free."[770]

246. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Do not be a slave to someone else. Allah has created you free."[771]

D) Attention to the Pleasure of the Public

247. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar:

الفصل السادس

السِّياسَةُ الإجتِماعِيَّةُ

أ ـ إقامَةُ العَدلِ

243. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِكٍ الأَشتَرِ ـ : وَليَكُن أحَبُّ الأُمورِ إلَيكَ أوسَطُها فِي الحَقِّ، وأعَمُّها فِي العَدلِ، وأجمَعُها لِرِضَى الرَّعِيَّةِ... إنَّ أفضَلَ قُرَّةِ عَينِ الوُلاةِ استِقامَةُ العَدلِ فِي البِلادِ، وظُهورُ مَوَدَّةِ الرَّعِيَّةِ.

ب ـ الإلتِزامُ بِالحقُوقِ

244. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: جَعَلَ اللّهُ سُبحانَهُ حُقوقَ عِبادِهِ مُقَدَّمَةً لِحُقوقِهِ؛ فَمَن قامَ بِحُقوقِ عِبادِ اللّهِ كانَ ذٰلِكَ مُؤَدِّياً إلَى القِيامِ بِحُقوقِ اللّهِ.

ج ـ تَنمِيَةُ الحُرِّيَّةِ البَنّاءَةِ

245. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: أيُّهَا النّاسُ! إنَّ آدَمَ لَم يَلِد عَبداً ولا أمَةً، وإنَّ النّاسَ كُلَّهُم أحرارٌ.

246. **عنه**عليه السلام: لا تَكُن عَبدَ غَيرِكَ وقَد جَعَلَكَ اللّهُ حُرّاً.

د ـ الإهتِمامُ بِرِضَى العامَّةِ

247. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلىٰ مالِكٍ الأَشتَرِ ـ : فَاعمَل فيما وُلّيتَ عَمَلَ مَن يُحِبُّ أن

"Therefore, you should act in your rule like him who desires to secure the praise of the subjects, the reward of God and the good pleasure of the Imām. There is no power save in God."[772]

E) Kindness to the Subjects

248. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Infuse your heart with mercy, love and kindness for your subjects. Be not in face of them a voracious animal, counting them as easy prey, for they are either your brothers in religion or your like in creation. They are subject to mistakes, deficiencies overcome them and evil deeds are committed by them intentionally and by mistake. So grant them your pardon and your forgiveness to the same extent that you hope God will grant you His pardon and His forgiveness, for you are above them and he who appointed you is above you and God is above him who appointed you. God has sought from you the fulfillment of their requirements, and He is trying you with them. Set not yourself to war against God, for you have no power against His vengeance, nor are you able to dispense with His pardon and His mercy.

Know that there is nothing that brings about the trust of the ruler in the subject more than to be kind to them, to lighten their burdens and abandon coercing them in that in which he possess not any right over them. So, you should attain a situation in which you can have trust in your subjects, as trusting them will sever from you a lasting strain. Surely he who most deserves your trust is he who has succeeded when you have tested him and he who most deserves your mistrust is he who has failed when you have tested him."

According to Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl the Imam added, "If you realize this state for and against you, you will be more cognizant in doing good and having good impression with people in addition to what God will reward you in the world to come."[773]

يَدَّخِرَ حُسنَ الثَّناءِ مِنَ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَالمَثوبَةِ مِنَ اللّهِ، وَالرِّضا مِنَ الإمامِ. ولا قُوَّةَ إلّا بِاللّهِ.

هـ ـ الرَّحمَةُ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ وَالمَحَبَّةُ لَهُم

248. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِكٍ الأشتَرِ ـ: وأشعِر قَلبَكَ الرَّحمَةَ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ، وَالمَحَبَّةَ لَهُم، وَاللُّطفَ بِهِم، ولا تَكونَنَّ عَلَيهِم سَبُعاً ضارِياً تَغتَنِمُ أكلَهُم؛ فَإنَّهُم صِنفانِ: إمّا أخٌ لَكَ فِي الدّينِ، وإمّا نَظيرٌ لَكَ فِي الخَلقِ، يَفرُطُ مِنهُمُ الزَّلَلُ، وتَعرِضُ لَهُمُ العِلَلُ، ويُؤتى عَلى أيديهِم فِي العَمدِ وَالخَطَأِ، فَأعطِهِم مِن عَفوِكَ وصَفحِكَ مِثلِ الَّذي تُحِبُّ وتَرضى أن يُعطِيَكَ اللّهُ مِن عَفوِهِ وصَفحِهِ؛ فَإنَّكَ فَوقَهُم، ووالِي الأمرِ عَلَيكَ فَوقَكَ، واللّهُ فَوقَ مَن وَلّاكَ. وقَدِ استَكفاكَ أمرَهُم وَابتَلاكَ بِهِم. ولا تَنصِبَنَّ نَفسَكَ لِحَربِ اللّهِ؛ فَإنَّهُ لا يَدَ لَكَ بِنِقمَتِهِ، ولا غِنىً بِكَ عَن عَفوِهِ ورَحمَتِهِ...

وَاعلَم أنَّهُ لَيسَ شَيءٌ بِأدعىٰ إلىٰ حُسنِ ظَنِّ راعٍ بِرَعِيَّتِهِ مِن إحسانِهِ إلَيهِم، وتَخفيفِهِ المَؤوناتِ عَلَيهِم، وتَركِ استِكراهِهِ إيّاهُم عَلىٰ ما لَيسَ لَهُ قِبَلَهُم، فَليَكُن مِنكَ في ذٰلِكَ أمرٌ يَجتَمِعُ لَكَ بِهِ حُسنُ الظَّنِّ بِرَعِيَّتِكَ؛ فَإنَّ حُسنَ الظَّنِّ يَقطَعُ عَنكَ نَصَباً طَويلا، وإنَّ أحَقَّ مَن حَسُنَ ظَنُّكَ بِهِ لَمَن حَسُنَ بَلاؤُكَ عِندَهُ. وإنَّ أحَقَّ مَن ساءَ ظَنُّكَ بِهِ لَمَن ساءَ بَلاؤُكَ عِندَهُ.

وزاد في تحف العقول: فَاعرِف هذِهِ المَنزِلَةَ لَكَ وعَلَيكَ لِتَزدكَ بَصيرَةً في حُسنِ الصُّنعِ، وَاستِكثارِ حُسنِ البَلاءِ عِندَ العامَّةِ، مَعَ ما يوجِبُ اللّه بِها لَكَ فِي المَعادِ.

F) Direct Contact with People

249. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Set aside for those who have requests from you a portion (of your time) in which you yourself are free (to attend) to them. Hold an open audience for them and therein be humble before God who created you. Keep the soldiers and aids that are your bodyguards and police away from them so that their spokesman may address you without stammering (in fear). I heard the Messenger of God (s.a.w.) say on more than one occasion: "A nation in which the rights of the weak are not taken from the strong without stammering shall never be sanctified."

Then there are certain matters of your affairs in which you must carry out personally. Among them are: responding to your administrators when your secretaries are unable to do, and meeting people's need the same day presented to you. Do not prolong your seclusion from your subjects, for the rulers' seclusion from their subjects is a kind of constraint and will result in a lack of knowledge of the affairs. Seclusion from people deprives the rulers from acquiring the knowledge of what they are unaware of and then as a result they begin to regard great matters small and bad matters good. The great appears to them as small and the small as great and the beautiful will appear as ugly and the ugly as beautiful."[774]

G) Refraining from Anger

250. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Ibn ʿAbbās when appointing him as his representative in Baṣra: "Treat people kindly, when you meet them and when issue orders; and beware of anger, because it is an augury of Satan."[775]

H) Assisting the Oppressed

251. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "O people! Assist me against your heart's desires. By Allah, I will take revenge the oppressor on behalf of the oppressed and I will put a string in the nose of the oppressor and drag him to the spring of truthfulness, even though he may grudge it."[776]

و ـ الإتّصالُ المُباشِرُ بالنّاسِ

249. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِك الأَشتَرِ ـ : إجعَل لِذَوِي الحاجاتِ مِنكَ قِسماً تُفَرِّغُ لَهُم فيهِ شَخصَكَ، وتَجلِسُ لَهُم مَجلِساً عامّاً، فَتَتَواضَعُ فيهِ لِلّهِ الَّذي خَلَقَكَ، وتُقعِدَ عَنهُم جُندَكَ وأعوانَكَ مِن أحراسِكَ وشُرَطِكَ، حَتّىٰ يُكَلِّمَكَ مُتَكَلِّمُهُم غَيرَ مُتَتَعتِعٍ؛ فَإنّي سَمِعتُ رَسولَ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ في غَيرِ مَوطِنٍ: «لَن تُقَدَّسَ اُمّةٌ لا يُؤخَذُ لِلضَّعيفِ فيها حَقُّهُ مِنَ القَوِيِّ غَيرَ مُتَتَعتِعٍ»... .

ثُمَّ اُمورٌ مِن اُمورِكَ لابُدَّ لَكَ مِن مُباشَرَتِها، مِنها: إجابَةُ عُمّالِكَ بِما يَعيا عَنهُ كُتّابُكَ. ومِنها: إصدارُ حاجاتِ النّاسِ يَومَ وُرودِها عَليكَ بِما تَحرَجُ بِهِ صُدورُ أعوانِكَ... فَلا تُطَوِّلَنَّ احتِجابَكَ عَن رَعِيَّتِكَ؛ فَإنَّ احتِجابَ الوُلاةِ عَنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ شُعبَةٌ مِنَ الضِّيقِ، وقِلَّةُ عِلمٍ بِالاُمورِ، وَالاِحتِجابُ مِنهُم يَقطَعُ عَنهُم عِلمَ مَا احتَجَبوا دونَهُ، فَيَصغُرُ عِندَهُمُ الكَبيرُ، ويَعظُمُ الصَّغيرُ، ويَقبُحُ الحَسَنُ، ويَحسُنُ القَبيحُ.

ز ـ الإجتنابُ عَنِ الغَضَبِ

250. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ مِن وَصِيَّتِهِ لِابنِ عَبّاس عِندَ استِخلافِهِ إيّاهُ عَلَى البَصرَةِ ـ : سَعِ النّاسَ بِوَجهِكَ ومَجلِسِكَ وحُكمِكَ، وإيّاكَ وَالغَضَبَ؛ فَإنَّهُ طَيرَةٌ مِنَ الشَّيطانِ.

ح ـ إعانَةُ المَظلومِ

251. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: أيُّهَا النّاسُ! أعينوني عَلىٰ أنفُسِكُم، وايمُ اللّهِ لِأُنصِفَنَّ المَظلومَ مِن ظالِمِهِ، ولاَقودَنَّ الظّالِمَ بِخِزامَتِهِ، حَتّى اُورِدَهُ مَنهَلَ الحَقِّ وإن كانَ كارِهاً.

252. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "In my view the humiliated is worthy of honour till I secure [his] right for him, while the strong in my view is weak till I take the rights [of other's] from him."[777]

I) Establishing the House of Complaints

253. **Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā:** "The first one to set up a place for people to lodge their complaints was the Commander of the faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.)."[778]

254. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha:** "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) had a place which he called the House of Complaints (bayt al-qaṣaṣ) where people would drop their letters of complaint in it."[779]

J) Concern for the Unity of the Nation

255. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** when addressing the Khawārij: "Be with the great majority (of Muslims) because God's hand (of protection) is with the united community. Beware of division because the one isolated from the group is a prey to Satan just as the one isolated from the flock of sheep is a prey to the wolf."[780]

256. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "By Allah, I have begun thinking about these people that they would shortly snatch away the whole country through their unity on their wrong and your disunity from your own right."[781]

252. عنه عليه السلام: الذَّليلُ عِندي عَزيزٌ حَتّى آخُذَ الحَقَّ لَهُ، وَالقَوِيُّ عِندي ضَعيفٌ حَتّى آخُذَ الحَقَّ مِنهُ.

ط ـ تَأسيسُ بَيتِ القِصَصِ

253. **صبح الأعشى:** أوَّلُ مَن اتَّخَذَ بَيتاً تُرمى فيهِ قِصَصُ أهلِ الظُّلاماتِ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عَليُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ (رضي اللّهُ عنه).

254. **شرح نهج البلاغة:** كانَ لِأَميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام بَيتٌ سَمّاهُ: بَيتَ القِصَصِ، يُلقِي النّاسُ فيهِ رِقاعَهُم.

ي ـ الحِرصُ عَلى جَماعَةِ الأُمَّةِ

255. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ مِن كَلامِهِ مَعَ الخَوارِجِ ـ: اِلزَموا السَّوادَ الأَعظَمَ؛ فَإِنَّ يَدَ اللّهِ مَعَ الجَماعَةِ، وإيّاكُم والفُرقَةَ! فَإِنَّ الشّاذَّ مِنَ النّاسِ لِلشَّيطانِ، كَما أنَّ الشّاذَّ مِنَ الغَنَمِ لِلذِّئبِ.

256. عنه عليه السلام: وإنّي، وَاللّهِ، لَأَظُنُّ أنَّ هؤلاءِ القَومَ سَيُدالونَ مِنكُم بِاجتِماعِهِم عَلى باطِلِهِم، وتَفَرُّقِكُم عَن حَقِّكُم.

Chapter Seven

Judicial Policies

A) Electing the Best for Arbitration

257. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then choose to judge among men, the most excellent of subjects in your sight, i.e., one who is not beleaguered by (complex) affairs, who is not rendered ill-tempered by the litigants, who does not persist in error, who is not distressed by returning to the truth when he recognizes it, whose soul does not descend to any kind of greed, who is not satisfied with an inferior understanding (of a thing) short of the more thorough, one who hesitates most in (acting in the face of) obscurities, who adheres most to arguments, who is the least to become annoyed at the petition of the litigants, who is the most patient (in waiting) for the facts to become clear and who is the firmest when the verdict has become manifest; a man who does not become conceited when praise is lavished upon him and who is not attracted by temptation. But such (men) are few."[782]

B) Securing the Financial Needs of the Judges

258. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then choose to judge among men, the most excellent of subjects in your sight ... and grant generously to him that which will eliminate his wants and through which his need from men will decrease."[783]

الفصل السابع

السِّياسَةُ القَضائِيَّةُ

أ ـ اِختِيارُ الأَفاضِلِ لِلقَضاءِ

257. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِك الأَشتَرِ ـ: ثُمَّ اختَرِ لِلحُكمِ بَينَ النّاسِ أفضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ في نَفسِكَ، مِمَّن لا تَضيقُ بِهِ الأُمورُ، ولا تُمَحِّكُهُ الخُصومُ، ولا يَتَمادىٰ فِي الزَّلَّةِ، ولا يَحصَرُ مِنَ الفَيءِ إلَى الحَقِّ إذا عَرَفَهُ، ولا تُشرِفُ نَفسُهُ عَلى طَمَعٍ، ولا يَكتَفي بِأَدنىٰ فَهمٍ دونَ أقصاهُ، وأوقَفَهُم فِي الشُّبهاتِ، وآخَذَهُم بِالحُجَجِ، وأقَلَّهُم تَبَرُّماً بِمُراجَعَةِ الخَصمِ، وأصبَرَهُم عَلىٰ تَكَشُّفِ الأُمورِ، وأصرَمَهُم عِندَ اتِّضاحِ الحُكمِ، مِمَّن لا يَزدَهيهِ إطراءٌ ولا يَستَميلُهُ إغراءٌ، وأُولئِكَ قَليلٌ.

ب ـ التَّأمينُ الاِقتِصاديُّ لِلقُضاةِ

258. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِك الأَشتَرِ ـ: ثُمَّ اختَرِ لِلحُكمِ بَينَ النّاسِ أفضَلَ رَعِيَّتِكَ في نَفسِكَ... وَافسَح لَهُ فِي البَذلِ ما يُزيلُ عِلَّتَهُ وتَقِلُّ مَعَهُ حاجَتُهُ إلَى النّاسِ.

C) Emphasis on the Manners of the Judges

259. **Al-Kāfī,** narrating from Aḥmad ibn Abī ʿAbdullah who narrates this without its chain of transmission, saying: "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) said to Shuraiḥ: "Do not whisper to anybody in your judgment session; if you get angry, stand up [and leave], for you should not judge when you are angry."[784]

260. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr: "When you judge between people, be humble with them and treat them leniently. Show a cheerful face to them, and be equal in your stares and looks at them, so that the influential will not expect your injustice in their favour and the weak will not despair of your justice towards them."[785]

D) Dismissing Whoever Fails to Observe Proprieties

261. **ʿAwālī al-La'ālī:** "The Commander of the Faithful appointed Abu al-Aswad al-Du'alī as a judge, then he dismissed him. He [Abu al-Aswad] asked him: "Why did you dismiss me, whereas I did not commit any crime nor betrayed?"

ʿAlī (a.s.) replied: "I noticed that your voice was louder than that of the litigant."[786]

E) Supervising the Judgment of the Judges

262. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar after mentioning how to select judges: "Then investigate frequently his decisions."[787]

263. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "When the Commander of the Faithful – blessings of Allah be upon him – appointed Shuraiḥ as judge, he (a.s.) put the condition on him that he should not pass any judgment until he reviews it with him [ʿAlī]."[788]

F) Warning against Unjust and Reckless Judgment

264. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The vilest act is the injustice of judges."[789]

265. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "He whose judgments are unjust, his power will vanish."[790]

ج ـ التَّأكيدُ عَلى آدابِ القَضاءِ

259. **الكافي عن أحمد بن أبي عبد اللّه رفعه:** قالَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام لِشُرَيحٍ: لا تُسارَّ أحَداً في مَجلِسِكَ، وإن غَضِبتَ فَقُم؛ فَلا تَقضِيَنَّ وأنتَ غَضبانُ.

260. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ في كِتابِهِ إلى مُحَمَّدِ بنِ أبي بَكر ـ : وإذا أنتَ قَضَيتَ بَينَ النّاسِ فَاخفِض لَهُم جَناحَكَ، ولَيِّن لَهُم جانِبَكَ، وَابسُط لَهُم وَجهَكَ، وآسِ بَينَهُم في اللَّحظِ والنَّظَرِ، حَتّىٰ لا يَطمَعَ العُظَماءُ في حَيفِكَ لَهُم، ولا يَأيَسَ الضُّعَفاءُ مِن عَدلِكَ عَلَيهِم.

د ـ عَزلُ مَن تَخَلَّفَ عَنِ الآدابِ

261. **عوالي اللآلي:** إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ وَلّى أبَا الأَسوَدِ الدُّؤلِيَّ القَضاءَ ثُمَّ عَزَلَهُ، فَقالَ لَه: لِمَ عَزَلتَني وما جَنَيتُ وما خُنتُ؟ فَقالَ عليه السلام: إنّي رَأَيتُ كَلامَكَ يَعلو عَلى كَلامِ الخَصمِ.

هـ ـ مُراقَبَةُ قَضاءِ القُضاةِ

262. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِك الأَشتَرِ، بَعدَ أن ذَكَرَ كَيفِيَّةَ اختِيارِ القُضاةِ ـ : ثُمَّ أكثِر تَعاهُدَ قَضائِهِ.

263. **الإمام الصادق** عليه السلام: لَمّا وَلّىٰ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ شُرَيحاً القَضاءَ اشتَرَطَ عَلَيهِ أن لا يُنَفِّذَ القَضاءَ حَتّى يَعرِضَهُ عَلَيهِ.

و ـ التَّحذيرُ مِنَ الجَورِ والجَهلِ في القَضاءِ

264. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام: أفظَعُ شَيءٍ ظُلمُ القُضاةِ.

265. **عنه** عليه السلام: مَن جارَت أقضِيَتُهُ زالَت قُدرَتُهُ.

G) Imām ʿAlī's Direct Judgment

266. **ʿAwālī al-La'ālī:** "It is narrated that ʿAlī (a.s.) would act as judge in the Mosque of Kūfah, where he had a 'Platform of Judgment'."[791]

267. **Irshād al-Qulūb:** "It is narrated that whenever he [ʿAlī] (a.s.) came back from the battlefield, he would dedicate his time to teaching people and judging between them."[792]

H) Execution of Punishment on the Near and the Far

268. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) ordered Qanbar to whip a man as a legal punishment, but Qanbar made a mistake by whipping the person three extra times, so ʿAlī (a.s.) retaliated him three lashes in return."[793]

I) Submission to Judgment

269. **Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,** narrating from al-Shuʿbī, who said: "' 'Alī(a.s.) found his shield with a Christian and he (a.s.) took him to Shurayh [the judge], sat beside him and said: "This is my shield."

"The Christian said: This is my own shield and the Commander of the Faithful is not a liar!"

"Shurayḥ asked 'Alī (a.s.): "Do you have any proof?"

Ali (a.s.) laughingly said: "No."

"The Christian took the shield, walked a few steps away and then returned and said: "I bear witness that these are the Prophetic judgments. The Commander of the Faithful brought me to his judge and he judged against him."

Then the Christian converted to Islam and admitted that 'Alī (a.s.) had unknowingly dropped the shield on his way to Ṣiffīn. 'Alī (a.s.) was pleased that he embraced Islam and granted him the shield and a horse as well. The Christian took part in the battle against the Khawārij with him."[794]

ز ـ مُباشَرَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام القَضاءَ بِنَفسِهِ

266. **عوالي اللآلي:** رُوِيَ عَن عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام أنَّهُ كانَ يَفعَلُ ذلِكَ [أي القَضاءَ] في مَسجِدِ الكوفَةِ، ولَهُ بِهِ دَكَّةٌ مَعروفَةٌ بِدَكَّةِ القَضاءِ.

267. **إرشاد القلوب:** رُوِيَ أنَّهُ عليه السلام كانَ إذا يَفرُغُ مِنَ الجِهادِ يَتَفَرَّغُ لِتَعليمِ النّاسِ، وَالقَضاءِ بَينَهُم.

ح ـ إقامَةُ الحُدودِ عَلَى القَريبِ وَالبَعيدِ

268. **الإمام الباقر عليه السلام:** إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام أمَرَ قَنبَراً أن يَضرِبَ رَجُلاً حَدّاً، فَغَلَطَ قَنبَرٌ فَزادَهُ ثَلاثَةَ أسواطٍ، فَأَقادَهُ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام مِن قَنبَرٍ ثَلاثَةَ أسواطٍ.

ط ـ الخُضوعُ لِلقَضاءِ

269. **الكامل في التاريخ عن الشعبي:** وَجَدَ عَلِيٌّ دِرعاً لَهُ عِندَ نَصرانِيٍّ، فَأَقبَلَ بِهِ إلىٰ شُرَيحٍ وجَلَسَ إلىٰ جانِبِهِ، وقالَ: لَو كانَ خَصمي مُسلِماً لَساوَيتُهُ، وقالَ: هذِهِ دِرعي. فَقالَ النَّصرانِيُّ: ماهِيَ إلّا دِرعي، ولَم يَكذِب أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ. فَقالَ شُرَيحٌ لِعَلِيٍّ: أ لَكَ بَيِّنَةٌ؟ قالَ: لا، وهوَ يَضحَكُ. فَأَخَذَ النَّصرانِيُّ الدِّرعَ ومَشى يَسيراً ثُمَّ عادَ وقالَ:

أشهَدُ أنَّ هذِهِ أحكامُ الأَنبِياءِ، أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ قَدَّمَني إلىٰ قاضِيهِ، وقاضيهِ يَقضي عَلَيهِ!

ثُمَّ أسلَمَ وَاعتَرَفَ أنَّ الدِّرعَ سَقَطَت مِن عَلِيٍّ عِندَ مَسيرِهِ إلىٰ صِفّينَ، فَفَرِحَ عَلِيٌّ بِإسلامِهِ ووَهَبَ لَهُ الدِّرعَ وفَرَساً، وشَهِدَ مَعَهُ قِتالَ الخَوارِجِ.

Chapter Eight

Security Policies

A) Importance of Security

270. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The worst of countries is a country that has neither security nor fertility."[795]

271. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "People have no choice but to have a ruler, good or bad, in whose rule the believer performs [good] acts and the disbeliever enjoys worldly benefits, until During the rule, Allah brings everything to end. Through the ruler, tax is collected, the enemy is fought, roadways are protected, and the right of the weak is taken from the strong, such that the virtuous enjoys peace and is given protection from [the oppression of] the wicked."[796]

B) Intelligence

272. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to his governors: "In the Name of God, the All-Beneficent, the All-Merciful. From the servant of God, 'Alī the Commander of the Faithful to whomever of the administrators that reads my letter: Now, some men who have sworn allegiance to us have escaped. We suspect that they have moved towards the cities of the Baṣra. Ask about them from your townspeople and assign secret agents throughout your land over them. Then write to me whatever you find about them. Wassalām."[797]

273. **Al-Futūḥ,** in mentioning the Battle of Ṣiffīn: "A man from

الفصل الثامن

السِّياسَةُ الأَمنِيَّةُ

أ ـ أهَمِّيَّةُ الأَمنِ

270. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: شَرُّ البِلادِ بَلَدٌ لا أمنَ فيهِ، ولا خِصبَ.

271. **عنه**عليه السلام: لابُدَّ لِلنّاسِ مِن أميرٍ بَرٍّ أو فاجِرٍ؛ يَعمَلُ في إمرَتِهِ المُؤمِنُ، ويَستَمتِعُ فيهَا الكافِرُ، ويُبَلِّغُ اللّهُ فيهَا الأَجَلَ، ويُجمَعُ بِهِ الفَيءُ، ويُقاتَلُ بِهِ العَدُوُّ، وتَأمَنُ بِهِ السُّبُلُ، ويُؤخَذُ بِهِ لِلضَّعيفِ مِنَ القَوِيِّ؛ حَتّىٰ يَستَريحَ بَرٌّ، ويُستَراحَ مِن فاجِرٍ.

ب ـ الإستِخبار

272. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في كِتابِهِ إلى عُمّالِهِ ـ : بِسمِ اللّه الرَّحمنِ الرَّحيمِ. مِن عَبدِ اللّهِ عَلِيٍّ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ إلى مَن قَرَأَ كِتابي هذا مِنَ العُمّالِ: أمّا بَعدُ، فَإِنَّ رِجالاً لَنا عِندَهُم بَيعَةٌ خَرَجوا هُرّاباً فَنَظُنُّهُم وَجَّهوا نَحوَ بِلادِ البَصرَةِ، فَاسأَل عَنهُم أهلَ بِلادِكَ، واجعَل عَلَيهِمُ العُيونَ في كُلِّ ناحِيَةٍ مِن أرضِكَ، ثُمَّ اكتُب إلَيَّ بِما يَنتَهي إلَيكَ عَنهُم، وَالسَّلامُ.

the Ḥimyar tribe by the name of al-Ḥuṣain ibn Mālik was with Muʿāwiyah. He would write to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and inform him about the secrets and shortcomings of Muʿāwiyah."[798]

C) Setting Right the Enemies

274. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "He who seeks to set right his enemy will increase his own company."[799]

275. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The perfection of prudence lies in seeking to set right the opponents and acting moderately with the enemy."[800]

D) Peace alongside Awareness

276. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "I found that making peace is more beneficial than fighting, so long as it does not weaken Islam."[801]

E) Warning against Underestimating the Opponents

277. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Do not underestimate any enemy, even if he weakens."[802]

F) Seizing the Opportunity when Attacking the Enemy

278. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Do not attack the enemy before gaining the necessary power."[803]

279. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** from the wise sayings attributed to him: "The most destructive of things to your enemy is that you do not let him know that you have taken him as an enemy."[804]

G) Warning against Torture

280. **Musnad Zaid – narrating from Zaid ibn ʿAlī (a.s.), from his father, from his grandfather about ʿAlī ibn Abi Tālib (a.s.):** "He [ʿAli] said to ʿUmar concerning a pregnant woman who had confessed adultery so ʿUmar ordered her to be stoned: "Perhaps you have shouted at her or frightened her?"

"Umar replied: "That is right."

ʿAli (a.s.) said: "Have you not heard the saying of the Messenger of God (s.a.w.): "There should be no legal punishment for the one who has confessed after being tortured. Indeed the confession of

273. **الفتوح** ـ في ذِكرِ حَربِ صِفّينَ ـ : قَد كانَ مَعَ مُعاوِيَةَ رَجُلٌ مِن حِميَر يُقالُ لَهُ الحُصَينُ بنُ مالِكٍ وكانَ يُكاتِبُ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِبٍ(رضي اللّه عنه)ويَدُلُّهُ عَلىٰ عَوراتِ مُعاوِيَةَ.

ج ـ اِستِصلاحُ الأَعداءِ

274. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: مَنِ استَصلَحَ عَدُوَّهُ زادَ في عَدَدِهِ.

275. **عنه**عليه السلام: كَمالُ الحَزمِ استِصلاحُ الأَضدادِ، ومُداجاةُ الأَعداءِ.

د ـ المُسالَمَةُ مَعَ الوَعي

276. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: وَجَدتُ المُسالَمَةَ ما لَم يَكُن وَهنٌ فِي الإسلامِ أنجَعَ مِنَ القِتالِ.

هـ ـ التَّحذيرُ مِنِ استِصغارِ الخَصمِ

277. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: لا تَستَصغِرَنَّ عَدُوّاً وإن ضَعُفَ.

و ـ اِنتِهازُ الفُرصَةِ في مُواجَهَةِ الأَعداءِ

278. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: لا تُوقِع بِالعَدُوِّ قَبلَ القُدرَةِ.

279. **عنه**عليه السلام ـ في الحِكَمِ المَنسوبَةِ إلَيهِ ـ : أقتَلُ الأَشياءِ لِعَدُوِّكَ ألّا تُعَرِّفَهُ أنَّكَ اتَّخَذتَهُ عَدُوّاً.

ز ـ التَّحذيرُ مِنَ التَّعذيبِ

280. **مسند زيد عن زيد بن عليّ عن أبيه عن جدّه عن الإمام عليّ**عليهم السلام أنَّهُ قالَ لِعُمَرَ فِي امرَأَةٍ حامِلٍ اِعتَرَفَت بِالفُجورِ فَأَمَرَ بِها أن تُرجَمَ ـ : فَلَعَلَّكَ انتَهَرتَها أو أخَفتَها؟ قالَ: قَد كانَ ذلِكَ، فَقالَ: أوَما سَمِعتَ رَسولَ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ: لا حَدَّ عَلىٰ مُعتَرِفٍ بَعدَ بَلاءٍ، إنَّهُ مَن

the person whom you shackle, incarcerate, or threaten is invalid?"

He [the narrator] said: " ʿUmar released the woman, then he said: "Women are unable to give birth to a son like ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. If it was not for ʿAlī, ʿUmar would have perished."[805]

H) Gentleness as long as There is No Conspiracy

281. **Al-Amwāl, narrating from Kathīr ibn Nimr, who said:** A man brought another man from the Khawārij to ʿAlī and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, I saw this person reviling you. He (a.s.) said: "So revile him as he reviled me." He said: "He has also threatened you?" ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "I will not kill someone who has not fought against me." ʿAlī then said: "people have three rights against us: not to prevent them from going to the mosques to remember Allah, not to deprive them of public assets as long as their hands are in our hands, and that we must not fight them until they fight us."[806]

I) Banishing the Conspirers

282. **Al-Ghārāt,** narrating from Saʿīd al-Ashʿarī, who said: "When ʿAlī left for al-Nahrawān, he appointed a man from the al-Nakhaʿ tribe by the name of Hānī ibn Hawdhah; he wrote to ʿAlī (a.s.): "Ghanī and Bāhila [two groups] have created disturbance and prayed to Allah against you that your enemy gain victory over you." Saʿīd then said: "So ʿAlī wrote to him saying: "Expel them from Kūfah and let no one of them stay therein."[807]

قَيَّدتَ أو حَبَستَ أو تَهَدَّدتَ فلا إقرارَ لَهُ. قالَ: فَخَلّىٰ عُمَرُ سَبيلَها، ثُمَّ قالَ: عَجَزَتِ النِّساءُ أن تَلِدَ مِثلَ عَليِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ، لَولا عَليٌّ لَهَلَكَ عُمَرُ.

ح ـ الرِّفقُ ما لَم يَكُن تَآمُراً

281. **الأموال عن كثير بن نَمِر:** جاءَ رَجُلٌ بِرَجُل مِنَ الخَوارِجِ إلى عَليٍّ، فَقالَ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، إنّي وَجَدتُ هٰذا يَسُبُّكَ، قالَ: فَسُبَّهُ كَما سَبَّني. قالَ: ويَتَوَعَّدُكَ ؟فَقالَ: لا أقتُلُ مَن لَم يَقتُلني، قالَ عَليٌّ: لَهُم عَلَينا ثَلاثٌ: أن لا نَمنَعَهُمُ المَساجِدَ أن يَذكُروا اللّهَ فيها، وأن لا نَمنَعَهُمُ الفَيءَ ما دامَت أيديهِم مَعَ أيدينا، وأن لا نُقاتِلَهُم حَتّىٰ يُقاتِلونا.

ط ـ إجلاءُ المُتَآمِرينَ

282. **الغارات عن سعيد الأَشعَريّ:** اِستَخلَفَ عَليٌّ عليه السلام حينَ سارَ إلَى النَّهرَوانِ رَجُلاً مِنَ النَّخَعِ يُقالُ لَهُ: هانِي بنُ هَوذَةَ، فَكَتَبَ إلى عَليٍّ عليه السلام: إنَّ غَنيّاً وباهِلَةَ فَتَنوا، فَدَعَوُا اللّهَ عَلَيكَ أن يَظفِرَ بِكَ عَدُوَّكَ، قالَ: فَكَتَبَ إلَيهِ عَليٌّ عليه السلام: أجلِهِم مِنَ الكوفَةِ ولا تَدَع مِنهُم أحَداً.

Chapter Nine

Military Policies

A) Attention to Military Training

i) Teaching the Army

283. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr when he assigned him as a vanguard of his army to Ṣiffīn: "Know that the vanguards of an army serve as their eyes and the eyes of the vanguard are their forerunners. Therefore when you leave your town and approach the enemy you should not feel weary to search for them because the informers are everywhere and in some of the defiles, woods, and secret places as well as every area so [be on your guard] that your enemies will not raid you or lay trap for you.

Do not make the battalions and tribes proceed from morning to evening unless you want to mobilize them, so that when a matter occurs or a trouble befalls you are already mobilized for it.

Your camp should be upon heights, slopes of the mountains, or in between rivers so that they will form fortresses for you and will prevent your enemies from reaching you. Your fighting should be from one or two fronts. Order the vanguards to settle on the summits of mountains, heights and on the edges of rivers. They should oversee for you so that the enemies will not attack you from a fearful or secured place.

الفصل التاسع

السِّياسَةُ الحَربِيَّةُ

أ ـ الاِهتِمامُ بِالتَّدريبِ العَسكَرِيِّ

1. تَعليمُ الجَيشِ

283. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ مِن وَصِيَّتِهِ لِزيادِ بنِ النَّضرِ حينَ أنفَذَهُ عَلىٰ مُقَدِّمَتِهِ إلى صِفّينَ ـ : اِعلَم أنَّ مُقَدِّمَةَ القَومِ عُيونُهُم، وعُيونُ المُقَدِّمَةِ طَلائِعُهُم، فَإذا أنتَ خَرَجتَ مِن بِلادِكَ ودَنَوتَ مِن عَدُوِّكَ فَلا تَسأَم مِن تَوجيهِ الطَّلائِعِ في كُلِّ ناحِيَةٍ، وفي بَعضِ الشِّعابِ وَالشَّجَرِ وَالخَمَرِ، وفي كُلِّ جانِبٍ، حَتّىٰ لا يُغيرَكُم عَدُوُّكُم، ويَكونَ لَكُم كَمينٌ.

ولا تُسَيِّرِ الكَتائِبَ وَالقَبائِلَ مِن لَدُنِ الصَّباحِ إلَى المَساءِ إلّا تَعبِيَةً، فَإن دَهَمَكُم أمرٌ أو غَشِيَكُم مَكروهٌ كُنتُم قَد تَقَدَّمتُم فِي التَّعبِيَةِ.

وإذا نَزَلتُم بِعَدُوٍّ أو نَزَلَ بِكُم فَليَكُن مُعَسكَرُكُم في أقبالِ الأَشرافِ، أو في سِفاحِ الجِبالِ، أو أثناءِ الأَنهارِ؛ كَيما تَكونَ لَكُم رِدءاً ودُونَكُم مَرَدّاً. وَلتَكُن مُقاتَلَتُكُم مِن وَجه واحِدٍ وَاثنَينِ.

وَاجعَلوا رُقَباءَكُم في صَياصِي الجِبالِ، وبِأَعلَى الأَشرافِ، وبِمَناكِبِ الأَنهارِ؛ يُرينونَ لَكُم؛ لِئَلّا يَأتِيَكُم عَدُوٌّ مِن مَكانِ مَخافَةٍ أو أمنٍ.

If you want to reside, you should reside collectively and when you want to continue your march, you should continue collectively. When you reside at night, you should encompass your camp with spears and armors. Put the archers behind the carriers of armors so that you will not be taken by surprise or inattentively.

Guard your army yourself. Beware, you should not sleep unbrokenly and should not pass a night with deep sleep. You should keep up this method until you meet your enemy.

You should be careful and deliberate in fighting. Beware of hasting unless a good opportunity arises for you. Do not fight before the enemy attacks you or you receive my order. Peace and God's mercy be upon you."[808]

ii) Organising the Army

284. **Daʿā'im al-Islām:** "When he advanced forward to fight, he would arrange the troops to the left, the right and the middle flanks, with himself stationed in the middle. He would appoint liaisons for them, would send forth vanguards and would order them to lower their voices, to pray, to have their hearts united, to draw their swords, to display their power. He would also order every group to be stationed in their own positions and that everyone who would make a raid should return to his position after the raid."[809]

iii) Seizing the Opportunity

285. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in describing fighting: "He who notices an opportunity against the enemy should raid on him and take advantage of the opportunity, after strengthening his position. When his goal is achieved, he should return to his position."[810]

iv) Tactical Withdrawal

286. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** to his companions at the time of war: "Take care not to underestimate an attack after a retreat, or a withdrawal after an assault."[811]

وإذا نَزَلتُم فَانزِلوا جَميعاً، وإذا رَحَلتُم فَارحَلوا جَميعاً، وإذا غَشِيَكُمُ اللَّيلُ فَنَزَلتُم فَحُفّوا عَسكَرَكُم بِالرِّماحِ وَالتُّرسَةِ، وَاجعَلوا رُماتَكُم يَلوونَ تِرَستَكُم؛ كَيلا تُصابَ لَكُم غِرَّةٌ، ولا تُلقىٰ لَكُم غَفلَةٌ.

وَاحرُس عَسكَرَكَ بِنَفسِكَ، وإيّاكَ أن تَرقُدَ أو تُصبِحَ إلّا غِراراً أو مَضمَضَةً. ثُمَّ لِيَكُن ذلِكَ شَأنَكَ ودَأبَكَ حَتّىٰ تَنتَهِيَ إلىٰ عَدُوِّكَ.

وعَلَيكَ بِالتَّأَنّي في حَربِكَ، وإيّاكَ والعَجَلَةَ إلّا أن تُمكِنَكَ فُرصَةٌ. وإيّاكَ أن تُقاتِلَ إلّا أن يَبدَؤوكَ، أو يَأتِيَكَ أمري. وَالسَّلامُ عَلَيكَ ورَحمَةُ اللّهِ.

2. تَنظيمُ الجَيشِ

284. **دعائم الإسلام:** إنَّهُ [عليّاً عليه السلام] كانَ إذا زَحَفَ لِلقِتالِ جَعَلَ مَيمَنَةً وميسَرَةً وقَلباً يَكونُ هُوَ فيهِ، ويَجعَلُ لَها رَوابِطُ، ويُقَدِّمُ عَلَيها مُقَدَّمينَ، ويَأمُرُهُم بِخَفضِ الأَصواتِ، وَالدُّعاءِ، وَاجتِماعِ القُلوبِ، وشَهرِ السُّيوفِ، وإظهارِ العِدَّةِ، ولُزومِ كُلِّ قَومٍ مَكانَهُم، ورُجوعِ كُلِّ مَن حَمَلَ إلىٰ مَصافِّهِ بَعدَ الحَملَةِ.

3. إنتِهازُ الفُرصَةِ

285. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ في وَصفِ القِتالِ ـ : مَن رَأى فُرصَةً مِنَ العَدُوِّ فَلينشُز، وَلينتَهِزِ الفُرصَةَ بَعدَ إحكامِ مَركَزِهِ، فَإذا قَضى حاجَتَهُ عادَ إلَيهِ.

4. الإنسِحابُ التّاكتيكيّ

286. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ كانَ يَقولُ لِأَصحابِهِ عِندَ الحَربِ ـ : لا تَشتَدَّنَّ عَلَيكُم فَرَّةٌ بَعدَها كَرَّةٌ، ولا جَولَةٌ بَعدَها حَملَةٌ.

B) Establishing Special Forces

287. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "The special forces (*Shurṭat al-Khamīs*)[812]] were six thousand men of his supporters."[813]

288. **Rijāl al-Kashshī,** narrating from Abū al-Jārūd who said: "I said to al-Aṣbagh ibn Nubātah: "What was the status of this man [Imāmʿ Alī (a.s.)] among you?" I said: "I do not understand what you mean! However, our swords were drawn on our shoulders; whoever he pointed to we would hit them with it. He would say to us: "Fasten to the covenant, for by Allah your covenant is not for the sake of gold or silver, nor is your pact for anything else other than death. A group before you [from the Israelites] made a covenant between themselves and no one died of them but that he was a prophet to his folk, or a prophet to his village, or a prophet to himself. You are indeed of the same status as they were, except that you are not prophets."[814]

C) Special Concern for the Armed Forces

289. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to Mālik al-Ashtar: "Then Inspect the affairs of the soldiers as parents inspect their own child. Never let anything through which you have strengthened them distress you and do not underestimate the kindness you have undertaken for them even if it were small, for it will invite them to counsel you sincerely and trust you. Do not leave out attending to their minor affairs while depending upon (the examination of) the great matters because your small favours will also be of benefits to them as the big ones are also such that they cannot do without."[815]

D) Attention to the Army's Spirit

i) Encouragement

290. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his instructions to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah, when he gave him the banner on the day of the Battle of Camel: "Mountains may move from their positions, but

ب ـ تَأسيسُ القُوّاتِ الخاصَّةِ

287. **الإمام الصادق**عليه السلام: كانوا ـ شُرطَةُ الخَميسِ ـ سِتَّةَ آلافِ رَجُلٍ أنصارُهُ [أي عَلِيّعليه السلام].

288. **رجال الكشّي عن أبي الجارود:** قُلتُ لِلأَصبَغِ بنِ نُباتَةَ: ما كانَ مَنزِلَةُ هذَا الرَّجُلِ [عَلِيٌّعليه السلام] فيكُم؟ قالَ: ما أدري ما تَقولُ! إلّا أنَّ سُيوفَنا كانَت عَلى عَواتِقِنا، فَمَن أومىٰ إلَيهِ ضَرَبناهُ بِها. وكانَ يَقولُ لَنا: تَشَرَّطوا، فَوَاللّهِ مَا اشتِراطُكُم لِذَهَبٍ ولا لِفِضَّةٍ، ومَا اشتِراطُكُم إلّا لِلمَوتِ، إنَّ قَوماً مِن قَبلِكُم مِن [بَني إسرائيلَ] تَشارَطوا بَينَهُم، فَما ماتَ أحَدٌ مِنهُم حَتّىٰ كانَ نَبِيَّ قَومِهِ، أو نَبِيَّ قَريَتِهِ، أو نَبِيَّ نَفسِهِ، وإنَّكُم لَبِمَنزِلَتِهِم، غَيرَ أنَّكُم لَستُم بِأَنبِياءَ.

ج ـ العِنايَةُ الخاصَّةُ بِالقُواتِ المُسَلَّحَةِ

289. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في عَهدِهِ إلى مالِك الأَشتَرِ ـ: ثُمَّ تَفَقَّد مِن أُمورِهِم ما يَتَفَقَّدُهُ الوالِدانِ مِن وَلَدِهِما، ولا يَتَفاقَمَنَّ في نَفسِكَ شَيءٌ قَوَّيتَهُم بِهِ. ولا تَحقِرَنَّ لُطفاً تَعاهَدتَهُم بِهِ وإن قَلَّ؛ فَإِنَّهُ داعِيَةٌ لَهُم إلىٰ بَذلِ النَّصيحَةِ لَكَ، وحُسنِ الظَّنِّ بِكَ. ولا تَدَع تَفَقُّدَ لَطيفِ أُمورِهِمُ اتِّكالاً عَلىٰ جَسيمِها؛ فَإِنَّ لِليَسيرِ مِن لُطفِكَ مَوضِعاً يَنتَفِعونَ بِهِ، ولِلجَسيمِ مَوقِعاً لا يَستَغنونَ عَنهُ.

د ـ الاِهتِمامُ بِمَعنَوِيّاتِ الجَيشِ

1. التَّحريض

290. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ مِن كَلام لَهُعليه السلام لِابنِهِ مُحَمَّدِ بنِ الحَنَفِيَّةِ لَمّا أعطاهُ الرّايَةَ يَومَ الجَمَلِ ـ: تَزولُ الجِبالُ ولا تَزُل، عَضَّ عَلى ناجِذِكَ. أعِرِ اللّهَ جُمجُمَتَكَ. تِد فِي الأَرضِ قَدَمَكَ. ارمِ

you should not move from yours. Grit your teeth and lend your head to Allah [in fighting and sacrificing yourself for Allah]. Fix your feet firmly on the ground, fix your eye on the remotest foe, close your eyes [to their majority] and be sure that help is only from Allah the Glorified."[816]

ii) Slogan

291. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) commanded us to bear slogan before war, saying: Let your slogans include one of the names of Allah."[817]

iii) Warning against Fleeing

292. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The escapee (from the battle) should know that he has infuriated God and has destroyed himself. Verily in escaping there is hostility towards God, perpetual degradation, eternal disgrace and depravity of life. The escapee will not prolong his life, nor will there come an interval between him and the day he is destined to die, nor will he please God. A man's death in honesty and truthfulness before committing such a practice [escape from battle] is better than good pleasure with, and pursuance of, such practices."[818]

E) Deception

293. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "'Alī (a.s.) would say: "Being snatched the way by the birds is better for me than attributing to the Messenger of God (s.a.w.) something that he has not said. I heard the Prophet (s.a.w.) say on the day of [the battle of] Khandaq: "War is a deception. He would say: "Speak in any way you wish (when in battle)."[819]

294. **Al-Kāfī, narrating from ʿAdī ibn Ḥātam who said:** "When the Commander of the Faithful confronted Muāwiya in Siffin, he raised his voice so that his companions could hear him and he said: "By God, I will kill Muāwiya and his companions!" Then he lowered his voice and said: "If God wills!"

بِبَصَرِكَ أقصَى القَومِ، وغُضَّ بَصَرَكَ، وَاعلَم أنَّ النَّصرَ مِن عِندِ اللّهِ سُبحانَهُ.

2. الشِّعار

291. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: إنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله أمَرَ بِإعلانِ الشِّعارِ قَبلَ الحَربِ، وقالَ: لِيَكُن في شِعارِكُمُ اسمٌ مِن أسماءِ اللّهِ.

3. التَّحذيرُ مِنَ الفِرارِ

292. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: لِيَعلَمِ المُنهَزِمُ بِأنَّهُ مُسخِطٌ رَبَّهُ، وموبِقٌ نَفسَهُ، إنَّ فِي الفِرارِ مَوجِدَةَ اللّهِ، وَالذُّلَّ اللّازِمَ، وَالعارَ الباقِيَ، وفَسادَ العَيشِ عَلَيهِ. وإنَّ الفارَّ لَغَيرُ مَزيدٍ في عُمُرِهِ، ولا مَحجوزٌ بَينَهُ وبَينَ يَومِهِ، ولا يُرضي رَبَّهُ. ولَموتُ الرَّجُلِ مَحقاً قَبلَ إتيانِ هذِهِ الخِصالِ خَيرٌ مِنَ الرِّضىٰ بِالتَّلبيسِ بِها، وَالإقرارِ عَلَيها!

هـ ـ الخُدعَة

293. **الإمام الباقر**عليه السلام: إنّ عَلِيّاًعليه السلام كانَ يَقولُ: لَأَن تَخَطَّفَنِي الطَّيرُ أحَبُّ إلَيَّ مِن أن أقولَ عَلى رَسولِ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله ما لَم يَقُل، سَمِعتُ رَسولَ اللّهِصلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ في يَومِ الخَندَقِ: الحَربُ خُدعَةٌ. يَقولُ: تَكَلَّموا بِما أرَدتُم.

294. **الكافي عن عَدِيّ بن حاتِم**: إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَعليه السلام قالَ يَومَ التقى هُوَ ومُعاوِيَةُ بِصِفّينَ ـ ورَفَع بِها صَوتَه لِيُسمِعَ أصحابَهُ ـ: وَاللّهِ لَأَقتُلَنَّ مُعاوِيَةَ وأصحابَهُ، ثُمَّ يَقولُ في آخِرِ قَولِهِ: إن شاءَ اللّهُ يَخفِضُ بِها صَوتَهُ ـ.

وكُنتُ قَريباً مِنهُ، فَقُلتُ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ إنَّكَ حَلَفتَ عَلى ما فَعَلتَ، ثُمَّ استَثنَيتَ،

I was near him so I said to him: "O Commander of the Faithful! You have truly sworn to do it and then you said 'if God wills'. What did you mean by this?"

He said: "War is a deception and I am not a liar in the sight of the faithful. I wanted to incite my followers and encourage them not to show weakness and to fight the enemy. Therefore, in future the wisest of them will benefit from this word. God willing."[820]

F) The Morals of War

i) Prohibition of Initiating a War

295. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Mālik al-Ashtar before the Battle of Ṣiffīn: "Beware of beginning war with the people unless they start fighting you, until you encounter them and hear from them. Do not let their evil prompt you to fighting them before inviting them [to guidance] and seeking an excuse from them time after another."[821]

ii) Political Immunity of Envoys

296. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "If you triumph over a man of the enemy and he claims to be an envoy to you, then if his claim is proven and he brings what substantiates it, then do not hurt him until he delivers his message and returns to his comrades; but if you find no proof to his claim, do not accept his words."[822]

iii) Furnishing the Argument before Fighting

297. **Al-Sunan al-Kubrā,** narrating from al-Barāʾ ibn ʿĀzib, who said: "'Alī (a.s.) sent me to the River [al-Nahrawān] to speak to the Khawārij, so I invited them [to guidance] three times before fighting them."[823]

iv) Supplication before War

298. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "Whenever the Commander of the Faithful set out for a battle, he would recite the following supplication: "O God! Verily, You showed one of Your paths, put

فَما أرَدتَ بِذٰلِكَ ؟! فَقالَ لي: إنَّ الحَربَ خُدعَةٌ، وأنَا عِندَ المُؤمِنينَ غَيرُ كَذوبٍ، فَأَرَدتُ أن أُحَرِّض أصحابي عَلَيهِم؛ كَيلا يَفشَلوا، وكَي يَطمَعوا فيهِم، فَأَفقَهُهُم يَنتَفِعُ بِها بَعدَ اليَومِ إن شاءَ اللّهُ.

و ـ أخلاقُ الحَربِ

1. النَّهيُ عَنِ الإبتِداءِ بِالقِتالِ

295. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في كِتابِهِ إلى مالِك الأَشتَرِ قَبلَ وَقعَةِ صِفّينَ ـ : إيّاكَ أن تَبدَأ القَومَ بِقِتالٍ إلّا أن يَبدَؤوكَ، حَتّىٰ تَلقاهُم، وتَسمَعَ مِنهُم، ولا يَجرِمَنَّكَ شَنَآنُهُم عَلىٰ قِتالِهِم قَبلَ دُعائِهِم وَالإعذارِ إلَيهِم مَرَّةً بَعدَ مَرَّةٍ!

2. الحَصانَةُ السِّياسِيَّةُ لِلرُّسُلِ

296. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: إن ظَفِرتُم بِرَجُلٍ مِن أهلِ الحَربِ فَزَعَمَ أنَّهُ رَسولٌ إلَيكُم؛ فَإن عُرِفَ ذٰلِكَ مِنهُ وجاءَ بِما يَدُلُّ عَلَيهِ فَلا سَبيلَ لَكُم عَلَيهِ حَتّى يُبلِغَ رِسالاتِهِ ويَرجِعَ إلىٰ أصحابِهِ، وإن لَم تَجِدوا عَلى قَولِهِ دَليلاً فَلا تَقبَلوا مِنهُ.

3. إقامَةُ الحُجَّةِ قَبلَ الحَربِ

297. **السنن الكبرى عن البَراءِ بن عازِب**: بَعَثَني عَلِيٌّ(رضي اللّهُ عنه) إلَى النَّهرِ إلَى الخَوارِجِ، فَدَعَوتُهُم ثَلاثاً قَبلَ أن نُقاتِلَهُم.

4. الدُّعاءُ إذا أرادَ القِتالَ

298. **الإمام الصادق**عليه السلام: إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام كانَ إذا أرادَ القِتالَ قالَ هٰذِهِ الدَّعَواتِ:

Your satisfaction in it, called Your friends to it and made it the best of Your ways for reward, the noblest for returning [to You] and the most favorable to You as a conduct. Then [in this path], You purchased of the believers their persons and their wealth, that they would gain in return (the Garden) Paradise; they fight in Gos's Cause, and slay and are slain; a true promise binding on You.*

So, place me among those from whom You have bought his soul and he has fulfilled his covenant to You; one of those who did not break a pact, nor violate or alter it; rather, he made it (his sacrifice) in response to Your loving kindness and as a means of approximation to You.

So make it the seal of my affairs and ordain the end of my life in this way. Bestow upon me in it a martyrdom which brings me Your pleasure and removes my blunders. Place me among those who are living and provided for by the enemies and the rebels [through being martyred by them] under the banner of truth and guidance; moving ahead to assist them, not turning his back [on fighting], and nor creating doubts.

O God! I seek refuge in You from cowardice at the time of terror, from indolence at the time of the champions' assault, and from the sins that would ruin my actions. I would thus be enfeebled out of doubt, or pass on without certitude, so my attempts would be futile and my actions unaccepted."[824]

v) Starting the War after Midday

299. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) would not start fighting except after midday. He would say: "At this time the doors of heaven will be open, mercy comes forward and help descends."

He would also say: "This time is closer to the evening, helps reduce murder and helps the warriors to retreat [from chasing the enemy] and the defeated to be saved."[825]

اللّهمَّ إنَّكَ أعلَمتَ سَبيلاً مِن سُبُلِكَ، جَعَلتَ فيهِ رِضاكَ، وَنَدبتَ إلَيهِ أولِياءَكَ، وجَعَلتَهُ أشرَفَ سُبُلِكَ عِندَكَ ثَواباً، وأكرَمَها لَدَيكَ مَآباً، وأحَبَّها إلَيكَ مَسلَكاً، ثُمَّ اشتَرَيتَ فيهِ مِنَ المُؤمِنينَ أنفُسَهُم وأموالَهُم بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ الجَنَّةَ يُقاتِلونَ في سَبيلِ اللّهِ فَيَقتُلونَ ويُقتَلونَ وَعداً عَلَيكَ حَقّاً، فَاجعَلني مِمَّنِ اشتَرى فيهِ مِنكَ نَفسَهُ ثُمَّ وَفىٰ لَكَ بِبَيعِهِ الَّذي بايَعَكَ عَلَيهِ، غَيرَ ناكِثٍ ولا ناقِضِ عَهداً، ولا مُبَدِّلاً تَبديلاً، بَلِ استيجاباً لِمَحَبَّتِكَ، وتَقَرُّباً بِهِ إلَيكَ، فَاجعَلهُ خاتِمَةَ عَمَلي، وصَيِّر فيهِ فَناءَ عُمُري، وَارزُقني فيهِ لَكَ وبِهِ مَشهداً توجِبُ لي بِهِ مِنكَ الرِّضا، وتَحُطُّ بِهِ عَنِّي الخَطايا، وتَجعَلُني فِي الأَحياءِ المَرزوقينَ بِأَيدِي العُداةِ وَالعُصاةِ، تَحتَ لِواءِ الحَقِّ ورايَةِ الهُدى، ماضِياً عَلى نُصرَتِهِم قُدُماً، غَيرَ مُوَلٍّ دُبُراً، ولا مُحدِثٍ شَكّاً، اللّهُمَّ وأعوذُ بِكَ عِندَ ذٰلِكَ مِنَ الجُبنِ عِندَ مَوارِدِ الأَهوالِ، ومِنَ الضَّعفِ عِندَ مُساوَرَةِ الأَبطالِ، ومِنَ الذَّنبِ المُحبِطِ لِلأَعمالِ، فَأُحجِمَ مَن شَكَّ، أو أمضِيَ بِغَيرِ يَقينٍ، فَيَكونُ سَعيي في تَبابٍ، وعَمَلي غَيرَ مَقبولٍ.

5. البَدءُ بِالقِتالِ بَعدَ الزَّوالِ

299. **الإمام الصادق**عليه السلام: كانَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ لا يُقاتِلُ حَتّىٰ تَزولَ الشَّمسُ ويَقولُ: تُفتَحُ أبوابُ السَّماءِ، وتُقبِلُ الرَّحمَةُ، ويَنزِلُ النَّصرُ. ويَقولُ: هُوَ أقرَبُ إلَى اللَّيلِ، وأجدَرُ أن يَقِلَّ القَتلُ، ويَرجِعَ الطّالِبُ، ويُفلِتَ المُنهَزِمُ.

vi) Good Conduct with Prisoners

300. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī,** narrating from Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, who said: "The first person to teach Muslims how to fight was ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib; he would not kill a prisoner, nor pursue one who flees, nor finish off someone who is wounded."[826]

6. حُسنُ المُعامَلَةِ مَعَ بقَايَا العَدُوِّ

300. **تاريخ اليعقوبي عن إسماعيل بن عليّ:** إنَّ أوَّلَ مَن عَلَّمَ قِتالَ أهلِ القِبلَةِ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ، ولم يَكُن يَقتُلُ أسيراً، ولا يَتبَعُ مُنهَزِماً، ولا يُجهِزُ عَلى جَريحٍ.

Chapter Ten

International Policies

A) Causes of Perpetuity of Governments

i) Establishing Justice

301. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Whoever acts according to justice, Allah will fortify his rulership."[827]

302. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The stability of a government lies in justice."[828]

303. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Allah the Almighty made justice as a source of stability for the people, an immunity from oppressions and sins and a means for the implementation of Islam."[829]

304. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "When the subjects fulfill the rights of the ruler and the ruler fulfils their rights, then the right will attain the position of honor among them, the ways of religion be established, signs of justice fixed and the sunna practised. In light of this, time [life] will improve, the perpetuity of government will be expected and the covets of the enemies will be frustrated."[830]

ii) Good Management

305. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "He whose policy is good, his chieftainship will last."[831]

306. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Good policy brings in virtuous propriety."[832]

الفصل العاشر
السِّياسَةُ الدَّولِيَّةُ

أ ـ ما يُوجِبُ بَقاءَ الدُّوَلِ

1. إقامَةُ العَدلِ

301. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: مَن عَمِلَ بِالعَدلِ حَصَّنَ اللّهُ مُلكَهُ.

302. **عنه**عليه السلام: ثَباتُ المُلكِ فِي العَدلِ.

303. **عنه**عليه السلام: جَعَلَ اللّهُ سُبحانَهُ العَدلَ قِواماً لِلأَنامِ، وتَنزيهاً مِنَ المَظالِمِ وَالآثامِ، وتَسنِيَةً لِلإسلامِ.

304. **عنه**عليه السلام: إذا أدَّتِ الرَّعِيَّةُ إلَى الوالي حَقَّهُ، وأدَّى الوالي إلَيها حَقَّها عَزَّ الحَقُّ بَينَهُم، وقامَت مَناهِجُ الدّينِ، وَاعتَدَلَت مَعالِمُ العَدلِ، وجَرَت عَلى أذلالِهَا السُّنَنُ، فَصَلَحَ بِذلِكَ الزَّمانُ، وطُمِعَ في بَقاءِ الدَّولَةِ، ويَئِسَت مَطامِعُ الأَعداءِ.

2. حُسنُ التَّدبيرِ

305. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: مَن حَسُنَت سِياسَتُهُ دامَت رِياسَتُهُ.

306. **عنه**عليه السلام: بِحُسنِ السِّياسَةِ يَكونُ الأَدَبُ الصّالِحُ.

iii) Good Conduct

307. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Good conduct is an expression for the beauty of power and the fort of rulership."[833]

iv) Vigilance in Monitoring the Affairs

308. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "One of the signs of [the perpetuity of] a government is vigilance in monitoring the affairs."[834]

B) Causes of decline of Governments

i) Oppression

309. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The worst ruler is he who oppresses his subjects."[835]

310. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "He who oppresses his subjects has thereby helped his opponents."[836]

311. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** to Ziyād ibn Abīh: "Employ justice, and beware of tyranny and injustice, for tyranny results in vagrancy and injustice brings in the sword [war]."[837]

ii) Mismanagement

312. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Mismanagement is the cause of destruction."[838]

313. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "There are four factors of decline: mismanagement, evil wasting, lack of taking lessons, and too much apology."[839]

iii) Monopolization

314. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** from the wise saying attributed to him: "Monopolization causes envy; envy causes hatred; hatred causes differences; differences causes disunity; disunity causes weakness; weakness causes humiliation; humiliation causes the decline of a government and the disappearance of blessings."[840]

v) Negligence of Principles

315. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "There are four factors for decline of goverments: negligence of principles, adherence to branches, giving

3. حُسنُ السّيرَةِ

307. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: حُسنُ السّيرَةِ جَمالُ القُدرَةِ، وحِصنُ الإمرَةِ.

4. اليَقَظَةُ لِحِراسَةِ الأُمورِ

308. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: مِن أماراتِ الدَّولَةِ اليَقَظَةُ لِحِراسَةِ الأُمورِ.

ب ـ ما يوجِبُ زَوالَ الدُّوَلِ

1. الظُّلمِ

309. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: شَرُّ الأُمَراءِ مَن ظَلَمَ رَعِيَّتَهُ.

310. **عنه**عليه السلام: مَن ظَلَمَ رَعِيَّتَهُ نَصَرَ أضدادَهُ.

311. **عنه**عليه السلام ـ لِزِيادِ بنِ أبيهِ ـ : اِستَعمِلِ العَدلَ، وَاحذَرِ العَسفَ وَالحَيفَ؛ فَإنَّ العَسفَ يَعودُ بِالجَلاءِ، وَالحَيفَ يَدعو إلَى السَّيفِ.

2. سوءُ التَّدبيرِ

312. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: سوءُ التَّدبيرِ سَبَبُ التَّدميرِ.

313. **عنه**عليه السلام: يُستَدَلُّ عَلَى الإدبارِ بِأربَعٍ: سوءِ التَّدبيرِ، وقُبحِ التَّبذيرِ، وقِلَّةِ الاِعتِبارِ، وكَثرَةِ الاِعتِذارِ.

3. الاِستِئثار

314. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ فِي الحِكَمِ المَنسوبَةِ إلَيهِ ـ : الاِستِئثارُ يوجِبُ الحَسَدَ، وَالحَسَدُ يوجِبُ البِغضَةَ، وَالبِغضَةُ توجِبُ الاِختِلافَ، وَالاِختِلافُ يوجِبُ الفُرقَةَ، وَالفُرقَةُ توجِبُ الضَّعفَ، وَالضَّعفُ يوجِبُ الذُّلَّ، وَالذُّلُّ يوجِبُ زَوالَ الدَّولَةِ وذَهابَ النِّعمَةِ.

4. تَضييعُ الأُصولِ

315. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: يُستَدَلُّ عَلى إدبارِ الدُّوَلِ بِأربَعٍ: تَضييعِ الأُصولِ، وَالتَّمَسُّكِ بِالفُروعِ،

preference to the wicked, and setting aside very excellent men."[841]

C) Guidelines in Social and Political Relations

i) Treating People like Oneself

316. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his recommendations to his son Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah: "My son! Do good to all people as you like good to be done to you and long for others what you would long for yourself. Consider as ignoble for yourself that which you consider as ignoble for others. Be amiable to all people so that when you are away they would be looking forward to your return and when you die they would weep for you and say: "*Indeed we belong to God, and to Him do we indeed return.*" Do not be like those about whom when they die, people would say: "All praise belongs to God, Lord of all the worlds.."[842]

ii) Refraining from Animosity

317. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "Refrain from.....malice in the heart, hatred in the chest, turning away (from each other's help) and withholding the hand from one another's assistance."[843]

318. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "The peak of ignorance is enmity towards people."[844]

iii) Fulfilling Promises

319. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "O people! Indeed loyalty is the twin of truthfulness. I do not know a shield [against the assaults of sin] better than it. He who knows the reality of the return [the hereafter] will never betray. We live in a time where most of people regard betrayal as wisdom, and the folk of ignorance attribute it to good cunningness."[845]

iv) Cultural Independence

320. **Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said:** "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) would say: "This ummah never ceases to be good as long as it does not wear the clothes of foreigners nor does it eat the food of foreigners; if they do so, God will inflict disgrace upon them."[846]

وتَقديمِ الأَراذِلِ، وتَأخيرِ الأَفاضِلِ.

ج ـ إرشاداتٌ فِي العَلاقاتِ الإجتِماعِيَّةِ وَالسِّياسِيَّةِ

1. قِياسُ النّاسِ بِالنَّفسِ

316. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في وَصِيَّتِهِ لِابنِهِ مُحَمَّدِ بنِ الحَنَفِيَّةِ ـ: يا بُنَيَّ!... أحسِن إلى جَميعِ النّاسِ كَما تُحِبُّ أن يُحسَنَ إلَيكَ، وَارضَ لَهُم ما تَرضاهُ لِنَفسِكَ، وَاستَقبِح مِن نَفسِكَ ما تَستَقبِحُهُ مِن غَيرِكَ، وحَسِّن مَعَ جَميعِ النّاسِ خُلُقَكَ، حَتّىٰ إذا غِبتَ عَنهُم حَنّوا إلَيكَ، وإذا مِتَّ بَكَوا عَلَيكَ. وقالوا: إنّا لِلّهِ وإنّا إلَيهِ راجِعونَ، ولا تَكُن مِنَ الَّذين يُقالُ عِندَ مَوتِهِ: الحَمدُ للّهِ رَبِّ العالَمينَ.

2. التَّجَنُّبُ مِنَ المُعاداةِ

317. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: اِجتَنِبوا... مِن تَضاغُنِ القُلوبِ، وتَشاحُنِ الصُّدورِ، وتَدابُرِ النُّفوسِ، وتَخاذُلِ الأَيدي.

318. **عنه**عليه السلام: رَأسُ الجَهلِ مُعاداةُ النّاسِ.

3. الوَفاءُ بِالعَهدِ

319. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام: أيُّهَا النّاسُ! وإنَّ الوَفاءَ تَوأَمُ الصِّدقِ، ولا أعلَمُ جُنَّةً أوقى مِنهُ، وما يَغدِرُ مَن عَلِمَ كَيفَ المَرجِعُ، ولَقَد أصبَحنا في زَمانٍ قَدِ اتَّخَذَ أكثَرُ أهلِهِ الغَدرَ كَيساً، ونَسَبَهُم أهلُ الجَهلِ فيهِ إلى حُسنِ الحيلَةِ.

4. الإستِقلالُ الثَّقافِيُّ

320. **الإمام الصادق**عليه السلام: كانَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَعليه السلام يَقولُ: لا تَزالُ هذِهِ الأُمَّةُ بِخَيرٍ ما لَم يَلبَسوا لِباسَ العَجَمِ، ويَطعَموا أطعِمَةَ العَجَمِ، فَإذا فَعَلوا ذٰلِكَ ضَرَبَهُم اللّهُ بِالذُّلِّ.

Part Six:
The Wars of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

Chapter One: The First War: The Battle of the Camel

Chapter Two: The Second War: The Battle of Ṣiffīn

Chapter Three: The Third War: The Battle of al-Nahrawān

Introduction

A General Look at the Wars of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) took charge of the Caliphate after the people threw themselves at him and insisted on his assumption of power. So he clearly explained his policy in ruling in his first sublime sermon. In it he mentioned that he would not allow any distinctions that have no basis in Islam, and that he would bring about a radical change in the society. He would eradicate any preferences or false distinctions in all aspects of the society, because they all were among the signs of the Age of Ignorance.

It is clear that many could not stand that equality and they were angry at losing their status and privileges. Those who were responsible for the attacking of ʿUthmān spared no effort to hunt a position for themselves. Such revolutionary policy was not tolerated by the self-seekers and opportunists who had control over the ummah and prepared themselves to do anything without caring about the central government.

Hence, it was only a few days after the beginning of the government of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) that these confrontations began. The pretences and excuses started to come out and pour over the five years –which is the duration of the Imām's government– with rains of war and blood.

If we look at the roots of these confrontations, especially by the people of al-Jamal and al-Nahrawān, we will see that these were extremely hard and dangerous. The Imām (a.s.) would assert on many occasions, saying: "If I were not among you, the people of al-Jamal and the people of al-Nahrawān would not have been fought."[847]

He (a.s.) also said: "I have pulled out the eye of dissension; no one except me advanced towards it when its gloom was swelling and its madness was intense."[848]

Who was able to see through this dark cloud of corrupt thoughts, total ignorance and complex polytheism, under such sparkling and delusive titles as: the companions, the predecessors, the faces of the ignorant ascetics?! Who was able to uproot these people and eradicate them?!

What Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) had to do was indeed difficult, and the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) saw all of this in the mirror of time, when he said to him: "You will fight over the interpretation [of the Qur'ān] in the same way I fought over its revelation." He also said: "'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is my brother and my vicegerent. After me he will fight for the interpretation of the Qur'ān in the same way I fought over its revelation." He even revealed the identity of the instigators of the wars against the Imām, saying: "By Allah, this ['Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib] is the killer of the Qāsiṭīn (the Unjust), the Nākithīn (the Allegiane-Breakers) and the Māriqīn (the Renegade) after me."

A number of the companions used to speak about this reality before Imām 'Ali (a.s.) came to power.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was responsible for the communication of religion, and he had also had to make clear what will happen to this ummah in the future, because his religion is distinguished by eternality. He would inform of these clashes and tell people about those who would ignite the fire of dissension, as previously mentioned, so he counted them among the people of falsity. He (ṣ.a.w.) exposed them and asserted that they were a band of trouble makers, saying: "O 'Alī, the oppressive group will fight you, and you will be on the right side, so whoever does not help you at that time is not of me."[849]

From another perspective, he (ṣ.a.w.) announced to everyone the rightfulness and uprightness of the Imām (a.s.) in his wars, after praising the personality of the Imām and emphasising that he is with the truth and the truth is with him.[850] He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "You.... will fight for my sunnah"[851], "The war of 'Alī is the war of Allah"[852], "Your war is my war"[853], "War against you is war against me and peace with you is peace with me."[854] There are many more such traditions.

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) expressed through all that the divine status of the Imam in order to clarify for the future the reality of the individuals and practises and to manifest the features of truth and falsehood.

Let us, now touch upon a number of (elucidating) traditions in this connection:

A) Warning against Fighting Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

321. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "O ʿAlī, war against you is war against me and peace with you is peace with me, and war against me is war against Allah. Whoever makes peace with you has thereby made peace with me, and whoever makes peace with me has thereby made peace with Allah."[855]

322. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said,** to ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusain (a.s.): "I am at war with whoever is at war with you and at peace with whoever is at peace with you."[856]

B) Allusion to Dissensions after His Death

323. **Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain,** narrating from Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, who said: "I heard the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) say to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib: "You will fight the Qāsiṭīn, the Nākithīn and the Māriqīn in the pathways, rivers and mountain peaks." Abū Ayyūb then said: "I asked: "O Messenger of Allah, who will these groups fight?" To which he replied: "'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib."[857]

C) The Order to Fight the Misled

324. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said:** "I was ordered to fight the Qāsiṭīn, the Nākithīn and the Māriqīn, and I did what I was ordered to do. As for the Nākithīn, they are the people of Baṣra and other people of the Camel (al-Jamal). The Māriqīn are the Khawārij; and the Qāsiṭīn are the people of Syria and all other groups who were with them from the confederates of Muʿāwiyah."[858]

أ ـ تحذير النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله من محاربة الإمام عليه السلام

321. رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: يا عَلِيُّ، حَربُكَ حَربي، وسِلمُكَ سِلمي، وحَربي حَربُ اللّهِ، ومَن سالَمَكَ فَقَد سالَمَني، ومَن سالَمَني فَقَد سالَمَ اللّهَ عَزَّ وجَلَّ.

322. عنه صلى الله عليه وآله ـ لِعَلِيٍّ وفاطِمَةَ وَالحَسَنِ وَالحُسَينِ عليهم السلام ـ : أنَا حَربٌ لِمَن حارَبتُم، وسِلمٌ لِمَن سالَمتُم.

ب ـ إخبار النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله بالفتن بعده

323. المستدرك على الصحيحين عن أبي أيّوب الأنصاريّ: سَمِعتُ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ لِعَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ: تُقاتِلُ النّاكِثينَ وَالقاسِطينَ وَالمارِقينَ بِالطُّرُقاتِ وَالنَّهرَواناتِ وبَالشَّعَفاتِ. قالَ أبو أيّوبَ: قُلتُ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، مَعَ مَن تُقاتِلُ هؤُلاءِ الأقوامُ؟! قالَ: مَعَ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِبٍ.

ج ـ أمر النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله بقتال المفتونين

324. الإمام عليّ عليه السلام: أُمِرتُ أن أُقاتِلَ النّاكِثينَ وَالقاسِطينَ وَالمارِقينَ، فَفَعَلتُ ما أُمِرتُ بِهِ؛ فَأَمَّا النّاكِثونَ: فَهُم أهلُ البَصرَةِ وغَيرُهُم مِن أصحابِ الجَمَلِ، وأمَّا المارِقونَ: هُمُ الخَوارِجُ، وأمَّا القاسِطونَ: فَهُم أهلُ الشّامِ وغَيرُهُم مِن أحزابِ مُعاوِيَةَ.

D) The Motives of the Rebels in Fighting Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

i) Arrogance

325. **Al-Irshād:** "When he [ʿAlī (a.s.)] was informed of the journey of ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr from Mecca to Baṣra, he praised and glorified Allah and then said: "'Ā'ishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr have set out, and each one of the two [men] makes claims for the caliphate separately from his colleague. Ṭalḥa only claims the caliphate because he is the paternal cousin of ʿĀ'ishah, and al-Zubayr only claims it because he is the brother-in-law of her father. By Allah, if the two are successful in what they intend, then al-Zubayr will execute Ṭalḥa or Ṭalḥa will execute al-Zubayr, this one disputing the [right to] kingship of the other."[859]

ii) Grudge

326. **Al-Manāqib, by al-Khwārazmī:** "It is narrated that on the twenty-sixth day of the Battle of Ṣiffīn a group from the supporters of Muʿāwiyah gathered around him and mentioned the bravery of ʿAlī and [Mālik] al-Asthar, so ʿUtbah ibn Abī Sufyān said: "Even though al-Ashtar is brave, ʿAlī has no equal in his bravery, attack and power."

Muʿāwiyah then said: "None of us there is, but that ʿAli has killed his father, brother or son. O Walīd, he killed your father in the Battle of Badr. O Abū al-Aʿwar, he killed your uncle in the Battle of Uḥud, and O son of Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥāt, he killed your father in the Battle of the Camel. If all of you attack him, you will get your revenge and your hearts will feel recompense."[860]

iii) Envy

327. **Al-Amālī,** by al-Mufīd, narrating from al-Ḥasan ibn Salamah, who said: "When the Commander of the faithful was informed about the procession of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀ'ishah from Mecca to Baṣra.....Abū al-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān stood up and said: "O Commander of the faithful, Quraish is envious of you for

د ـ دوافع البغاة في قتال الإمام عليه السلام

1. الإستِعلاءُ

325. **الإرشاد:** لَمَّا اتَّصَلَ بِهِ [بِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام] مَسيرُ عائِشَةَ وطَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ إلَى البَصرَةِ مِن مَكَّةَ، حَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنىٰ عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: قَد سارَت عائِشَةُ وطَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ، كُلُّ واحِدٍ مِنهُما يَدَّعِي الخِلافَةَ دونَ صاحِبِهِ، فَلا يَدَّعي طَلحَةُ الخِلافَةَ إلاّ أنَّهُ ابنُ عَمِّ عائِشَةَ، ولا يَدَّعيهَا الزُّبَيرُ إلاّ أنَّهُ صِهرُ أبيها، وَاللّهِ لَئِن ظَفِرا بِما يُريدانِ لَيَضرِبَنَّ الزُّبَيرُ عُنُقَ طَلحَةَ، ولَيَضرِبَنَّ طَلحَةُ عُنُقَ الزُّبَيرِ؛ يُنازِعُ هذا عَلَى المُلكِ هٰذا.

2. الحِقدُ

326. **المناقب للخوارزمي:** ويُروى في يَومِ السّادِسِ وَالعِشرينَ مِن حُروبِ صِفّينَ: اجتَمَعَ عِندَ مُعاوِيَةَ المَلأُ مِن قَومِهِ، فَذَكَروا شَجاعَةَ عَلِيٍّ وشَجاعَةَ الأَشتَرِ، فَقالَ عُتبَةُ بنُ أبي سُفيانَ: إن كانَ الأَشتَرُ شُجاعاً، لكِنَّ عَلِيّاً لا نَظيرَ لَهُ في شَجاعَتِهِ وصَولَتِهِ وقُوَّتِهِ!!

قالَ مُعاوِيَةُ: ما مِنّا أحَدٌ إلاّ وقَد قَتَلَ عَلِيٌّ أباهُ، أو أخاهُ، أو وَلَدَهُ؛ قَتَلَ يَومَ بَدر أباكَ يا وَليدُ، وقَتَلَ عَمَّكَ يا أبَا الأَعوَرِ يَومَ أُحُدٍ، وقَتَلَ يَابنَ طَلحَةَ الطَّلحاتِ أباكَ يَومَ الجَمَلِ، فَإذَا اجتَمَعتُم عَلَيهِ أدرَكتُم ثَأرَكُم مِنهُ، وشَفَيتُم صُدورَكُم.

3. الحَسَدُ

327. **الأمالي للمفيد عن الحسن بن سلمة:** لَمّا بَلَغَ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ ـ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ ـ مَسيرُ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ وعائِشَةَ مِن مَكَّةَ إلَى البَصرَةِ... فَقامَ أبُو الهَيثَمِ بنُ التَّيِّهانِ وقالَ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، إنَّ حَسَدَ قُرَيشٍ إيّاكَ عَلىٰ وَجهَينِ: أمّا خِيارُهُم؛ فَحَسَدوكَ مُنافَسَةً فِي

two reasons: the good ones among them envy you out competing for virtue or wishing to have an elevated position; the wicked ones envy you much in that Allah has made their deeds fail and their burdens heavy. They were not pleased to be to equal to you, until they desired to precede you; so, they missed their goal and lost the race. You were indeed the most worthy among Quraish. You supported their Prophet when he was alive and fulfilled all his rights after his death. By Allah, their insolence is against themselves! We are your helpers and supporters, so give us your orders."[861]

iv) Greed

328. **Al-Amālī,** by al-Ṭūsī, narrating from Mālik ibn Aws, who said: He [ʿAlī (a.s.)] sent for Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr and invited them, so he then said to them: "Did you not come to me and pledge allegiance to me of your own accord? So what are you denying [regarding my rulership]? Is it oppression whithin the government or self-centredness in respect of the public funds?" They said: "No." He (a.s.) said: "Did you invite me to do something regarding the affairs of the Muslims and I neglected it?" They said: "God forbid!"

He (a.s.) said: "Then what is it that within you dislike of my affairs?"

They said: "You act contrary to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the distribution [of the Muslim Treasury] and you diminish our rights from the public funds: you have made our share in Islam as the share of others who have embraced Islam through our swords, so you treat us and them equally."[862]

v) Ignorance

329. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** from his letter to ʿAqīl: "Know that the Arabs have gathered today to wage a war against your brother as they gathered to fight the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) before today. They have ignored his rights and denied his virtue."[863]

الفَضلِ، وَارتِفاعاً فِي الدَّرَجَةِ، وأمّا أشرارُهُم؛ فَحَسَدوكَ حَسَداً أحبَطَ اللّهُ بِهِ أعمالَهُم، وأثقَلَ بِهِ أوزارَهُم، وما رَضوا أن يُساووكَ حَتّى أرادوا أن يَتَقَدَّموكَ، فَبَعُدَت عَلَيهِمُ الغايَةُ، وأسقَطَهُمُ المِضمارُ. وكُنتَ أحقَّ قُرَيشٍ بِقُرَيشٍ؛ نَصَرتَ نَبِيَّهُم حَيّاً، وقَضَيتَ عَنهُ الحُقوقَ مَيِّتاً. وَاللّهِ ما بَغيُهُم إلاّ عَلىٰ أنفُسِهِم، ونَحنُ أنصارُكَ وأعوانُكَ، فَمُرنا بِأَمرِكَ!

4. الحِرصُ

328. **الأمالي للطوسي عن مالك بن أوس:** بَعَثَ [عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام] إلى طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ فَدَعاهُما، ثُمَّ قالَ لَهُما: أ لَم تَأتِياني وتُبايِعاني طائِعَينِ غَيرَ مُكرَهَينِ، فَما أنكَرتُم! أ جَورٌ في حُكم، أوِ استِئثارٌ في فَيء؟! قالا: لا. قالَ عليه السلام: أو في أمر دَعَوتُماني إلَيهِ مِن أمرِ المُسلِمينَ فَقَصَرتُ عَنهُ؟! قالا: مَعاذَ اللّهِ.

قالَ عليه السلام: فَمَا الَّذي كَرِهتُما مِن أمري حَتّىٰ رَأَيتُما خِلافي؟

قالا: خِلافَكَ عُمَرَ بنَ الخَطّابِ فِي القَسمِ، وَانتِقاصَنا حَقَّنا مِنَ الفَيءِ؛ جَعَلتَ حَظَّنا فِي الإسلامِ كَحَظِّ غَيرِنا مِمّا أفاءَ اللّهُ عَلَينا بِسُيوفِنا مِمَّن هُوَ لَنا فَيءٌ فَسَوَّيتَ بَينَنا وبَينَهُم.

5. الجَهالَةُ

329. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ مِن كتابٍ لَهُ إلىٰ عَقيلٍ ـ: ألا وإنَّ العَرَبَ قَدِ اجتَمَعَت عَلىٰ حَربِ أخيكَ اليَومَ اجتِماعَها عَلى حَربِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله قَبلَ اليَومِ، فَأَصبَحوا قَد جَهِلوا حَقَّهُ، وجَحَدوا فَضلَهُ.

E) The Goals of Imām ʿAlī in fighting the Rebels

i) Reviving the Religion

330. **Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal,** narrating from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said: "We were sitting waiting for the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.); when he came out from one of the houses of his wives, we stood up to him, so his sandal ripped. ʿAlī stayed behind to mend it. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) left and we accompanied him, then he stopped to wait for him and we also stopped. He (ṣ.a.w.) then said: "Among you there is he who fights over the interpretation of this Qur'ān as I fought over its revelation." We stood up, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Nay, but he is mender of the sandal." We then went to him [ʿAlī (a.s.)] to give him the glad tidings; however, it seemed as if he had already heard it."[864]

ii) Defending the Sunnah

331. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said,** to ʿAlī: "You are my brother and the father of my sons. You will fight in defence of my Sunnah and fulfil all of my rights."[865]

iii) Fighting Against Innovations

332. **Al-Amālī,** by al-Ṭūsī, narrating from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who said: "The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) informed ʿAlī about what will happen after him, so he [ʿAlī] cried and said: "O Messenger of Allah, I ask you by my right over you, my kinship to you, and the right of my companionship with you, that you pray to Allah the Exalted to take my soul to Him?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Are you asking me to pray to my Lord for that which has a fixed time?" He (a.s.) said: "Then for what will I fight them?" He (ṣ.a.w.) said: "For their innovation in religion."[866]

هـ ـ أهداف الإمام عليه السلام في قتال البغاة

1. إحياءُ الدّينِ

330. **مسند ابن حنبل عن أبي سعيد الخدريّ:** كُنّا جُلوساً نَنتَظِرُ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله، فَخَرَجَ عَلَينا مِن بَعضِ بُيوتِ نِسائه ـ قالَ: ـ فَقُمنا مَعَهُ، فَانقَطَعَت نَعلُهُ فَتَخَلَّفَ عَلَيها عَلِيٌّ يَخصِفُها، فَمَضى رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله، ومَضَينا مَعَهُ، ثُمَّ قامَ يَنتَظِرُهُ، وقُمنا مَعَهُ.

فَقالَ: إنَّ مِنكُم مَن يُقاتِلُ عَلى تَأويلِ هذَا القُرآنِ كَما قاتَلتُ عَلى تَنزيلِهِ، فَاستَشرَفنا وفينا أبو بكرٍ وعُمَرُ، فَقالَ: لا، ولكِنَّهُ خاصِفُ النَّعلِ.

قالَ: فَجِئنا نُبَشِّرُهُ، ـ قال: ـ وكَأَنَّهُ قَد سَمِعَهُ.

2. الدِّفاعُ عَنِ السُّنَّةِ

331. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ـ لِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام ـ:** أنتَ أخي، وأبو وُلدي، تُقاتِلُ عَن سُنَّتي، وتُبرِئُ ذِمَّتي.

3. مُكافَحَةُ البِدعَةِ

332. **الأمالي للطوسي عن أبي سعيد الخدريّ:** أخبَرَ رَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله عَلِيّاً بِما يَلقىٰ بَعدَهُ، فَبَكى عليه السلام وقالَ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، أسأَلُكَ بِحَقّي عَلَيكَ، وقَرابَتي مِنكَ، وحَقِّ صُحبَتي إيّاكَ، لَمّا دَعَوتَ اللّهَ عَزَّ وجَلَّ أن يَقبِضَني إلَيهِ؟

فَقالَ صلى الله عليه وآله: أ تَسأَلُني أن أدعُوَ رَبّي لِأَجَلٍ مُؤَجَّلٍ؟

قالَ: فَعَلامَ أُقاتِلُهُم؟ قالَ: عَلَى الإحداثِ فِي الدّينِ.

Imām ʿAlī Was in the Right in all His Wars

Abū ʿAbdullah Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān, known as al-Mufīd, said: "Among the arguments for the fact that the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) was in the right in all of his wars and that those who opposed him had gone astray is the wide-scale traditions narrated from the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) such as his words: "O ʿAlī, war against you is war against me. O ʿAlī, peace with you is peace with me"[867], "O ʿAlī, I am at war with whoever is at war with you and at peace with whoever is at peace with you."[868]

These two reports have been recorded by both Sunni and Shīʿa sources, such that none of the scholars and experts in traditions or questioned the chain of their transmission (isnād) nor did claim the falsity of their reporters.

If this is the case, then all must submit to it and put it into practice, because if it were false then the ummah would have had denied it and refuted its narrators. Therefore, this is clear evidence of the validity and soundness of these two traditions from any defamation or criticism.

Another argument is the recurrent tradition narrated from the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) that he said to the Commander of the faithful (a.s.): "You will fight over the interpretation of the Qur'ān as I fought over its revelation."[869]

كلامٌ في إصابة الإمام في جميع حروفه

قال أبو عبد اللّه محمّد بن محمّد بن النعمان الملقّب بالمفيد: ومن الدليل على أنّ أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام كان مصيباً في حروبه كلّها، وأنّ مخالفيه في ذلك على ضلال، ما تظاهرت به الروايات عن النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله من قوله: «حَربُكَ يا عَلِيُّ حَربي، وسِلمُكَ يا عَلِيُّ سِلمي»، وقوله صلى الله عليه وآله: «يا عَلِيُّ، أنَا حَربٌ لِمَن حارَبَكَ، وسِلمٌ لِمَن سالَمَكَ».

وهذان القولان مرويّان من طريقي العامّة والخاصّة والمنتسبة من أصحاب الحديث إلى السنّة، والمنتسبين منهم إلى الشيعة، لم يعترض أحد من العلماء الطعن على سندهما، ولا ادّعى إنسان من أهل المعرفة بالآثار كذب رواتهما.

وما كان هذا سبيله وجب تسليمه والعمل به، إذ لو كان باطلاً لما خلت الأُمّة من عالم منها ينكره ويكذّب رواته، ولا سلم من طعن فيه، ولعرف سبب تخرّصه وافتعاله، ولأُقيم دليل الله سبحانه على بطلانه، وفي سلامة هذين الخبرين من جميع ما ذكرناه حجّة واضحة على ثبوتهما حسبما بيّناه.

ومن ذلك: الرواية المستفيضة عن النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله أنّه قال لأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: «تُقاتِلُ يا عَلِيُّ عَلى تَأويلِ القُرآنِ، كَما قاتَلتُ عَلى تَنزيلِهِ».

He (ṣ.a.w.) also said to Suhayl ibn ʿAmr who came to bring back [to Mecca] their newly-converted retainers: "O people of Quraish, desist, or else Allah will send to you a man that will strike you over the interpretation of the Qur'ān as I have struck you over its revelation."

Some of his companions said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, who is it? Is it so and so?"

He said: "No."

They said: "Is it so and so?"

He said: "No, but he is the mender of the sandal in the room."

So they looked, and there was ʿAlī in the room who was mending the sandal of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)."[870]

Another argument is his words to the Commander of the faithful (a.s.): "You will fight against the Nākithīn, the Qāsiṭīn and the Māriqīn." This report is, like many more such reports, free from any defect or criticism in its chain of transmission or its authority. Both Schools of Thought have recorded this tradition and asseted its validity.

He (ṣ.a.w.) also said: "'Alī is with the truth, and the truth, is with ʿAlī. O Allah, turn the truth with ʿAlī wherever he turns."[871] This tradition has also been narrated by Sunni traditionists and they classified it as authentic; they have not objected to its chain of transmission, nor have any of them claimed the falsity of its narrators. Moreover, there is no intellectual or traditional argument that demonstrates its invalidity, so it is necessary to believe in its validity and correctness.

He (ṣ.a.w.) also said: "O Allah, follow whoever befriends him [ʿAlī], show enmity towards whoever shows enmity to him; help whoever helps him and abandon whoever abandons him."[872] This tradition is recurrent and successive, and it is also widely accepted by the traditionists.

He (ṣ.a.w.) also said to ʿAlī (a.s.): "May Allah fight whoever fights you and show enmity to whoever shows enmity to you."[873] This tradition is well-known among the traditionsists.

He (ṣ.a.w.) has said: "Whoever hurts ʿAlī has indeed hurt me, and

وقوله ـ لسهيل بن عمرو ومن حضر معه لخطابه على ردّ من أسلم من مواليهم ـ : «لَتَنتَهُنَّ يا مَعشَرَ قُرَيش أو لَيَبعَثِ اللّهُ عَلَيكُم رَجُلاً يَضرِبُكُم عَلى تَأويلِ القُرآنِ كَما ضَرَبتُكُم عَلى تَنزيلِهِ ».

فَقالَ لَهُ بَعضُ أصحابِهِ: مَن هُوَ يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، هُوَ فُلانٌ؟

قالَ: «لا».

قالَ: فَفُلانٌ؟

قالَ: «لا، ولكِنَّهُ خاصِفُ النَّعلِ فِي الحُجرَةِ».

فَنَظَروا فَإذا عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام فِي الحُجرَةِ يَخصِفُ نَعلَ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله.

ومن ذلك: قوله صلى الله عليه وآله لأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: «تُقاتِلُ بَعدِي النّاكِثينَ وَالقاسِطينَ وَالمارِقينَ». والقول في هذه الرواية كالأخبار التي تقدّمت، قد سلمت من طاعن في سندها بحجّة، ومن قيام دليل على بطلان ثبوتها، وسلّم لروايتها الفريقان فدلّ على صحّتها.

ومن ذلك: قوله صلى الله عليه وآله: «عَلِيٌّ مَعَ الحَقِّ وَالحَقُّ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ، اللّهُمَّ أدِرِ الحَقَّ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ حَيثُما دارَ». وهذا أيضاً خبر قد رواه محدّثو العامّة، وأثبتوه في الصحيح عندهم، ولم يعترض أحدهم لتعليل سنده، ولا أقدم منهم مقدم على تكذيب ناقله، وليس توجد حجّة في العقل ولا السمع على فساده، فوجب الاعتقاد بصحّته وصوابه.

ومن ذلك: قوله صلى الله عليه وآله: «اللّهُمَّ والِ مَن والاهُ، وعادِ مَن عاداهُ، وَانصُر مَن نَصَرَهُ، وَاخذُل مَن خَذَلَهُ». وهذا في الرواية أشهر من أن يحتاج معه إلى جمع السند له، وهو أيضاً مسلّم عند نقلة الأخبار.

whoever hurts me has indeed hurt Allah."[874] He has thereby ruled that hurting ʿAlī (a.s.) is hurting Allah and hurting Allah demands departure from faith. Allah says: "Indeed those who hurt Allah and His Messenger are cursed by Allah in the world and the Hereafter, and He has prepared a humiliating punishment for them."[875]

There are many more such examples in the collections of traditions that indicate the correct positions of the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and the wrongness of his opponents.[876]

Moreover, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd asserted that the leadership after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) is the right of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.); if he were to have unsheathed his sword, we would have ruled the destruction of all those who have opposed him, because it has been recorded in the authentic traditions that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said: "'Alī is with the truth and the truth is with ʿAlī. O Allah, turn the truth with ʿAlī wherever he turns." He also said on many occasions: : "War against you is war against me and peace with you is peace with me."[877]

وقوله ﷺ لعليّ عليه السلام: «قاتَلَ اللّهُ مَن قاتَلَكَ، وعادَى اللّهُ مَن عاداكَ». والخبر بذلك مشهورٌ وعند أهل الرواية معروفٌ مذكور.

ومن ذلك: قوله ﷺ: «مَن آذىٰ عَلِيّاً فَقَد آذاني، ومَن آذاني فَقَد آذَى اللّهَ تَعالى». فَحكمَ أنّ الأذى له عليه السلام أذى اللّه، والأذى للّه جلّ اسمه هلاك مخرج عن الإيمان، قال اللّه عزّ وجلّ: ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ اللّهَ وَ رَسُولَهُ لَعَنَهُمُ اللّهُ فِى الدُّنْيَا وَ الأخِرَةِ وَ أَعَدَّ لَهُمْ عَذَابًا مُّهِينًا﴾.

وأمثال ما أثبتناه ـ من هذه الأخبار في معانيها الدالّة على صواب أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام وخطأ مخالفيه ـ كثيرة، إن عملنا على إيراد جميعها، طال به الكتاب وانتشر به الخطاب، وفيما أثبتناه منه للحقّ كفاية للغرض الذي نأمله، إن شاء الله تعالى.

أقول: راجع كلام ابن أبي الحديد في أنّ الإمامة بعد النبيّ ﷺ حقّ الإمام عليّ عليه السلام وأنّه لو سلّ سيفه لحكمنا بهلاك كلّ من خالفه؛ لأنّه قد ثبت عنه في الأخبار الصحيحة أنّه قال: «عَلِيٌّ مَعَ الحَقِّ، وَالحَقُّ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ يَدورُ حَيثُما دارَ»، وقال له غير مرّة: «حَربُكَ حَربي، وسِلمُكَ سِلمي».

Chapter One

The First War: The Battle of the Camel

1.1

An Overview on the War

(a) Its Date

Some historians mentioned that the Battle of the Camel (maʿrakat al-Jamal) took place in Jumādā al-Ūlā,[878] 36 AH, while others maintained that it took place in Jumādā al-Thāniya[879], and that it did not last for more than one day.[880]

The date of the two letters the Imām sent to the people of Kūfah and Baṣra after the end of the battle supports the first view.[881]

(b) Its Locus

The Battle of the Camel took place in al-Zābūqa,[882] in the outskirts of Baṣra, or in al-Zāwiya,[883] one of the suburbs of Baṣra, or in al-Kharība [a place close to Baṣra].[884]

(c) The Number of People Participated

The two armies who participarted in the Battle of the Camel amounted to fifty thousand. The army of the Commander of the faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) was made up of twenty thousand, while the number of those in the army of the al-Nākithīn was thirty thousand.[885]

الفصل الأوّل

الحرب الأولى: وقعة الجمل

1 / 1

مواصفات الحرب

أ ـ تاريخُها

ذكر بعض المؤرّخين أنّ معركة الجمل وقعت في جمادى الأُولى عام (٣٦ هـ)، بينما أكّد بعض آخر أنّها وقعت في جمادى الثانية من العام نفسه، ولم تدُم أكثر من يوم واحد.

وتاريخ الرسالتين اللتين بعثهما الإمام إلى أهالي المدينة والكوفة بعد انتهاء الحرب يؤيّد الرأي الأوّل.

ب ـ مَكانُها

وقعت معركة الجمل في الزّابوقة؛ التي هي في ضواحي البصرة، أو في الزاوية؛ التي كانت واحدة من أحياء البصرة، أو في الخريبة.

ج ـ عَدَدُ المُشارِكينَ فيها

بلغ قوام الجيشين في معركة الجمل خمسين ألفاً، شكّل جيش الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام عشرين ألفاً منهم، وشكّل جيش الناكثين ثلاثين ألفاً.

(d) The Great Companions of Imām ʿAlī

A large number of the prominent companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) participated in the Battle of the Camel on Imām ʿAlī's side, but there is a difference in the traditions regarding the exact number of them. Some sources state that there were eighty who had also taken part in the Battle of Badr in addition to one thousand five hundred of the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).

Other sources say that the number of companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) was eight hundred from the Anṣār and four hundred of those who witnessed the pledge of allegiance of al-Riḍwān.

Among the prominent personalities in the army of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) were: Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, Abū al-Haytham ibn al-Tayyihān, Khuzayma ibn Thābit, ʿAbdullah ibn Badīl, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās, ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, ʿAdī ibn Ḥātam, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, ʿAmr ibn al-Ḥamiq, ʿUmar ibn Abī Salamah and Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah.

(e) The Prominent Personalities of the Folk of the Camel

The prominent personalities of the folk of the Camel were the companions of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). A number of other noble and distinguished people were also included. Among them were ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir, Kaʿb ibn Sūr and others who would support ʿUthmān or could not tolerate the justice of the Imām (a.s.).

The presence of such personalities as Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀ'ishah in the battle led many people who lacked a good insight to fall into doubt and confusion, or to join the army of the people of the Camel. In order to enlighten the mind of these people, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) declared, saying: "Truth is never known through men; know the truth, and you will know its folk."

(f) The Number of Men Killed

In the Battle of the Camel five thousand people from the army of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) were killed.[886] All historical texts have agreed on this number.

د ـ أكابرُ أصحابِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

شارك الكثير من أكابر أصحاب الرسول صلى الله عليه وآله في معركة الجمل إلى جانب الإمام عليّ عليه السلام، إلّا أنّ الروايات تختلف في ذكر عددهم؛ فبعض المصادر يصرّح بأنّ عددهم كان ثمانين من أهل بدر، وألفاً وخمسمئة من أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

ويذكر آخر أنّ عدد المشاركين في هذه المعركة من أصحاب الرسول كان ثمانمئة من الأنصار، وأربعمئة ممّن شهدوا بيعة الرضوان.

ومن بين الشخصيّات البارزة التي شاركت في جيش الإمام عليّ عليه السلام يمكن الإشارة إلى كلّ من:

أبي أيّوب الأنصاري وأبي الهيثم بن التيّهان وخزيمة بن ثابت وعبد الله بن بديل وعبد الله بن عبّاس وعثمان بن حنيف وعديّ بن حاتم وعمّار بن ياسر وعمرو بن الحمق وعمر بن أبي سلمة وهاشم بن عتبة

هـ ـ وُجوه أصحابِ الجَمَلِ

كان وجوه أصحاب الجمل من أصحاب الرسول صلى الله عليه وآله والمقرّبين إليه، وكان في جيشهم أيضاً أشراف وأكابر آخرون. فقد كان فيهم عائشة وطلحة والزبير ومروان بن الحكم وعبد الله بن عامر وكعب بن سور، وغيرهم ممّن كانوا يؤيّدون عثمان أو لا يطيقون تحمّل عدالة الإمام عليه السلام.

وقد كان حضور أشخاص كطلحة والزبير وعائشة في المعركة باعثاً على وقوع غير ذوي البصيرة ممّن ينظرون إلى الحقّ من خلال الشخصيّات البارزة في الشك والحيرة، أو الانضمام إلى جيش أصحاب الجمل. ولأجل تنوير عقول أمثال هؤلاء الناس قال أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام قولته المشهورة: «إنَّ الحَقَّ لا يُعرَفُ بِالرِّجالِ؛ اِعرِفِ الحَقَّ تَعرِف أهلَهُ».

و ـ عَدَدُ القَتلى فيها

قُتل في معركة الجمل من جيش الإمام عليّ عليه السلام خمسة آلاف. وتُجمع النصوص التاريخيّة

However, there is a large difference in texts regarding the number of men killed in the army of the Camel, such that none of them can be relied on.

Some historical sources assert that the number killed is twenty thousand,[887] whereas other reports state that thirteen thousand were killed,[888] ten thousand[889] or five thousand.[890]

1.2

The Identity of the Heads of the Breakers (of Allegiance)

The Battle of the Camel is regarded among incidents in the history of Islam; that are worth contemplating. In addition, acquaintance with the motives and goals of those who waged it provides one with admonition and warning to (better) know those people whose example (or method) he intends to follow.

We see critical points in the historical texts that speak about the organisation of the forces and their goals and motives. Among these points are: personal interests, worldly inclinations, exploiting prominent figures to motivate the public, the practices of those who accumulated wealth, the seekers of power, and those who felt their luxurious life threatened.

Another point is how certain individuals among the companions confronted ʿAlī (a.s.), when they were claiming to be Muslims and at the forefront of them! Moreover, there were prominent personalities whose position in the Battle of the Camel was contary to their position during the era of ʿUthmān.

Below is a summary of the life histories of the instigators of war:

(a) ʿĀ'ishah

ʿĀ'ishah, the daughter of Abū Bakr [the first Caliph] and the wife of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.),[891] was at the age of eighteen when the

كلّها على هذا العدد بدون أدنى اختلاف.

ولكن هناك اختلاف كبير بين هذه النصوص حول عدد قتلى جيش الجمل، بحيث لا يمكن التعويل كثيراً على أيٍّ منها.

فقد ذكرت بعض الأخبار التاريخيّة أنّ عدد من قُتل منهم عشرون ألفاً، بينما جاء في أخبار أُخرى أنّه قُتل منهم ثلاثة عشر ألفاً، وعلى خبر آخر عشرة آلاف، أو خمسة آلاف.

2 / 1

هُوِيَّةُ زَوْجاتِ النّاكِثينَ

تُعدّ معركة الجمل من الحوادث الجديرة بالتأمّل في التاريخ الإسلاميّ؛ وإنّ في التعرّف على دوافع مسعّريها وأهدافهم تذكيراً للمرء وتنبيهاً له لمعرفة رجاله الذين يقتدي بهم ويسير على نهجهم.

إنّنا نلحظ في النصوص التاريخيّة التي تحدّثت عن تنظيم القوّات وأهدافها وبواعثها نقاطاً تثير التأمّل. منها: الأهواء، والنزعات الدنيويّة، واستغلال بعض الوجهاء لتحفيز عامّة الناس. ومنها: ممارسات مكتنزي الثروات، وطلّاب السلطة، ومَنْ وجد حياته المترفة مهدّدة بالخطر.

النقطة الأُخرى التي ينبغي ألّا ننساها هي كيفيّة مواجهة أشخاص من الصحابة عليّاً عليه السلام، في حين أنّهم كانوا يدّعون الإسلام والسبق إليه! ومن جانب آخر، وجاهة عامّة الأشخاص الذين كان موقفهم في معركة الجمل يتعارض تماماً مع موقفهم في زمان عثمان.

وننقل فيما يأتي بإيجاز نصوصاً تتحدّث عن حياة الذين أوقدوا تلك الحرب، وندعوا القرّاء إلى التأمّل فيها.

أ ـ عائِشَةُ

هي عائشة بنت أبي بكر، وزوج النبيّ الأعظم صلى الله عليه وآله.

توفّي عنها النبيّ ولها من العمر ثماني عشرة سنةً.

Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) passed away.[892]

She enjoyed much respect during the era of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, but ʿUthmān lessened her status and respect, so differences rose between the two,[893] so much that she would instigate the people to kill him, saying: "Kill the insolent old man, for he has disbelieved."[894] When the insurgents besieged ʿUthmān, she left to Mecca and stayed there until he was killed.

When ʿUthmān was killed, she was bent on the assumption of Caliphate by Ṭalḥa[895] and al-Zubayr [896].

When she came to hear that the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) would come to power, she returned and professed to take vengeance for ʿUthmān's death.[897]

Even though her position on the killing of ʿUthmān was known to all people, Muslims would respect her and listen to her, out of respect for the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and her title 'the mother of believers'.

She was, well versed in literature[898] and had knowledge of the nature of the Arabs, so she knew their weaknesses and so she was able to motivate them.[899]

Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr knew that the only way to victory and to take over the caliphate was to instigate the people through ʿĀ'ishah.

ʿĀ'ishah would announce her enmity to the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and say that her relation to him is as a woman's relation to her in-laws.[900]

If it had not been for her standing, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr would not have been able to instigate the people for war. She was a warrior in the battleground after the slaying of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr.

Despite all that, the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) sent her back to Medina with honour and respect.

Her enmity to the Imām (a.s.) continued, even though she expressed her regret about what happened on the day of the Camel.

She showed her delight after the martyrdom of the Commander of

حظيت باحترام بالغ في عهد أبي بكر وعمر، بَيْدَ أنّ عثمان قلّل من شأنها ومن احترامها؛ فبرز الخلاف بينهما إلى درجة أنّها كانت تحرّض الناس على قتله بقولها: اقتلوا نعثلاً فقد كفر! وحين حاصر الثوّار عثمان ذهبت إلى مكّة، وظلّت فيها إلى أن قُتِل.

وعندما قُتل عثمان، كانت تتطلّع إلى خلافة طلحة والزبير.

ولمّا تناهى إلى سمعها استخلاف أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام رجعت من منتصف الطريق إلى مكّة، ونادت بظُلامة عثمان مطالبة بثأره.

وعلى الرغم من أنّ موقفها من قتل عثمان كان واضحاً للناس؛ ومنهم من كان يذكّرها به، بَيْدَ أنّهم كانوا يحترمونها ويسمعون كلامها؛ إجلالاً لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، ولأُمومتها المؤمنين.

كانت خطيبة وأديبة؛ وملمّة إلماماً تامّاً بسجايا العرب، وتعرف مواطن ضعفهم، لذا كانت قادرة على تحريضهم.

وكان طلحة والزبير يعلمان أنّ الطريق الوحيد للنصر وتسلّم الخلافة هو تعبئة الناس بواسطة عائشة؛ فلم يضيّعا هذه الفرصة.

كانت عائشة تجاهر بعدائها للإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، وتذكر أنّ بينها وبينه ما يكون بين المرأة وبين أحمائها.

ولولا وجاهتها لما استطاع طلحة والزبير تعبئة الناس للحرب. وكانت فارسة الحلبة بعد مقتل طلحة والزبير.

مع هذا كلّه، أرجعها الإمام عليه السلام إلى المدينة باحترام تامّ.

واصلت عداءها للإمام عليه السلام على الرغم من إصحارها بالندم مراراً على ما فرّطت في جنبه يوم الجمل.

أظهرت سرورها بعد استشهاد أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام ، وسجدت لذلك شكراً !

the faithful (a.s.),[901] and prostrated to Allah in thankfulness.[902] She also prevented Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) from being buried next to his grandfather the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).[903]

She died in the year 57 or 58 after Hijrah.[904]

(b) Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaydullah

He was one of the foremost to embrace Islam[905] and was one of the great companions. He fraternized al-Zubayr before the Migration.[906] He was a merchant, so when the Battle of Badr broke out, he had gone to trade in Syria.[907]

The Sunni scholars have lauded him and regarded him as among the ten people promised to enter Heaven.[908]

The Caliphs, after the death of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), showed high respect for him [Ṭalḥa]. ʿUmar chose him to be among the six person council, but he withdrew himself out of favour for ʿUthmān. He was shrewd and expert in politics. He accumulated a large amount of wealth during the reign of ʿUthmān who would give him with no account.

ʿUthmān once revoked a debt he had [from the Muslim Treasury], which was fifty thousand dirhams, saying: "Let it help your chivalry."[909] He owned many lands, such that his revenue from Iraq would reach between four to five hundred thousand dinars and ten thousand dinars from al-Sarāt.[910][911]

After he died, he bequeathed a fortune of thirty million diharms.[912]

ʿUthmān did not appoint him to rule over any region, even though he revered him, ʿhe had very much concern for his relatives and kin [Banī Umayyah]. This later on brought tension between the two and turned their relationship cold,[913] even as ʿUthmān turned away from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf who was his most important supporter.[914]

Ṭalḥa was greedy for assuming the caliphate,[915] so he wrote to the people of Baṣra, Kūfah and other cities inciting them to kill ʿUthmān.[916] He was in charge of the Muslim Treasury prior to the killing of ʿUthmān,[917] but he was not able to demand the caliphate

وحالت دون دفن الإمام الحسن عليه السلام عند جدّه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

ماتت سنة سبع وخمسين أو ثمان وخمسين من الهجرة.

ب ـ طَلحَةُ بنُ عُبَيدِ اللّه

أحد السابقين إلى الإسلام، ومن كبار الصحابة. آخى الزبيرَ قبل الهجرة. كان تاجراً، وعندما وقعت معركة بدر كان قد ذهب في تجارة إلى الشام.

أثنى عليه أهل السُّنّة، وعَدُّوه من العشرة المبشَّرة.

كان الخلفاء يحترمونه بعد وفاة النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله. اختاره عمر في الشورى السداسيّة، لكنّه اعتزل لمصلحة عثمان. كان في غاية الدهاء والسياسة. حصل على ثروة طائلة في عصر عثمان؛ بسبب الأموال التي كان قد أعطاها إيّاه بلا حساب.

وَهَبه عثمان مرّةً دَيْناً كان عليه بلغ خمسين ألف درهم، وقال له: معونةً على مروءتك! ! كان من ملّاكي الأرض الكبار، حتى كان يُغِلّ بالعراق ما بين أربعمئة ألف إلى خمسمئة ألف، ويُغلّ بالسَّراة عشرة آلاف دينار.

خلّف بعد موته ثروةً قدِّرت بثلاثين مليون درهم.

لم يُولِّه عثمان على مصر من الأمصار مع أنّه كان يعظّمه، ويعود ذلك إلى أنّه كان يهتمّ كثيراً بأقاربه وبِطانته، ومن هنا توتّرت العلاقة بينهما، كما أعرض عثمان أيضاً عن أهمّ سند له في الماضي وهو عبد الرحمن بن عوف.

كان طلحة يطمح إلى الخلافة؛ فكتب إلى البصرة، والكوفة، وغيرهما من الأمصار محرّضاً أهلها على قتل عثمان. وكان بيت المال بيده في جريان قتل عثمان، بَيْدَ أنّه لم يستطع أن يطالب بالخلافة؛ لاتّهامه بالمشاركة في قتله؛ فبايع أميرَ المؤمنين عليه السلام، والعجيب أنّه أوّل شخص يبايع.

because he was accused of participating in his killing, so he pledged allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), and was the first to do so.

Ṭalḥa did not succeed in coming to power, and, he was deprived of all the distinctions he had during the era of ʿUthmān. This is what increased his opposition to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), and so he decided to ignite the flame of war along with al-Zubayr, ʿĀ'ishah and others.

He would say: If we fell short of ʿUthmān, we would make every effort to spend our lives for his sake!!![918]

Ṭalḥa was killed in the Battle of the Camel in 36 AH, by an arrow shot by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, hitting him from behind.[919]

(c) Al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām

He is the cousin of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and the fourth or the fifth person to embrace Islam.[920] He was among the brave and great companion; he took part in all of the battles of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)[921] and was wounded several times. The Sunni scholars regard him as one of the ten people promised to enter Heaven.[922] He refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr and was among the supporters of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.). It is said that he attended the burial ceremony of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (a.s.),[923] which show his relation to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).

He was one of the six men whom ʿUmar elected for the council, but he withdrew out of support for Imām ʿAlī (a.s.).

He was the son-in-law of Abū Bakr,[924] but he spent many years of his life beside the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), who said: "al-Zubayr never ceased to be a man of us the Ahlul Bayt, until his unfortunate son ʿAbdullah grew up."[925] This shows that ʿAbdullah ibn al-Zubayr was a instigator of dissensions, as will be referred to later on.

Al-Zubayr accumulated a large amount of wealth during the reign of ʿUthmān,[926] which amounted to fifty thousand dinars, one thousand horses and one thousand male and female slaves;[927] however, he did not hold any position in the government.

He would help the insurgents against ʿUthmān[928] and would even

لم يظفر طلحة بالخلافة، ويضاف إلى ذلك أنّه حُرِمَ من الامتيازات التي كانت له في عهد عثمان. ممّا حدا به إلى إعلان معارضته للإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، فأوقد نار الحرب مع الزبير، وعائشة، وغيرهما.

وكان يقول: إنّا داهَنّا في أمر عثمان، فلا نجد اليوم شيئاً أمثل من أن نبذل دماءنا فيه!!!

قُتل طلحة في معركة الجمل سنة ٣٦ هـ، بسهم رماه به مروان بن الحكم مِن خلفه.

ج ـ الزُّبَيرُ بنُ العَوّامِ

هو ابن عمّة النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله وأمير المؤمنين عليّ عليه السلام، وهو رابع من أسلم، أو خامسهم، وكان من الصحابة الشجعان المشهورين، وشهد مشاهد النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله كلّها، وجُرح عدّة مرّات، عدّه أهل السنّة أحد العشرة المبشّرة بالجنّة. امتنع من بيعة أبي بكر، وكان من خاصّة أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، وأصحابه الأُول، قيل: إنّه حضر دفن السيّدة فاطمة الزهراء عليها السلام، ممّا يدلّ على قربه من الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام .

كان أحد الستّة الذين رشّحهم عمر للشورى، واعتزل نصرةً للإمام عليّ عليه السلام .

وكان صهر أبي بكر، بيد أنّه أمضى سنوات من عمره إلى جانب أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام . وقال عليه السلام فيه: ما زال الزبير رجلاً منّا أهلَ البيت حتى نشأ ابنه المشؤوم عبد الله. وهذا يدلّ على أنّ عبد الله بن الزبير كان مثيراً للفتنة، وهو ما سنشير إليه لاحقاً.

كَنَز الزبير ثروة طائلة في عهد عثمان، بلغت عند موته خمسين ألف دينار، وألف فرس، وألف عبد وأمَة. لكنّه لم يتولَّ منصباً.

وكان يساعد الثوّار الذين نهضوا ضدّ عثمان، بل طالب بقتله؛ علّه يتقلّد أمر الخلافة.

وبايع عليّاً عليه السلام بعد قتل عثمان، ولكنّه لمّا حُرم من الإمارة، ومن الامتيازات التي كانت له

demand his assassination, so that he might be able to take charge of the caliphate.

He pledged his allegiance to ʿAlī (a.s.) after the killing of ʿUthmān,[929] but when he was deprived of any authority and of the distinctions he enjoyed during the era of ʿUthmān, he bore the banner of opposition against the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.), instigated by his son.

He headed towards Mecca with Ṭalḥa pretending that they were going to perform the ʿUmrah pilgrimage, but they had arranged everything with ʿĀ'ishah and others; then they agreed to inflame the fire of the Battle of the Camel. He withdrew from the war after the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) spoke with him, but he was assassinated by Ibn Jarmūz.

(d) ʿAbdullah ibn al-Zubayr

He was born in the first year of the Migration to Medina, so he is the first born among the children of the Muhājirīn.[930] He was the grandson of Abū Bakr[931] and had a key role in the deviation of his father and in the ignition of the war of the Camel.

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said regarding him: "al-Zubayr never ceased to be a man of us the Ahlul Bayt, until his unfortunate son ʿAbdullah grew up."[932]

He spent all of his efforts to help his father assume the caliphate after the killing of ʿUthmān, but he was not successful. He was the link between ʿĀ'ishah from one side and al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa from the other.[933]

Even when al-Zubayr decided to withdraw from fighting, he employed different means, moral and emotional, to change his father's mind.[934]

When there was nobody left around the camel of ʿĀ'ishah, he took its rein and was severely wounded, when he was fighting Mālik al-Ashtar. He desired to fight Mālik, even if it cost him his life, and this is why he said in the combat:

Kill me and Mālik,
And kill Mālik along with me.[935]

في عصر عثمان، رفع لواء المعارضة بوجه أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام يحرّضه على ذلك ولدُه عبد الله.

توجّه إلى مكّة مع طلحة متظاهرَين أنّهما يريدان العمرة، وهناك نسّقا مع عائشة وغيرها، ثمّ اتّفقوا على إشعال فتيل «الجمل»، واعتزل الزبير الحرب بعد كلام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام معه، لكنّه اغتيل على يد ابن جرموز.

د ـ عَبدُ اللّه بنُ الزُّبَيرِ

ولد في السنة الأُولى من الهجرة بالمدينة، وهو أوّل مولود من أولاد المهاجرين.

وكان حفيد أبي بكر. وله دور مهمّ في انحراف أبيه، وإيقاد حرب الجمل.

وقال فيه أمير المؤمنين عليّ عليه السلام: «ما زالَ الزُّبَيرُ رَجُلاً مِنّا أهلَ البَيتِ حَتّى نَشَأَ ابنُهُ المَشؤومُ عَبدُ الله».

وبذل قصارى جهده في تولية أبيه الخلافة بعد مقتل عثمان، إلّا أنّه لم يُفلح في ذلك، وكان حلقة الوصل بين عائشة من جهة، والزبير وطلحة من جهة أُخرى.

وعندما عزم الزبير على اعتزال القتال حاول أن يُثنيه عمّا هو بسبيله مستخدماً ضروب الحيل الأخلاقيّة والعاطفيّة.

ولمّا لم يبق أحد حول جمل عائشة، أخذ بزمامه، وجُرح جرحاً بليغاً في اصطراعه مع مالك الأشتر. وكان يرغب في قتل مالك حتى لو كلّفه ذلك نفسَه، لذا كان يقول وهما مصطرعان:

أُقتُلوني ومالِكاً وَاقتُلوا مالِكاً مَعي!

عفا عنه الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام بعد الحرب، بطلب من عائشة. وكان مغروراً منبوذاً حتى إنّ معاوية لم يحترمه ولم يُبالِ به.

ولم يبايع يزيدَ بعد هلاك معاوية. وتوطّن مكّة حفظاً لنفسه ثمّ تسلّط عليها فهاجمها جيش

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) pardoned ʿAbdullah after the war, out of request from ʿĀ'ishah.[936] He was so conceited that even Muʿāwiyah did not show respect for him.[937]

He did not give his pledge of allegiance to Yazīd after the death of Muʿāwiyah. He resided in Mecca to protect his life[938] and then took control of it, so the army of Yazīd attacked Mecca to defeat ʿAbdullah, and the Kaʿbah was burnt and destroyed during the attack.[939]

However, ʿAbdullah was saved once the news of the death of Yazīd reached Mecca.[940]

He then claimed the Caliphate in 64 AH [941] and ruled over Ḥijāz, Yemen, Iraq and Khurāsān.[942]

He demanded that ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah to pledge allegiance to him. When they refused, he intended to burn them, but they survived after the campaign of al-Mukhtār.[943]

ʿAbdullah ibn al-Zubayr was killed and crucified during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān in 73 AH, after al-Ḥajjāj had carried out a raid over Mecca and the Sacred Mosque.[944]

(e) Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam

Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam was a suspicious person. He was an opportunist inclined to create dissension and disturbances. He was the best model for hypocrisy, since he was not in harmony with the movement to which he claimed to belong, having no faith in its values and its ideas. Such people bring severe damage to the ideological or political trend to which they are affiliated.

The deep influence that Marwān had over ʿUthmān and the serious need to establish a government free of values, in addition to his lack of faith in the Islamic culture, allowed him to play an important role in the developments that stormed the Islamic society at that time.

The role he played in reigniting the fire of anger in the hearts of those who revolted against ʿUthmān is worthy of contemplation.

He is the cousin of ʿUthmān [his paternal uncle's son]; he was born in Mecca or al-Ṭā'if; however, because the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) banished his father al-Ḥakam ibn alʿĀṣ to al-Ṭā'if, Marwān went there with him, so

يزيد لدحره، واحترقت الكعبة، ودُمّرت في ذلك الهجوم.

لكنّ عبد الله نجا عندما بلغ مكّة خبرُ هلاك يزيد.

ثمّ ادّعى الخلافة سنة ٦٤ هـ، واستولى على الحجاز واليمن والعراق وخراسان.

وطلب البيعة من عبد الله بن عبّاس، ومحمّد ابن الحنفيّة، فلم يستجيبا له، فعزم على إحراقهما، بَيْدَ أنّهما نجَوَا بعد حملة المختار.

قُتل ابن الزبير، ثمّ صُلب في عهد عبد الملك بن مروان سنة ٧٣ هـ، بعدما أغار الحجّاج على مكّة والمسجد الحرام.

هـ ـ مَروانُ بنُ الحَكَمِ

كان مروان بن الحكم شخصاً مشبوهاً، ورجلا انتهازيّاً يميل إلى اثارة الفتن والاضطرابات، ويمثّل تجسيداً للشخص المرسوس في أوساط حركة لا ينسجم مع مسارها ولا يعتقد بقيمها ولا يتماشى مع مُثُلها. وأمثال هؤلاء الأشخاص يُلحقون أضراراً فادحة بالتيّار الفكري أو السياسي الذى ينتمون إليه.

إنّ التأثير العميق الذي كان لمروان على عثمان من جهة، والرغبة الجامحة في إيجاد حكومة مجرّدة من القيم من جهة أُخرى، فضلا عن عدم اعتقاده بالثقافة الإسلاميّة، جعل له دوراً مهمّاً في التطوّرات التي عصفت بالمجتمع الإسلامي آنذاك.

لقد كان له دور جدير بالتأمّل في تأجيج نار الغضب من جديد في نفوس الثائرين على عثمان، وتعجيل اضطرام المناحرات حول دار الخلافة.

he had not seen the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).[945]

The reason for the exile of al-Ḥakam to al-Ṭā'if was that he would look inside (and peep at) the house of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) or mock at him (ṣ.a.w.) in actions and conduct.[946]

The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) cursed him and said: "Woe upon my ummah from the offspring of this person."[947]

When ʿUthmān took charge of the caliphate, he brought his uncle and his cousin [al-Ḥakam and Marwān] back to Medina and was very generous to them.[948] He granted them plenty of money[949] and gave Marwān the opportunity to involve himself in the affairs of the caliphate, so he became the scribe of ʿUthmān, or rather, he was the real theoriser of the government of ʿUthmān.

Without doubt, ʿUthmān's dependance on, and absolute obedience to him had an important role in his killing.[950]

Marwān was naive and was far from any Islamic manners, because he lived outside Medina from his childhood, being banished by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.).

He was wounded while defending ʿUthmān[951] and was hit on his nape, so that either of his neck sinews was severed, so he lived till the rest of his life with a broken crooked neck. He was nicknamed "Khayṭ al-Bātil" (the falsehood rope) because of his scrawny neck.[952] After the killing of ʿUthmān, he fled to Mecca and joined the rebels, who were the people of the Camel.[953]

In the Battle of the Camel, Marwān was the commander of the right hand side cavalry, playing a cunning role in it. During the confusion of the war, he killed Ṭalḥa, because he considered him to be the killer of ʿUthmān.[954] He was wounded in the war,[955] but Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) spared him,[956] so he joined Muʿāwiyah[957] and participated with him in the Battle of Ṣiffīn.[958]

He took charge of ruling over Medina in 42 AH[959] and prevented Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) from being buried next to his grandfather, Prophet Muhammad (ṣ.a.w.).[960]

Marwān ruled over the Muslims after Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah, but

والمترجَم له هو ابن عمّ عثمان. وُلدَ في مكّة أو في الطائف، ولكن لمّا كان النبيّ ﷺ قد نفى أباه الحكم بن أبي العاص إلى الطائف، فقد ذهب معه إليها؛ لذلك لم يَرَ رسول الله ﷺ.

وسبب نفي الحَكَم إلى الطائف هو نظره في داخل بيت النبيّ ﷺ، أو استهزاؤه بعمله وسيرته ﷺ.

لَعَنه رسول اللّه ﷺ وقال: «وَيلٌ لِأُمَّتي مِمّا في صُلبِ هذا». وعندما تقلّد عثمان أمر الخلافة، أعاد عمّه وابن عمّه إلى المدينة، وبالغ في إكرامهما وأغدق عليهما الأموال وفسح المجال لمروان أن يتدخّل في شؤون الخلافة؛ فأصبح كاتبه، بل منظّر حكومته حقّاً.

لا ريب في أنّ ركون عثمان إلى مروان، وطاعته طاعةً مطلقة كان لها دور مهمّ في قتله. وكان مروان غِرّاً لا حظّ له من آداب الإسلام في المعاشرة؛ لأنّه كان يعيش خارج المدينة منذ طفولته بوصفه طريدَ رسول اللّه ﷺ.

وجُرح أثناء دفاعه عن عثمان، وضرب على قفاه فقُطع أحد علباويه، فعاش بعد ذلك أوقص، وكان يلقّب «خيط باطل» لدقّة عنقه ثمّ فرّ بعد مقتل عثمان إلى مكّة، ولحق بالمتمرّدين؛ أي أصحاب الجمل.

وكان على الميمنة في حرب الجمل، وله فيها دور ماكر. وقُتل في مَعْمعتها طلحةَ؛ لأنّه كان يحسبهُ قاتلَ عثمان، وجُرح في الحرب، بيد أنّ الإمام عليه السلام عفا عنه، ثمّ التحق بمعاوية، واشترك معه في حرب صفّين.

تولّى حكم المدينة سنة ٤٢ هـ، وهو الذي حال دون دفن الإمام الحسن عليه السلام عند جدّه المصطفى ﷺ.

تأمّر مروان على المسلمين بعد يزيد بن معاوية، لكنّه لم يحكم أكثر من تسعة أو عشرة أشهر، فتحقّق فيه كلام الإمام أمير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه؛ إذ كان قد شبّه قِصَرَ إمارته

his rule did not last for more than nine or ten months[961]. What the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) said had come true, when he described the shortness of Marwān's government, saying: "It is like a dog licking its nose."[962] The children of Marwān came to power after him, so the Marwāni entity, which had an evil role in distorting the teachings of Islam and ruining the Islamic society, was founded. Marwān died in 65 AH.[963]

1.3

The Breakers' Readiness to Fight Imām ʿAlī

(a) The Plots of Muʿāwiah

333. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in a sermon he delivered regarding Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr before the Battle of the Camel: "It is surprising that these two were loyal to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, but disloyal to me, when they know that I am not below these two [Abū Bakr and ʿUmar]. If I willed, I would say. Muʿāwiah wrote a letter to them [Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr] from Syria trying to trick them, but they kept it hidden from me. They left professing to take vengeance for ʿUthmān."[964]

(b) The Start of the Conflict

334. **Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa:** "They [historians and narrators] mentioned that al-Zubayr and Ṭalḥa went to ʿAlī after the pledge of allegiance and said to him: "O Commander of the faithful, do you know why we have pledged allegiance to you?" ʿAlī said: "Yes, it is meant to obey me, as you pledged your allegiance to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān." They said: "Nay, but we have pledged allegiance to you, that we will be partners with you in this affair [of the government]." ʿAlī said: "Nay, but you are partners in, uprightness and assistance against disabilities and deficiencies."[965]

(c) Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr Leaving for Mecca

Following the unsuccessful attempts of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr to gain

بـ « لَعْقَةِ الكَلبِ أنفَهُ»، ثمّ تسلّط أبناؤه من بعده، فتأسّس الكيان المروانيّ الذي كان له دور خبيث سيّئ في تشويه المعارف الإسلاميّة ودمار المجتمع الإسلاميّ. هلك مروان سنة ٦٥ هـ

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تأهّب الناكثين للخروج على الإمام عليه السلام

أ ـ دَسائِسُ مُعاوِيَةَ

333. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ مِن خُطبَة لَهُ قَبلَ حَربِ الجَمَلِ في شَأنِ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ ـ ويا عَجَباً لِاستِقامَتِهِما لِأبي بَكر وعُمَرَ وبَغيِهِما عَلَيَّ! وهُما يَعلَمانِ أنّي لَستُ دونَ أحَدِهِما، ولَو شِئتُ أن أقولَ لَقُلتُ. ولَقَد كانَ مُعاوِيَةُ كَتَبَ إلَيهِما مِنَ الشّامِ كِتاباً يَخدَعُهُما فيهِ، فَكَتَماهُ عَنّي، وخَرَجا يوهِمانِ الطَّغامَ أنَّهُما يَطلُبانِ بِدَمِ عُثمانَ.

ب ـ بَدءُ الخِلافِ

334. **الإمامة والسياسة:** ذَكَروا أنَّ الزُّبَيرَ وطَلحَةَ أتَيا عَلِيّاً ـ بَعدَ فَراغِ البَيعَةِ ـ فَقالا: هَل تَدري عَلى ما بايَعناكَ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ؟

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: نَعَم، عَلَى السَّمعِ وَالطّاعَةِ، وعَلى ما بايَعتُم عَلَيهِ أبا بَكر وعُمَرَ وعُثمانَ.

فَقالا: لا، ولكِنّا بايَعناكَ عَلى أنّا شَريكاكَ فِي الأَمرِ.

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: لا، ولكِنَّكُما شَريكانِ فِي القَولِ وَالاِستِقامَةِ وَالعَونِ عَلَى العَجزِ وَالأَوَدِ.

ج ـ خُروجُ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ إلى مَكَّةَ

في أعقاب عدّة أيّام من المداولات التي أجراها طلحة والزبير مع الإمام في سبيل الحصول على بعض المناصب الحكوميّة، وكسب الامتيازات الاقتصاديّة، ولم تتمخّض هذه المباحثات إلّا عن رفضه الانصياع لمطاليبهم، تناهى إليهم خبر إعلان عائشة في مكّة عن معارضتها

governmental positions[966] and financial privileges, they came to know of ʿĀ'ishah's opposition to the Imām and dissociation from the killers of ʿUthmān. On the other hand, some of the agents of ʿUthmān had run away from Mecca with the money they had plundered from the Muslim Treasury, fearing that the Imām would make them accountable for it.

Therefore, both Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr decided to leave for Mecca and to announce their opposition to the government of the Imām. They came to him concealing this intention.

335. **Al-Jamal,** narrating from Bakr ibn ʿĪsā, who said: "ʿAlī (a.s.) took a vow and a covenant from them [Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr], greater than what he took from any other one, not to oppose and not to violate the pledge of allegiance, and not to do anything except the ʿUmra until they come back to him. They confirmed that to him, so he gave them the permission, and they left."[967]

(d) Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr Inviting ʿĀ'ishah to Revolt[968]

336. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaisān and Abū Mikhnaf, who said: "Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr came to ʿĀ'ishah and called her to set out to revolt, so she said: "Do you order me to fight?" They said: "Nay, but declare to the people that ʿUthmān was unrightly killed and invite them to consultation, as it took place after ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, so you will be able to make peace among them."[969]

(e) The Breakers' Plan for the Battle

The council of the Breakers of Allegiance is worth contemplating. They gathered in Mecca in order to devise a plan for the confrontation of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.). Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, ʿĀ'ishah, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, Yaʿlā ibn Munya, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir, ʿAbdullah ibn al-Zubayr and the likes all sat together to choose the place for fight, draw out the plan of war and the methods of confrontation.

Each one of these people had their own aims. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr

للإمام، والبراءة من قتلة عثمان. ومن جهة أُخرى فقد فرّ بعض عمّال عثمان برفقة الأموال التي نهبوها من بيت المال إلى مكّة خوفاً من حساب الإمام لهم.

وهكذا فقد عزم كلّ من طلحة والزبير على الذهاب إلى مكّة، والإعلان عن معارضتهما لحكومة الإمام من هناك. فجاءاه وهما يضمران هذه النيّة.

335. **الجمل عن بكر بن عيسى:** إنَّ عَلِيّاًعليه السلام أخَذَ عَلَيهِمَا العَهدَ وَالميثاقَ أعظَمَ ما أخَذَهُ عَلى أحَد مِن خَلقِهِ ألّا يُخالِفا ولا يَنكُثا، ولا يَتَوَجَّها وَجهاً غَيرَ العُمرَةِ حَتّى يَرجِعا إلَيهِ، فَأعطَياهُ ذلِكَ مِن أنفُسِهِما، ثُمَّ أذِن لَهُما فَخَرَجا.

د ـ دَعوَةُ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ عائِشَةَ إلَى الخُروجِ

336. **أنساب الأشراف عن صالح بن كيسان وأبي مخنف:** قالوا: قَدِمَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ عَلى عائِشَةَ، فَدَعَواها إلَى الخُروجِ، فَقالَت: أ تَأمُرانِي أن أُقاتِلَ ؟

فَقالا: لا، ولكِن تُعلِمينَ النّاسَ أنَّ عُثمانَ قُتِلَ مَظلوماً، وتَدعيهِم إلى أن يَجعَلُوا الأمرَ شورى بَينَ المُسلِمينَ؛ فَيَكونوا عَلَى الحالَةِ الَّتي تَرَكَهُم عَلَيها عُمَرُ بنُ الخَطّابِ، وتُصلِحينَ بَينَهُم.

هـ ـ تَخطيطُ النّاكِثينَ لِلحَربِ

إنّ شورى الناكثين جديرة بالتأمّل، فقد اجتمعوا في مكّة من أجل التخطيط لمواجهة أمير المؤمنينعليه السلام . وجلس طلحة، والزبير، وعائشة، ومروان بن الحكم، ويعلى بن منية، وعبد الله بن عامر، وعبد الله بن الزبير، ونظائرهم ليعيّنوا موضع القتال، ويرسموا خطّة الحرب، وأساليب المواجهة.

وكان لكلّ واحد من هؤلاء مواصفاته الخاصّة؛ فطلحة والزبير كانا لاهثَين وراء السلطة، وفي أنفسهما هوى الرئاسة والخلافة، ومروان رجل ماكر، مريب، بعيد عن الدين، وعبد الله

sought after power and had an inclination to rule and take over the caliphate. Marwān was a cunning person and was suspicious and far from religion. ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir was a governor who lost his post after being expelled, because he had filled his pockets with dinars and dirhams from the Muslim Treasury; so is the case with Yaʿlā ibn Munya. Their love for power, the tendency of affluence were mixed with blind dissension, to produce the Battle of the Camel.

After a lot of discussion, this mob chose Baṣra, because they did not trust Muʿāwiyah on the one hand, so they did not go to Syria, on the other hand they sought a city that would be a military base, at the same time; and no cities save Kūfah and Baṣra had such a characteristic. They chose Baṣra, because the people of Kūfah had an inclination towards Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), whereas the people of Baṣra were inclined to ʿUthmān. In addition, Ibn ʿĀmir had an influence in Baṣra because at one time he was its governor, and it was the very same thing that helped them to gather people around themselves and acquire important information that would prove to be useful in the war.

(f) The Letters of ʿĀ'ishah to Cities

337. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī:** "ʿĀ'ishah wrote to men from Baṣra, even as she wrote to al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, Ṣabra ibn Shaymān and their likes. She then left [from Mecca] until she got to al-Ḥufayr[970], where she waited for the reply."[971]

(g) ʿĀ'isha's Readiness to Leave for Battle

338. **Al-Jamal:** "When ʿĀ'ishah saw the assembly of people at Mecca in opposition to the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and obedience to her to fight him, she prepared herself to leave [for war].

Every day her herald would call people to get ready for the journey. The herald would call out and say: "Whoever desire to make the journey let him get ready, for the Mother of the believers is leaving towards Baṣra to take vengeance for ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān."[972]

بن عامر شخص موتور فَقَدَ سلطته بعد أن ملأ جيوبه بدنانير بيت المال ودراهمه، وهكذا كان يعلى بن منية؛ فامتزج حبّ السلطة، ونزعة الترف، وبلبلة الهوَس بفتنة عمياء تمخّضت عنها معركة الجمل.

واختارت هذه الشرذمة البصرة بعد مداولات كثيرة، ذلك أنّهم من جهة لم يثقوا بمعاوية؛ فيذهبوا إلى الشام، ومن جهة اخرى إنّهم كانوا يبتغون مدينة هي في الوقت نفسه قاعدة عسكرية ولم تكن مدينة غير الكوفة والبصرة لها هذه الخصوصيّة، فاختاروا البصرة لميل أهل الكوفة للإمام عليّ عليه السلام، وميل أهل البصرة إلى عثمان، مضافاً إلى نفوذ ابن عامر في البصرة لأنّه كان حاكماً عليها، وهذا ما يساعدهم في استقطاب الناس والحصول على معلومات ضروريّة تخدم موقف الحرب.

و ـ رَسائِلُ عائِشَةَ إلى وُجوه البِلادِ

337. **تاريخ الطبري:** كَتَبَت عائِشَةُ إلى رِجال مِن أهلِ البَصرَةِ، وكَتَبَت إلَى الأَحنَفِ بنِ قَيس، وصَبرَةَ بنِ شَيمانَ، وأَمثالِهِم مِنَ الوُجوهِ، ومَضَت حَتّى إذا كانَت بِالحُفَيرِ انتَظَرَتِ الجَوابَ بِالخَبَرِ.

ز ـ تَأَهُّبُ عائِشَةَ لِلخرُوجِ

338. **الجمل:** لَمّا رَأَت عائِشَةُ اجتِماعَ مَنِ اجتَمَعَ إلَيها بِمَكَّةَ عَلى مُخالَفَةِ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، والمُباينَةِ لَهُ وَالطّاعَةِ لَها في حَربِهِ تَأَهَّبَت لِلخُروجِ.

وكانَت في كُلِّ يَوم تُقيمُ مُنادِيَها يُنادي بِالتَّأَهُّبِ لِلمَسيرِ، وكانَ المُنادي يُنادي ويَقولُ: مَن كانَ يُريدُ المَسيرَ فَليَسِر؛ فَإِنَّ أُمَّ المُؤمِنينَ سائِرَةٌ إلَى البَصرَةِ تَطلُبُ بِدَمِ عُثمانَ بنِ عَفّانَ المَظلومِ.

(h) ʿĀ'ishah's Istirjā'

339. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha:** "When ʿĀ'ishah intended to leave to Baṣra, they asked for a strong camel for her to hold her palanquin, so Yaʿlā ibn Umayyah brought his camel called ʿAskar. It was an enormously large camel; when she saw it she liked it. The camel driver told her about its strength, until, when he mentioned its name: "'Askar", she performed istirjā'[973], then she said: "Take it back, I have no need for it." When she was asked for the reason, she said that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) mentioned this name to her and forbade her from riding on it. She ordered that another camel be brought, but they did not find one of the same features, so they changed its cover with another one and said to her: "We have brought a larger and stronger camel to you.", so he was well-pleased with it."[974]

340. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "The people passed by a well called the well of al-Ḥaw'ab,[975] so the dogs barked at them. ʿĀ'ishah asked: "What is the name of this well?" One of them answered: "It is the well of al-Ḥaw'ab." She then said: "Indeed we belong to Allah, and to Him do we indeed return."[976] Take me back, take me back! This is the well the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) related to me about, saying: "Do not be the one at whom the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab bark." So, forty men came to her and swore to Allah that it was not the well of al-Ḥaw'ab!"[977]

1.4

Imām ʿAlī's Readiness to Confront the Breakers

(a) The Imām (a.s.) Consulting with his Companions about them

Muʿāwiyah made Syria submissive to his power for numerous years with an open hand and a dictatorial domination; none of the previous Caliphs deterred him from anything. He knew the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) well and had knowledge that the Imām would never be lenient with him. So, he refused to pledge allegiance to the Imām and raised the shirt of ʿUthmān and called to seek revenge for him. He

ح ـ اِستِرجاعُ عائِشَةَ

339. **شرح نهج البلاغة:** لَمّا عَزَمَت عائِشَةُ عَلَى الخُروجِ إلَى البَصرَةِ طَلَبوا لَها بَعيراً أيِّداً يَحمِلُ هَودَجَها، فَجاءَهُم يَعلَى بنَ اُمَيَّةَ بِبَعيرِهِ المُسَمّى عَسكَراً؛ وكانَ عَظيمَ الخَلقِ شَديداً، فَلَمّا رَأتهُ أعجَبَها، وأنشَأَ الجَمّالُ يُحَدِّثُها بِقُوَّتِهِ وشِدَّتِهِ، ويَقولُ في أثناءِ كَلامِهِ: عَسكَرٌ. فَلَمّا سَمِعَت هذِهِ اللَّفظَةَ استَرجَعَت وقالَت: رُدّوهُ لا حاجَةَ لي فيهِ، وذَكَرَت حَيثُ سُئِلَت أنَّ رَسولَ اللّهِ ﷺ ذَكَرَ لَها هذَا الاِسمَ، ونَهاها عَن رُكوبِهِ، وأمَرَت أن يُطلَبَ لَها غَيرُهُ، فَلَم يوجَد لَها ما يُشبِهُهُ، فَغُيِّرَ لَها بِجِلال غَيرَ جِلالِهِ وقيلَ لَها: قَد أصَبنا لَكِ أعظَمَ مِنهُ خَلقاً، وأشَدَّ قُوَّةً، واُتيَت بِهِ فَرَضِيَت.

340. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** مَرَّ القَومُ فِي اللَّيلِ بِماء يُقالُ لَهُ: ماءَ الحَوأَب، فَنَبَحَتهُم كِلابُهُ، فَقالَت عائِشَةُ: ما هذَا الماءُ؟ قالَ بَعضُهُم: ماءُ الحَوأَبِ.

قالَت: إنّا للّهِ وإنّا إلَيهِ راجِعونَ! رُدّوني رُدّوني! هذَا الماءُ الَّذي قالَ لي رَسولُ اللّهِ: «لا تَكوني الَّتي تَنبَحُكِ كِلابُ الحَوأَبِ».

فَأتاهَا القَومُ بِأربَعينَ رَجُلاً، فَأقسَموا بِاللّهِ أنَّهُ لَيسَ بِماءِ الحَوأَبِ!!

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تأهُّبُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لِمواجَهَةِ الناكِثينَ

أ ـ اِستِشارَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام أصحابَهُ فيهِم

كان معاوية قد أخضع الشام لسلطته عدّة سنين، بيد مبسوطة وهيمنة قيصريّة، ولم يردعه أحد من الخلفاء الماضين عن أعماله قطّ. وكان يعرف أميرَ المؤمنين عليه السلام حقّ معرفته، ويعلم علم اليقين أنّه لا يتساهل معه أبداً. فامتنع عن بيعته، ورفع قميص عثمان، ونادى بالثأر له مستغلاً

took advantage of the ignorance of the people of Syria and got ready for the war. The Imām (a.s.) prepared himself to eradicate this tyrant, so he appointed commanders over the army and wrote to his agents in Egypt, Kūfah and Baṣra to send the necessary forces.

While he was organising his army, he was informed of the conspiracy of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀ'ishah in Mecca and their moving towards Baṣra.[978] He (a.s.) saw that suppressing this dissension was the best thing to do, so he called his companions to explore their views.

The session included such great companions as: ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and Sahl ibn Ḥunayf. ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās suggested that he should take Um Salamah with him, but he refused saying: "I am well-pleased with taking her out of her house as the two men [Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr] did to ʿĀ'ishah."[979] Why? Because he (a.s.) would only think about the truth, but not about victory by any means possible.

(b) The Sermon of Imām ʿAlī following the Breakers' Insurrection

341. **Al-Irshād:** "When he [ʿAlī (a.s.)] was informed of the journey of ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr from Mecca to Baṣra, he praised and glorified Allah and then said: "'ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr have set out, and each one of the two [men] makes claims for the caliphate separately from his colleague. Ṭalḥa only claims the caliphate because he is the paternal cousin of ʿĀ'ishah, whereas al-Zubayr only claims it because he is the brother-in-law of her father. By Allah, if the two are successful in what they intend, then al-Zubayr will execute Ṭalḥa or Ṭalḥa will execute al-Zubayr, this one disputing the [right to] kingship of the other.

By Allah, I know that she is the one who rides a camel. She will not stop at any pasturage; she will not go along any mountain path and will not be able to stop anywhere except in rebellion against Allah, until her soul and [that of] those with her come to their final end. A third [of those with her] will be killed, a third will flee, and a third will come back.

By Allah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr know that they are wrong and they are not ignorant about this. Many a learned man whose

جهل الشاميّين، وتأهّب للحرب. فتجهّز الإمام عليه السلام لقمع هذا الباغي، وعيّن الأُمراء على الجيش ،وكتب إلى عمّاله في مصر، والكوفة، والبصرة يستظهرهم بإرسال القوّات اللازمة.

وبينا كان يعدّ العدّة لذلك بلغه تواطؤ طلحة والزبير وعائشة في مكّة، وإثارتهم للفتنة، وتحرّكهم صوب البصرة، فرأى عليه السلام أنّ إخماد هذه الفتنة أولى، لذلك دعا وجهاء أصحابه واستطلع آراءهم.

ويستوقفنا حقّاً أُسلوب هذا الحوار، وآراء أصحابه، وموقفه الحاسم عليه السلام من قمع البغاة، وقد اشترك في الحوار المذكور: عبد الله بن عبّاس، ومحمّد بن أبي بكر، وعمّار بن ياسر، وسهل بن حُنيف، واقترح عبد اللّه بن عبّاس عليه أن يأخذ معه أُمّ سلمة أيضاً، فرفض صلوات الله عليه ذلك، وقال: «فَإنّي لا أرى إخراجَها مِن بَيتِها كَما رَأَى الرَّجُلانِ إخراجَ عائِشَةَ». ولِمَ ذاك؟ ذاك لأنّه عليه السلام لم يفكّر إلّا بالحقّ، لا بالنصر كيفما كان.

ب ـ خُطبَةُ الإمام عليه السلام لَمّا بَلَغَهُ خَبَرُ النّاكِثينَ

341. **الإرشاد:** ولَمّا اتَّصَلَ بِهِ مَسيرُ عائِشَةَ وطَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ إلَى البَصرَةِ مِن مَكَّةَ، حَمِدَ اللّه وأثنى عَلَيهِ ثُمَّ قالَ: قَد سارَت عائِشَةُ وطَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ؛ كُلُّ واحِد مِنهُما يَدَّعِي الخِلافَةَ دونَ صاحِبِهِ، لا يَدَّعي طَلحَةُ الخِلافَةَ إلّا أنَّهُ ابنُ عَمِّ عائِشَةَ، ولا يَدَّعيهَا الزُّبَيرُ إلّا أنَّهُ صِهرُ أبيها، وَاللّهِ لَئِن ظَفِرا بِما يُريدانِ لَيَضرِبَنَّ الزُّبَيرُ عُنُقَ طَلحَةَ، ولَيَضرِبَنَّ طَلحَةُ عُنُقَ الزُّبَيرِ، يُنازِعُ هذا عَلى المُلكِ هذا!

وقَد ـ وَاللّهِ ـ عَلِمَت أنَّهَا الرّاكِبَةُ الجَمَلَ، لا تَحُلُّ عُقدَةً، ولا تَسيرُ عَقَبةً، ولا تَنزِلُ مَنزِلا إلّا إلى مَعصِيَة؛ حَتّى تورِدُ نَفسَها ومَن مَعَها مَوردِاً يُقتَلُ ثُلُثُهُم، ويَهرُبُ ثُلُثُهُم، ويَرجِعُ ثُلُثُهُم.

ignorance kills him and the knowledge he has does not benefit him! By Allah, the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab shall bark at her, but does one who reflects interpret and one who thinks ponder? The band committing outrages (al-fi'ah al-bāghiyah) has risen (to rebel). Where are the good doers?"[980]

(c) The Letter of Imām ʿAlī to the People of Kūfah

342. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to the people of Kūfah, when leaving from Mecca to Baṣra: "This letter is from the servant of Allah ʿAlī, the Commander of the faithful, to the people of Kūfah, the leaders of the supporters and the notables of the Arabs.

I wish to inform you about the assassination of ʿUthmān and to make the whole affair as clear as if you were present at the occasion witnessing the incident yourselves.

People were not well-pleased with him and were blaming him. Among the Muhājirīn, I was the only one who desired to appease the people and dissatisfied. However, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were instigating the populace in such a way that the least they said was worse than that which could be asserted or alleged against ʿUthmān. ʿĀ'ishah also showed extreme annoyance and anger at him. Under such conditions, a group of people resolved to kill him and murdered him, so all the people came to pledge allegiance to me without being compelled or forced, or rather, of their own accord

Let it be known that the city towards which the Holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had migrated has been deserted by its inhabitants, like an empty pot, seething with discontentment and rebellion. A seditious campaign has started, so hasten to your Commander and fight your enemies, if Allah wills."[981]

(d) The Confusion of the Affair

343. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī:** "Ḥārith ibn Ḥawṭ al-Rānī said to him [ʿAlī (a.s.)]: "Should I think that Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀ'ishah have agreed upon something false?" He (a.s.) replied: "O Ḥārith, the truth appeared doubtful to you.[982] Indeed, the truth and the falsehood are never known by men. Know the truth, and you will know its folk, and know the falsehood, and you will know who follows it."[983]

وَاللّهِ إنَّ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرَ لَيَعلَمانِ أنَّهُما مُخطِئانِ وما يَجهَلانِ، ولَرُبَّ عالِمٍ قَتَلَهُ جَهلُهُ وعِلمُهُ مَعَهُ لا يَنفَعُهُ. وَاللهِ لَيَنبَحَنَّها كِلابُ الحَوأَبِ، فَهَل يَعتَبِرُ مُعتَبِرٌ أو يَتَفَكَّرُ مُتَفَكِّرٌ ؟! ثُمَّ قالَ: قَد قامَتِ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ؛ فَأَينَ المُحسِنونَ ؟

ج ـ كِتابُ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلى أهلِ الكوفَةِ عِندَ المَسيرِ مِنَ المَدينَةِ

342. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ مِن كِتاب لَهُ إلى أهلِ الكوفَةِ عِندَ مَسيرِهِ مِن المَدينَةِ إلَى البَصرَةِ ـ : مِن عَبدِ اللهِ عَليٍّ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ إلى أهلِ الكوفَةِ؛ جَبهَةِ الأَنصارِ، وسَنامِ العَرَبِ.

أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنّي أُخبِرُكُم عَن أمرِ عُثمانَ حَتّى يَكونَ سَمعُهُ كَعِيانِهِ: إنَّ النّاسَ طَعَنوا عَلَيهِ، فَكُنتُ رَجُلاً مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ أكثِرُ استِعتابَهُ، وأُقِلُّ عِتابَهُ، وكانَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ أهوَنُ سَيرِهِما فيهِ الوَجيفُ ، وأرفَقُ حِدائِهِمَا العَنيفُ، وكانَ مِن عائِشَةَ فيهِ فَلتَةُ غَضَب، فَأُتيحَ لَهُ قَومٌ فَقَتَلوهُ، وبايَعَني النّاسُ غَيرَ مُستَكرَهينَ ولا مُجبَرينَ، بَل طائِعينَ مُخَيَّرينَ.

وَاعلَموا أنَّ دارَ الهِجرَةِ قَد قَلَعَت بِأَهلِها وقَلَعوا بِها، وجاشَت جَيشَ المِرجَلِ ،وقامَتِ الفِتنَةُ عَلَى القُطبِ، فَأَسرِعوا إلى أميرِكُم، وبادِروا جِهادَ عَدُوِّكُم، إن شاءَ اللهُ عَزَّ وجَلَّ.

د ـ اِلتِباسُ الأَمرِ عَلى مَن لا بَصيرَةَ لَهُ

343. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** وقالَ لَهُ [لِعَلِيٍّ عليه السلام] الحارِثُ بنُ حَوط الزّانِيُّ: أظَنُّ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرَ وعائِشَةَ اجتَمَعوا عَلى باطِل ؟

فَقالَ: يا حارِثُ! إنَّهُ مَلبوسٌ عَلَيكَ، وإنَّ الحَقَّ وَالباطِلَ لا يُعرَفانِ بِالنّاسِ، ولكِن اعرِفِ الحَقَّ تَعرِف أهلَهُ، وَاعرِفِ الباطِلَ تَعرِفْ مَن أتاهُ.

1.5

Imām ʿAlī Asking for Assistance

(a) The Letter of Imām ʿAlī to the People of Kūfah

344. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** narrating from Yazīd al-Ḍakhm, who said: "When ʿAlī was informed about ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr heading towards Iraq, he quickly left, hoping to catch up with them and make them turn back. When he got to al-Rabadha, he was told that they had moved far, so he stayed in al-Rabadha for a few days. He was informed that the people intended to go to Baṣra, so he was gladdened by that and said: "The people of Kūfah hold me dear to a higher degree, and they include the leaders of the Arabs and their notables."

It is [also] narrated from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Lailā, from his father, who said: "'Alī wrote the following to the people of Kūfah: In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful. I have chosen you, because I know your devotion and love to Allah and to His Messenger (ṣ.a.w.). So, whoever comes with me and helps me has indeed answered the call of the Truth and fulfilled his duty."[984]

(b) The Imām Sending His Son to Kūfah

345. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** narrating from Abū Lailā, who said: "'Alī sent al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir to mobilise the people and sent Qaraẓa ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī as commander over Kūfah, with a letter to Abū Mūsā:

"I believe that your distance from this affair [of the government], for which Allah the Exalted has not assigned any share in it to you, will prevent you from opposing my command. I have sent al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir to mobilise the people and sent Qaraẓa ibn Ka'b al-Anṣārī as governor over the city, so dismiss yourself humiliated and defeated. If you do not do so, then I have ordered him [Qaraẓa] to ostracise you; if you ostracise

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اِستِنصارُ الإمامِ عليه السلام مِن أهلِ الكُوفَةِ

أ ـ كِتابُ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلى أهلِ الكُوفَةِ مِنَ الرَّبَذَةِ

344. **تاريخ الطبري:** عَن يَزيدَ الضَّخمِ قالَ: لَمّا أتى عَلِيّاً الخَبَرُ وهُوَ بِالمَدينَةِ بِأمرِ عائِشَةَ وطَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ أنَّهُم قَد تَوَجَّهوا نَحوَ العِراقِ، خَرَجَ يُبادِرُ وهُوَ يَرجو أن يُدرِكَهُم ويَرُدَّهُم، فَلَمَّا انتَهى إلَى الرَّبَذَةِ أتاهُ عَنهُم أنَّهُم قَد أمعَنوا، فَأقامَ بِالرَّبَذَةِ أيّاماً، وأتاهُ عَنِ القَومِ أنَّهُم يُريدونَ البَصرَةَ، فَسُرِّيَ بِذلِكَ عَنهُ، وقالَ: إنَّ أهلَ الكوفَةِ أشَدُّ إلَيَّ حُبّاً، وفيهِم رُؤوسُ العَرَبِ وأعلامُهُم... .

[و] عَن مُحَمَّدِ بنِ عَبدِ الرَّحمٰنِ بنِ أبي لَيلى عَن أبيهِ قالَ: كَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ إلى أهلِ الكوفَةِ: بِسمِ اللهِ الرَّحمٰنِ الرَّحيمِ، أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنّي اختَرتُكُم والنُّزولَ بَينَ أظهُرِكُم لِما أعرِفُ مِن مَوَدَّتِكُم وحُبِّكُم للّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ ولِرَسولِهِ صلى الله عليه وآله، فَمَن جاءَني ونَصَرَني فَقَد أجابَ الحَقَّ وقَضَى الَّذي عَلَيهِ.

ب ـ إرسالُ الإمامِ عليه السلام ابنَهُ إلَى الكوفَةِ

345. **تاريخ الطبري عن أبي ليلى:** بَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ الحَسَنَ بنَ عَلِيٍّ وعَمّارَ بنَ ياسِر يَستَنفِرانِ النّاسَ، وبَعَثَ قَرَظَةَ بنَ كَعب الأنصارِيَّ أميراً عَلَى الكوفَةِ، وكَتَبَ مَعَهُ إلى أبي موسى:

أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَقَد كُنتُ أرى أنَّ بُعدَكَ مِن هذَا الأمرِ الَّذي لَم يَجعَلِ اللّهُ عَزَّوجَلَّ لَكَ مِنهُ نَصيباً سَيَمنَعُكَ مِن رَدِّ أمري، وقَد بَعَثتُ الحَسَنَ بنَ عَلِيٍّ وعمّارَ بنَ ياسِر يَستَنفِرانِ النّاسَ، وبَعَثتُ قَرَظَةَ بنَ كَعب والِياً عَلَى المِصرِ، فَاعتَزِل مَذموماً مَدحوراً؛ فَإن لَم تَفعَل فَإنّي قَد

him, and he wins over you, he will cut you into pieces."

When the letter reached Abū Mūsā, he retired, and al-Ḥasan and ʿAmmār entered the mosque and said: "O people, the Commander of the faithful says: "I have come forth in this movement either an oppressor or an oppressed. I remind men to observe God's rights; if I am oppressed, they can help me; and if I am an oppressor, they should abandon me. By Allah, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were the first to pledge allegiance to me, and they are the first to betray. Have I taken any money or changed a law? Prepare yourselves, and command the good and forbid the wrong."[985]

(c) The Position of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī on the Representatives of Imām ʿAlī

346. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha**, narrating from Abū Mikhnaf, who said: "When Abū Mūsā heard the sermon of al-Ḥasan and ʿAmmār, he stood on the pulpit and said: "Praise be to Allah, so He honoured us with Muḥammad who united us after being dispersed, made us loving brothers after being enemies and prohibited us our blood and our money. Allah, glory be to Him, said: "Do not eat up your wealth upon yourselves wrongfully."[986] He also said: "Should anyone kill a believer intentionally, his requital shall be Hell, to remain in it [forever]."[987] So be wary of Allah, O servants of Allah, and put down your weapons and refrain from fighting your brothers."[988]

(d) Sending Mālik al-Ashtar to Confront Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī

The Imām (a.s.) was in need of the presence of the Kūfan forces alongside the rest of the army in order to face the movement of the Breakers; however, Abū Mūsā discouraging the people of Kūfah kept them from supporting the Imām (a.s.). Mālik al-Ashtar was able to solve this problem, as he was the one who suggested to the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) to keep Abū Mūsā in his position as governor of Kūfah after the Imām desired to dismiss him along with those he dismissed among the governors of ʿUthmān.

Some historical sources stated that Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said to Mālik al-Ashtar: "You are the one who interceded for Abū Mūsā that I keep him

أمَرتُهُ أن يُنابِذَكَ؛ فَإن نَابَذتَهُ فَظَفِرَ بِكَ أن يُقَطِّعَكَ آراباً.

فَلَمّا قَدِمَ الكِتابُ عَلى أبي موسَى اعتَزَلَ، ودَخَلَ الحَسنُ وعَمّارٌ المَسجِدَ، فَقالا:

أيُّهَا النّاسُ، إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ يَقولُ: إنّي خَرَجتُ مَخرَجي هذا ظالِماً أو مَظلوماً، وإنّي أُذَكِّرُ اللّه عَزَّوجَلَّ رَجُلا رَعى للّهِ حَقّاً إلّا نَفَرَ؛ فَإن كُنتُ مَظلوماً أعانَني، وإن كُنتُ ظالِماً أخَذَ مِنّي. وَاللّهِ إنَّ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرَ لاَوَّلُ مَن بايَعَني، وأوَّلُ مَن غَدَرَ، فَهَلِ استَأثَرتُ بِمال أو بَدَّلتُ حُكماً؟ فَانفِروا؛ فَمُروا بِمَعروف، وَانهَوا عَن مُنكَر.

ج ـ مَوقِفُ أبي موسى مِن مَندوبِي الإمامِ عليه السلام

346. **شرح نهج البلاغة عن أبي مِخنَف:** لَمّا سَمِعَ أبو موسى خُطبَةَ الحَسَنِ وعَمّار قامَ فَصَعِدَ المِنبَرَ، وقالَ: الحَمدُ للّهِ الَّذي أكرَمَنا بِمُحَمَّد؛ فَجَمَعَنا بَعدَ الفُرقَةِ، وجَعَلَنا إخواناً مُتَحابّينَ بَعدَ العَداوَةِ، وحَرَّمَ عَلَينا دِماءَنا وأموالَنا، قالَ اللّهُ سُبحانَهُ: ﴿وَلاَ تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَ لَكُم بَيْنَكُم بِالْبَـطِـلِ﴾، وقالَ تَعالى: ﴿وَمَن يَقْتُلْ مُؤْمِنًا مُتَعَمِّدًا فَجَزَآؤُهُ جَهَنَّمُ خَـلِدًا فِيهَا﴾، فَاتَّقُوا اللّهَ عِبادَ اللّهِ، وضَعوا أسلِحَتَكُم وكُفّوا عَن قِتالِ إخوانِكُم.

د ـ إشخاصُ الأَشتَرِ لِمُواجَهَةِ فِتنَةِ أبي موسى

كان الإمام بحاجة إلى وجود جيش الكوفة إلى جانب سائر الجيش للتصدّي بحزم لحركة الناكثين، إلّا أنّ تثبيط أبي موسى لأهالي الكوفة حال دون نهوضهم لنصرته. وكان مالك الأشتر قادراً على حلّ هذه العقدة؛ إذ إنّه هو الذي اقترح على أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام إبقاءه في منصبه على ولاية الكوفة بعد أن كان الإمام قد هَمّ بعزله فيمن عزله من ولاة عثمان.

وتصرّح بعض الوثائق التاريخيّة بأنّ الإمام قال له: «أنتَ شَفَعتَ في أبي موسى أن أُقِرَّهُ عَلَى

over Kūfah, so go and set right what you have corrupted."[989] However, the tradition narrated by Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim indicates that al-Ashtar was the one who suggested to the Imām to move towards Kūfah to deal with the insurrection that al-Ashʿarī created.

(e) The Arrival of the Kūfan Forces to Imām ʿAlī

The strict position Mālik al-Ashtar took against Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī came to an end, so he solved the problem and sent the Kūfan army. The forces left and joined the Imām in Dhī Qār. An important point to be mentioned here is that Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) informed his companions about the [exact] number of the forces coming from Kūfah before they arrived to him.

347. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** narrating from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said: "'Alī said: "Twelve thousand and one men will come to you from Kūfah." So I sat on the hill of Dhī Qār to count them, and there was not one man more or less."[990]

الكوفَةِ؛ فَاذهَب فَأَصلِح ما أفسَدتَ»، بيد أنّ الرواية التي أوردها نصر بن مزاحم تفيد أنّ الأشتر هو الذي عرض على الإمام فكرة المسير إلى الكوفة لمعالجة ما أفسده الأشعرى.

هـ ـ وُصولُ قُوّاتِ الكوفَةِ إلَى الإمامِ عليه السلام

انتهى الموقف الحاسم الذي اتّخذه مالك الأشتر من أبي موسى الأشعري بحلّ مشكلة إرسال جيش من الكوفة، فانطلقت القوّات من هناك والتحقت بالإمام في ذي قار. وممّا يسترعي الاهتمام في هذا الصدد هو أنّه عليه السلام أخبر أصحابه بعدد الجيش القادم من الكوفة قبل وصوله إليه.

347. **تاريخ الطبري عن أبي الطفيل:** قالَ عَلِيٌّ: «يَأتيكُم مِنَ الكوفَةِ اثنا عَشَرَ ألفَ رَجُل ورَجُلٌ»، فَقَعَدتُ عَلى نَجَفَةِ ذي قار، فَأَحصَيتُهُم، فَما زادوا رَجُلاً، ولا نَقَصوا رَجُلاً.

A Study about Imām ʿAlī 's Delegates to Kūfah

Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was in need of additional forces to fight the army of the people of the Camel, and Kūfah was the best city to supply him with such forces. For it was a military base and it had a very large number of fighters, in contrast to Mecca, Medina, and Yemen.

Moreover, Kūfah was the closest city to Baṣra [the campsite of the people of the Camel], which meant that it was the best place to send the forces, even though the presence of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī as governor of Kūfah hindered the mobilisation of the troops.

Hence, the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) wrote a letter to the people of Kūfah and sent two delegates to mobilise its people and motivate them to join him. It was very necessary that those delegates enjoy standing with the people of Kūfah and be able to dispute with Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

However, there is a large difference between the historical sources regarding the number of the Imām's delegates to Kūfah as follows:

1. Al-Ṭabarī mentions the Imām's delegates as follows:
   a. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Muḥammad ibn ʿAwn, Imām Ḥasan (a.s.), ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and Mālik al-Ashtar.[991]
   b. According to the narration of Sayf ibn ʿUmar: Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar, Mālik al-Ashtar, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās, Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir.

c. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah, Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir.[992]

2. In al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh, the names have been as quoted by al-Ṭabarī.[993]

3. Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah has only cited the tradition of Sayf ibn ʿUmar from al-Ṭabarī.[994]

4. As for al-Ansāb wa al-Ashrāf, it mentions the delegates in the following arrangement: Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir. It is also asserted that Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) came to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) with ten thousand fighters, but the author does not mention Mālik al-Ashtar among the delegates.[995]

5. Al-Jamal mentions the names in the following way: Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah (from al-Rabadha), Imām Ḥasan (a.s.), ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, Qays ibn Saʿd and Mālik al-Ashtar.

According to another narration from al-Wāqidī: Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) and ʿAmmār (or with the company of Ibn ʿAbbās).[996]

6. Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha mentions them as follows: Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (or Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr as is quoted by Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq), Imām Ḥasan (a.s.), Zaid ibn Ṣawḥān, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and Qays ibn Saʿd.[997]

The author then quotes al-Ṭabarī's word.[998]

7. Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa: ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, Imām Ḥasan (a.s.), ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās and Qays ibn Saʿd.[999]

This all shows the vast discrepancy regarding the number of the delegates and their order. It seems that their correct arrangement is the following:

1) Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah

While Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was in al-Rabadhah, a place close to Medina, he sent a letter with Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah to give to Abū Mūsā al-

Ashʿarī, the governor of Kūfah, to mobilise the people and invite them to fight the army of the people of the Camel. He chose Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah because he was one of the leaders of the Muslim army and was a prominent figure among the people of Kūfah.

Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah went to Kūfah and conveyed the letter of the Imām (a.s.), but he faced opposition from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, so he sent a letter from Kūfah to the Imām (a.s.), explaining in it the nature of the situation. After this, he himself went to the Imām (a.s.) and explained to him the developments in detail.

2) Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr

The second delegate of the Imām (a.s.) was Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr who had notability between all the Muslims, especially among the insurgents who opposed ʿUthmān.

The historical sources all agree that Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr was one of the delegates, even though they differ in the sequence of his dispatch. Some say that he was delegated before Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah,[1000] whereas other sources say that he was sent forth to Kūfah after Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah had returned.[1001] Other sources do not mention any particular time regarding both of them.[1002]

Furthermore, there is another difference about the members of the delegation that accompanied Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr: Muḥammad ibn ʿAwn,[1003] or Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar,[1004] or Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyah,[1005] or ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās.[1006]

3) Imām Ḥasan and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir

It can be said with certainty that Imām Ḥasan (a.s.) and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir were among the delegates the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) sent to Kūfah. After the other delegates were unable to convince Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and the people of Kūfah to rise and join the Imām (a.s.), he sent these two men there. Historical books and traditions have quoted their sermons in Kūfah and their debate with Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

At the end of their trip, they left in the company of the Kūfan army

and joined the army of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). Some of the historical sources have confirmed that the dispatch of the Kūfan forces was the result of the efforts of these two people,[1007] whereas other sources have spoken about the role of Mālik al-Ashtar in expelling Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī from the State House.[1008]

4) Mālik al-Ashtar

The name of Mālik al-Ashtar has been mentioned as the delegate of the Imām (a.s.) to Kūfah; most sources have asserted that he is the last of the delegates, saying: His efforts ended up with mobilising the people of Kūfah and sending their army to support the Imām.

Some sources have said that al-Ashtar was dispatched to Kūfah at the beginning, but his efforts were unsuccessful.[1009]

It is important to mention that al-Ashtar had a unique notability among the people of Kūfah. During the reign of ʿUthmān and at the peak of the Caliph's dominance, he was able to take control of Kūfah and incite its people against ʿUthmān. Hence, it is most likely that al-Ashtar was the last delegate to settle the affair.

As for the traditions that counts him as the first of the delegates and that he was unsuccessful in his mission, it was narrated by Sayf ibn ʿUmar who is known to have had public enmity to al-Ashtar, as clearly seen in Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī.

Other sources say that al-Ashtar himself expressed his interest in going to Kūfah[1010] , because Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī was ʿUthmān's governor over Kūfah, and the Imām intended to dismiss him, but he kept him in his post by request of al-Ashtar. It can be understood that he desired thereby to make amends for his first mistake.

1.6.

Occupation of Baṣra

(a) The Debate Between the Representative of the Governor and the Breakers

348. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf,** narrating from Abū Mikhnaf, "When ʿĀ'ishah and those with her got close to Baṣra, ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf sent ʿImrān ibn al-Ḥuṣain al-Khuzāʿī Abū Nujaid and Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī to them; they met them at the pond[1011] of Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and said to them: "Why have you come?" They said: "We seek revenge for the blood of ʿUthmān and to make the affair of the government determined by consultation. We were angry for you because of his [ʿUthmān's] whips and sticks, so should we not be angry for him because of the drawing of the sword?"

The two said to ʿĀ'ishah: "Allah commanded you to stay in your house, for indeed you are under the ruling of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) and you are his wife and [among] his womenfolk." She said to Abū al-Aswad: "O Abū al-Aswad, I have been informed of what you have said about me!" Then ʿImrān and Abū al-Aswad went back to Ibn Ḥunayf. Abū al-Aswad said:

O Ibn Ḥunayf, they are coming, so rise,
And attack the group and fight them and be patient.
Show them your weapons and stand to face them.

ʿUthmān [ibn Ḥunayf] then said: "I will do so definitely, by the Lord of the two Holy sanctuaries [Mecca and Medina]."[1012]

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اِحْتِلالُ البَصْرَةِ

أ ـ مُناقَشاتُ مَندوبِ الوالي وَالنّاكِثينَ

348. **أنساب الأشراف عن أبي مِخنَف في إسناده:** ولَمّا قَرُبَت عائِشَةُ ومَن مَعَها مِنَ البَصرَةِ بَعَثَ إلَيهِم عُثمانُ بنُ حُنَيف عِمرانَ بنَ الحُصَينِ الخُزاعِيَّ أبا نُجَيد، وأبَا الأَسوَدِ الدُّؤَلِيَّ، فَلَقِياهُم بِحَفرِ أبي موسى فَقالا لَهُم: فيما قَدِمتُم؟ فَقالوا: نَطلُبُ بِدَمِ عُثمانَ، وأن نَجعَلَ الأَمرَ شورى؛ فَإنّا غَضِبنا لَكُم مِن سَوطِهِ وعَصاهُ؛ أفَلا نَغضَبُ لَهُ مِنَ السَّيفِ ؟! !

وقالا لِعائِشَةَ: أَمَرَكِ اللّهُ أن تَقَرّي في بَيتِكِ؛ فَإنَّكِ حَبيسُ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ وحَليلَتُهُ وحُرمَتُهُ. فَقالَت لِأَبِي الأَسوَدِ: قَد بَلَغَني عَنكَ يا أبَا الأَسوَدِ ما تَقولُ فِيَّ! ! فَانصَرَفَ عِمرانُ وأبُو الأَسوَدِ إلَى ابنِ حُنَيف، وجَعَلَ أبُو الأَسوَدِ يَقولُ:

يَـا بنَ حُنَيف قَـد أُتيتَ فَانفِرِ وطاعِنِ القَومَ وضارِب وَاصبِرِ

وَابرُز لَهُم مُستَلئِماً وشَمِّرِ

فَقالَ عُثمانُ: إي ورَبِّ الحَرَمَينِ لأَفعَلَنَّ.

(b) Besieging the State House

349. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf:** "'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf called the people, so they armed themselves. Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀ'ishah came forward until they reached the rest place of Mirbad next to [the rest place of] Banī Sulaym, and the people of Baṣra came with 'Uthmān [ibn Ḥunayf] on horseback and on foot. Ṭalḥa delivered a sermon saying: "'Uthmān ibn ʿAffān was one of the people of precedence and virtue among the first of the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār. He did something (evil) that made us bear a grudge against him, so we distanced ourselves from him, and he satisfied (us) after blame, as soon as we treated him in a conciliatory manner. Then a man who usurped the government of this ummah, without the consultation of the people, attacked and killed him. A number of unrighteous and impious men helped him and killed him innocently. We therefore invite you to demand the revenge of his blood, for he is the oppressed Caliph. Al-Zubayr then spoke. So the people began to disagree. Some of them said: "The two have spoken the truth." Others said: "They are lying, and indeed these two were against 'Uthmān more than all other people." People disagreed and voices were raised.

ʿĀ'ishah was brought with her palanquin, so she said: "Silence, silence!" She delivered a sermon with an eloquent tongue and sonorous voice, so all the people stayed silent. She then said: "'Uthmān is your Caliph who was innocently killed after he had repented to his Lord and left his sin. By Allah, his actions were not worthy of shedding his blood, so we should quite rightly arrest his killers and retaliate from them, and then make the affair [of the government] determined by consultation."

Some of the people said: "You speak the truth." Others said: "You lie." So they began to hit each other with sandals and separated into two groups, one group supporting ʿĀ'ishah and her followers, and the other group supporting 'Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf. Ḥukaym ibn Jabala, sitting on the horse of Ibn Ḥunayf, came to attack, saying:

ب ـ حَصرُ دارِ الإمارَةِ وَالقِتالُ حَولَها

349. **أنساب الأشراف:** ونادى عُثمانُ بنُ حُنَيف فِي النّاسِ فَتَسَلَّحوا، وأقبَلَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ وعائِشَةُ حَتّى دَخَلُوا المِربَدَ مِمّا يَلي بَني سُلَيم، وجاءَ أهلُ البَصرَةِ مَعَ عُثمانَ رُكباناً ومُشاةً، وخَطَبَ طَلحَةُ فَقالَ: إنَّ عُثمانَ بنَ عَفّانَ كانَ مِن أهلِ السّابِقَةِ وَالفَضيلَةِ مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ الأَوَّلينَ، وأحدَثَ أحداثاً نَقَمناها عَلَيهِ، فَبايَنّاهُ ونافَرناهُ، ثُمَّ أعتَبَ حينَ استَعتَبناهُ، فَعَدا عَلَيهِ امرُؤٌ ابتَزَّ هذِهِ الأُمَّةَ أمرَها بِغَيرِ رِضىً ولا مَشورَة، فَقَتَلَهُ، وساعَدَهُ عَلى ذلِكَ رِجالٌ غَيرُ أبرار ولا أتقِياءَ، فَقَتلوهُ بَريئاً تائِباً مُسلِماً، فَنَحنُ نَدعوكُم إلَى الطَّلَبِ بِدَمِهِ؛ فَإنَّهُ الخَليفَةُ المَظلومُ. وتَكَلَّمَ الزُّبَيرُ بِنَحو مِن هذَا الكَلامِ.

فَاختَلَفَ النّاسُ؛ فَقالَ قائِلونَ: نَطَقا بِالحَقِّ، وقالَ آخَرونَ: كَذِبا ولَهُما كانا أشَدَّ النّاسِ عَلى عُثمانَ! ! وَارتَفَعَتِ الأَصواتُ.

وأُتِيَ بِعائِشَةَ عَلى جَمَلِها في هَودَجِها فَقالَت: صَه صَه، فَخَطَبَت بِلِسان ذَلق وصَوت جَهوَرِيٍّ، فأسكَتَ لَهَا النّاسُ فَقالَت: إنَّ عُثمانَ خَليفَتَكُم قُتِلَ مَظلوماً بَعدَ أن تابَ إلى رَبِّهِ، وخَرَجَ مِن ذَنبِهِ، وَاللّهِ مابَلَغَ مِن فِعلِهِ ما يُستَحَلُّ بِهِ دَمُهُ؛ فَيَنبَغي فِي الحَقِّ أن يُؤخَذَ قَتَلَتُهُ فَيُقتَلوا بِهِ، ويُجعَلَ الأَمرُ شورى.

فَقالَ قائِلونَ: صَدَقتِ. وقالَ آخَرونَ: كَذَبتِ، حَتّى تَضارَبوا بِالنِّعالِ وتَمايَزوا، فَصاروا فِرقَتَينِ: فِرقَةٌ مَعَ عائِشَةَ وأصحابِها، وفرقَةٌ مَعَ ابنِ حُنَيف، وكانَ عَلى خَيلِ ابنِ حُنَيف حُكَيمُ بنُ جَبَلَةَ، فَجَعَلَ يَحمِلُ ويَقولُ:

My cavalry, rush to me, it is Quraish,
Let their bliss and frivolity ruin them.

They [the army of the people of the Camel] prepared themselves for battle until they reached al-Zābūqah,[1013] ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf charged at them in the early morning, and the fight was intense. Many people were killed and many wounded on the battleground. Then they called for peace and they wrote a peace treaty between them that they would not attack each other in the market or the streets until ʿAlī (a.s.) comes. The State House, the Muslim Treasury and the mosque would be with ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf, and Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and their follwers could reside wherever they wished. The people dispersed and put down their weapons."[1014]

(c) The Breakers Taking over Baṣra

350. **Al-Jamal,** in mentioning what happened after the treaty between ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf and the people of the Camel: "Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr desired to betray him [Ibn Ḥunayf]; in a dark windy night, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and their companions came out until they reached the State House, while ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf was unaware. Some sindi soldiers were guarding the Muslim Treasury; these were a group of dark Indians who had converted to Islam, and their foreheads became callus out of frequent prostration. ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf ordered them to guard the Muslim Treasury and the State House. The people of the Camel attacked them from all sides, besieging them with their swords, so forty of the guards were savagely killed. Al-Zubayr alone was in charge of this onslaught. They turned to attack ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf and tied him up with a rope. Then they began to pluck out his beard hair, for he was an old man with thick hair, until nothing was left, not even one piece of hair. Ṭalḥa said: "Torture this corrupt person. Pluck out the hair of his eyebrows and his eyelashes, and pull him with metal chains."[1015]

(d) ʿĀ'ishah Ordering the Killing of ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf

351. **Al-Jamal:** "Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr said to ʿĀ'ishah [after they had captured ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf]: "What do you order us to do

خَيلي إلَيَّ إنَّها قُرَيشُ لَيُردِيَنَّها نَعيمُها وَالطَّيشُ

وتَأَهَّبوا لِلقِتالِ، فَانتَهَوا إلَى الزّابوقَةِ، وأصبَحَ عُثمانُ بنُ حُنَيف فَزَحَفَ إلَيهِم، فَقاتَلَهُم أشَدَّ قِتال، فَكَثُرَت بَينَهُمُ القَتلى، وفَشَت فيهِمُ الجِراحُ. ثُمَّ إنَّ النّاسَ تَداعَوا إلَى الصُّلحِ، فَكَتَبوا بَينَهُم كِتاباً بِالمُوادَعَةِ إلى قُدومِ عَلِيٍّ عَلى أن لا يَعرِضَ بَعضُهُم لِبَعض في سوق ولا مَشرَعَة، وأنَّ لِعُثمانَ بنِ حُنَيف دارَ الإمارَةِ وبَيتَ المالِ وَالمَسجِدَ، وأنّ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرَ يَنزِلانِ ومَن مَعَهُما حَيثُ شاؤوا. ثُمَّ انصَرَفَ النّاسُ وألقَوُا السِّلاحَ.

ج ـ إستيلاءُ النّاكِثينَ عَلَى البَصرَةِ

350. **الجمل** ـ في ذِكرِ ماحَدَثَ بَعدَ مُصالَحَةِ عُثمانَ بنِ حُنَيف وأصحابِ الجَمَلِ ـ: طَلَبَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ غَدرَتَهُ، حَتّى كانَت لَيلَةٌ مُظلِمَةٌ ذاتُ رِياح، فَخَرَجَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ وأصحابُهُما حَتّى أتَوا دارَ الإمارَةِ وعُثمانُ بنُ حُنَيف غافِلٌ عَنهُم، وعَلَى البابِ السَّبابِجَةُ يَحرُسونَ بُيوتَ الأموالِ وكانوا قَوماً مِنَ الزُّطِّ قَدِ استَبصَروا وأكَلَ السُّجودُ جِباهَهُم، وَانتَمَنَهُم عُثمانُ عَلى بَيتِ المالِ ودارِ الإمارَةِ فَأكَبَّ عَلَيهِمُ القَومُ وأخَذوهُم مِن أربعِ جَوانِبِهِم، ووَضَعوا فِيهِمُ السَّيفَ، فَقَتَلوا مِنهُم أربَعينَ رَجُلاً صَبراً !يَتَوَلّى مِنهُم ذلِكَ الزُّبَيرُ خاصَّةً، ثُمَّ هَجَموا عَلى عُثمانَ فَأَوثَقوهُ رِباطاً، وعَمَدوا إلى لِحيَتِهِ ـ وكانَ شَيخاً كَثَّ اللِّحيَةِ ـ فَنَتَفوها حَتّى لَم يَبقَ مِنها شَيءٌ ولا شَعرَةٌ واحِدَةٌ! وقالَ طَلحَةُ: عَذِّبُوا الفاسِقَ، وَانتِفوا شَعرَ حاجِبَيهِ، وأشفارَ عَينَيهِ، وأوثِقوهُ بِالحَديدِ !

د ـ أمرُ عائِشَةَ بِقَتلِ عُثمانَ بنِ حُنَيف

351. **الجمل**: قالَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ لِعائِشَةَ [بَعدَما أخَذا عُثمانَ بنَ حُنَيف]: ما تَأمُرينَ في عُثمانَ؟ فَإنَّهُ لِما بِهِ.

with ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf after what he has done?" She said: "Kill him, may Allah kill him!" A woman from Baṣra was with ʿĀ'ishah, so she said to her: "O Mother, where are they taking you? Do you order to kill ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf when his brother Sahl is the governor of Medina. You know his position among the tribes of Aws and Khazraj. By Allah, if you do this, Sahl will gain so much power in Medina that he will be able to kill the offspring of Quraish."

ʿĀ'ishah changed her mind, so she said: "Do not kill him, but jail him and be harsh towards him until I make up my mind." He was jailed for a few days, but they were scared that his brother will imprison their elders in Medina and attack them, so they freed him."[1016]

(e) Killing the Opposition

352. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** narrating from al-Zuhrī, who said: "Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr stood up to deliver a sermon and said: "O people of Baṣra, we repent from us sins. We desired that the Commander of the faithful ʿUthmān be treated in a conciliatory manner, and we did not want to kill him, but the foolish among the people overcame the forbearing, so they killed him."

The people said to Ṭalḥa: "O Abū Muḥammad, your letters to us say something different to this!" Al-Zubayr said: "Did you receive a letter from me regarding ʿUthmān?" He then spoke about ʿUthmān's assassination and what happened to him, exposing the faults of ʿAlī (a.s.). Then a man from the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe stood up to him and said: "O man, be silent so we can speak." ʿAbdullah ibn al-Zubayr then said: "What do you have to say?"

The man from the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe said: "O group of Muhājirīn, you are the first of the people to answer the [call of the] Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), and you have your virtue in this, so the rest of the people embraced Islam as you embraced it. When the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) passed away, you gave your pledge

فَقالَت: أقتُلوهُ قَتَلَهُ اللهُ! وكانَت عِندَهَا امرَأَةٌ مِن أهلِ البَصرَةِ فَقالَت لَها: يا أُمّاه !أينَ يُذهَبُ بِكِ ؟! أ تَأمُرينَ بِقَتلِ عُثمانَ بنِ حُنَيف، وأخوهُ سَهلٌ خَليفَةٌ عَلَى المَدينَةِ، ومَكانُهُ مِنَ الأَوسِ وَالخَزرَجِ ما قَد عَلِمتِ! وَاللّهِ، لَئِن فَعَلتِ ذلِكَ لَتَكونَنَّ لَهُ صَولَةٌ بِالمَدينَةِ يُقتَلُ فيها ذَراري قُرَيش.

فَنابَ إلى عائِشَةَ رَأيُها وقالَت: لا تَقتُلوهُ، ولكِن احبِسوهُ وضَيِّقوا عَلَيهِ حَتّى أرى رَأيي.

فَحُبِسَ أيّاماً، ثُمَّ بَدا لَهُم في حَبسِهِ، وخافوا مِن أخيهِ أن يَحبِسَ مَشايِخَهُم بِالمَدينَةِ ويوقِعَ بِهِم، فَتَرَكوا حَبسَهُ.

هـ ـ قَتلُ المُعارِضينَ

352. **تاريخ الطبري عن الزهري:** قامَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ خَطيبَينِ فَقالا: يا أهلَ البَصرَةِ !توبَةٌ بِحَوبَة، إنَّما أردَنا أن يُستَعتَبَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عُثمانُ، ولَم نُرِد قَتلَهُ، فَغَلَبَ سُفَهاءُ النّاسِ الحُلَماءَ حَتّى قَتَلوهُ.

فَقالَ النّاسُ لِطَلحَةَ: يا أبا مُحَمَّد، قَد كانَت كُتُبُكَ تَأتينا بِغَيرِ هذا! فَقالَ الزُّبَيرُ: فَهَل جاءَكُم مِنّي كِتابٌ في شَأنِهِ؟ ثُمَّ ذَكَرَ قَتلَ عُثمانَ وما أتى إلَيهِ، وأظهَرَ عَيبَ عَلِيٍّ. فَقامَ إلَيهِ رَجُلٌ مِن عَبدِ القَيسِ فَقالَ: أيُّهَا الرَّجُلُ! أنصِت حَتّى نَتَكَلَّمَ، فَقالَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ الزُّبَيرِ: وما لَكَ ولِلكَلامِ؟ فَقالَ العَبدِيُّ:

يامَعشَرَ المُهاجِرينَ، أنتُم أوَّلُ مَن أجابَ رَسولَ اللّهِ ﷺ، فَكانَ لَكُم بِذلِكَ فَضلٌ، ثُمَّ

of allegiance to a man who was from among you; and, by Allah, you did not seek our opinion in this at all, but we accepted and followed you. Allah brought blessings to the Muslims through his government; then he died after he appointed another man from among you as successor and again you did not consult us in this, but we accepted and submitted. When he died, he entrusted the government to six people, and you chose ʿUthmān and pledged allegiance to him without consulting us. Then you did not accept the actions of this man, so you killed him without consulting us. After that, you gave your pledge of allegiance to ʿAlī without consulting us, so what is it that you hate in him to fight him? Has he taken something from the Muslim Treasury for himself? Has he undertaken anything contrary to the truth? Or has he committed something that you are not pleased with, so we can be with you against him? And if not, then what are you doing?"

They wanted to kill this man, but his tribe protected him; however, the next day they attacked him and those with him and killed seventy men."[1017]

1.7.

From Dhī Qār To Baṣra

(a) Taking the Allegiance

353. **Al-Irshād,** narrating from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "When he [Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)] stopped at Dhī Qār, he took the pledge of allegiance from those who were present. After that he addressed them. He was profuse in his praise and glorification of Allah and in calling for blessings on the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). Then he said:

"Affairs which we have [resolutely] endured have taken place earlier; [it was as if] there was a mote in our eyes in surrendering to the authority of Allah, the Exalted, in matters by which He tested

دَخَلَ النّاسُ فِي الإسلامِ كَما دَخَلتُم، فَلَمّا تُوُفِّيَ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ بايَعتُم رَجُلاً مِنكُم، وَاللّهِ مَا استَأمَرتُمونا في شَيء مِن ذلِكَ، فَرَضينا وَاتَّبعناكُم، فَجَعَلَ اللّهُ عَزَّ وجَلَّ لِلمُسلِمِينَ في إمارَتِهِ بَرَكَةً، ثُمَّ ماتَ وَاستَخلَفَ عَلَيكُم رَجُلاً مِنكُم فَلَم تُشاوِرونا في ذلِكَ، فَرَضينا وسَلَّمنا، فَلَمّا تُوُفِّيَ الأَميرُ جَعَلَ الأَمرَ إلى سِتَّةِ نَفَر، فَاختَرتُم عُثمانَ وبايَعتُموهُ عَن غَيرِ مَشورَة مِنّا، ثُمَّ أنكَرتُم مِن ذلِكَ الرَّجُلِ شَيئاً فَقَتَلتُموهُ عَن غَيرِ مَشوَرة مِنّا، ثُمَّ بايَعتُم عَلِيّاً عَن غَيرِ مَشورَة مِنّا، فَمَا الَّذي نَقَمتُم عَلَيهِ فَنُقاتِلَهُ؟ هَل استَأثَرَ بِفَيء؟ أو عَمِلَ بِغَيرِ الحَقِّ؟ أو عَمِلَ شَيئاً تُنكِرونَهُ فَنَكونَ مَعَكُم عَلَيهِ؟ وإلّا فَما هذا ؟

فَهَمّوا بِقَتلِ ذلِكَ الرَّجُلِ، فَقامَ مِن دونِهِ عَشيرَتُهُ، فَلَمّا كانَ الغَدُ وَثَبوا عَلَيهِ وعَلى مَن كانَ مَعَهُ، فَقَتَلوا سَبعينَ رَجُلاً.

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مِن ذي قارٍ إلَى البَصرَةِ

أ ـ أخذُ البَيعَةِ عَلى مَن حَضَرَ

353. **الإرشاد عن ابن عبّاس:** لَمّا نَزَلَ [الإمامُ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام] بِذي قار أخَذَ البَيعَةَ عَلى مَن حَضَرَهُ، ثُمَّ تَكَلَّمَ فَأكثَرَ مِنَ الحَمدِ للّهِ وَالثَّناءِ عَلَيهِ وَالصَّلاةِ عَلى رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

قَد جَرَت أُمورٌ صَبَرنا عَلَيها ـ وفي أعيُنِنَا القَذى ـ تَسليماً لِأَمرِ اللّهِ تَعالى فيمَا امتَحَنَنا

us. There is reward for that, for endurance of them was better than causing division among the Muslims and shedding their blood. We are the family of the House of Prophethood and the offspring of the Messenger; we have better right to the authority of the [prophetic] mission, and we are the source of virtue by which Allah initiated this community. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr are not of the family of Prophethood or of the offspring of the Messenger. When they saw that Allah had restored our right to us after some time, they could not wait for one year, or even one full month before they launched an attack, following in the footsteps of those before them, so that they might take away my rights and separate the unity of the Muslims from me." Then he prayed against them."[1018]

(b) The Arrival of ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf

354. **Al-Jamal:** "Ibn Ḥunayf left [from Baṣra] until he came to Commander of the faithful (a.s.), when he was in Dhī Qār; when the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) saw that he had been tortured by that group [the people of the Camel], he cried and said: "O ʿUthmān, I sent you an old man with a beard, and they have brought you back to me without a beard! O Allah, You indeed know that they have transgressed You and have violated Your sanctities. O Allah, kill them for every one of my followers they have killed, and hasten [Your] wrath over them for what they have done to my vicegerent [in Baṣra]."[1019]

(c) The Arrival of Imām ʿAlī at Baṣra

355. **Murūj al-Dhahab,** narrating from al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd, who said: "'Alī (a.s.) entered Baṣra from the side of the battlefield...., until they reached a place known as al-Zāwiya. He prayed four units of prayer and put his cheeks on the earth, mixing the soil with his tears, and then he raised his hands praying to God:

"O Allah, Lord of the worlds and all that it oversees, and [Lord] of the lands and all that it carries, and Lord of the Great Throne,

بِهِ رَجاءَ الثَّوابِ عَلى ذلِكَ، وكانَ الصَّبرُ عَلَيها أمثَلَ مِن أن يَتَفَرَّقَ المُسلِمونَ وتُسفَكَ دِماؤُهُم.

نَحنُ أهلُ بَيتِ النُّبُوَّةِ، وأحَقُّ الخَلقِ بِسُلطانِ الرِّسالَةِ، ومَعدِنُ الكَرامَةِ الَّتِي ابتَدَأَ اللّهُ بِها هذِهِ الأُمَّةَ.

وهذا طَلحَةُ وُالزُّبَيرُ لَيسا مِن أهلِ النُّبُوَّةِ ولا مِن ذُرِّيَّةِ الرَّسولِ، حينَ رَأيا أنَّ اللّهَ قَد رَدَّ عَلَينا حَقَّنا بَعدَ أعصُر، فَلَم يَصبِرا حَولا واحِداً ولا شَهراً كامِلا حَتّى وَثَبا عَلى دَأبِ الماضينَ قَبلَهُما، لِيَذهَبا بِحَقّي، ويُفَرِّقا جَماعَةَ المُسلِمينَ عَنّي. ثُمَّ دَعا عَلَيهِما.

ب ـ قُدومُ عُثمانَ بنِ حُنَيفٍ

354. **الجمل:** خَرَجَ ابنُ حُنَيف حَتّى أتى أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام وهُوَ بِذي قار، فَلَمّا نَظَرَ إلَيهِ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، وقَد نَكَّلَ بِهِ القَومُ، بَكى وقالَ: يا عُثمانُ، بَعَثتُكَ شَيخاً ألحى فَرَدّوكَ أمرَدَ إلَيَّ! اللّهُمَّ إنَّكَ تَعلَمُ أنَّهُمُ اجتَرَؤوا عَلَيكَ وَاستَحَلّوا حُرُماتِكَ، اللّهُمَّ اقتُلهُم بِمَن قَتَلوا مِن شيعَتي، وعَجِّل لَهُمُ النَّقمَةَ بِما صَنَعوا بِخَليفَتي.

ج ـ قُدومُ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلَى البَصرَةِ

355. **مروج الذهب عن المنذر بن الجارود:** لَمّا قَدِمَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام البَصرَةَ دَخَلَ مِمّا يَلي الطَّفَّ ـ إلى أن قالَ ـ: فَساروا حَتّى نَزَلُوا المَوضِعَ المَعروفَ بِالزّاوِيَةِ، فَصَلّى أربَعَ رَكَعات، وعَفَّرَ خَدَّيهِ عَلَى التُّرابِ، وقَد خَالَطَ ذلِكَ دُموعَهُ، ثُمَّ رَفَعَ يَدَيهِ يَدعو:

this is Baṣra, and I ask of You the good of it, and I seek refuge to You from its evil. O Allah, make us settle down in it in the best form, for You are the Best of Settlers. O Allah, these people have disobeyed me , revolted against me, and broken my allegiance. O Allah, save the blood of the Muslims."[1020]

1.8.

The Attempts of Imām ʿAlī to Prevent Fighting

When the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) moved from Dhī Qār with his forces, he sent Ṣaʿṣaʿah ibn Ṣawhān to Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀ'ishah with a letter about their ignition of the dissension. He (a.s.) reminded them of their malice and the stand they took against ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf and warned them against the consequence of their actions. Ṣaʿṣaʿah came back and informed the Imām, saying: "I saw a people eager for nothing but to fighting."[1021]

Both armies prepared themselves for battle, but the Imām (a.s.) did not allow his companions to begin the fight and tried at first to deter the instigators of the dissension from commencing war. His words with the leaders of the army of the Camel and with the army itself are indeed worthy of contemplation.[1022] He spent his utmost effort to maintain peace and prevent the fire of war. He sent letters to the army commanders urging them not to clash[1023] and dispatched his delegates to negotiate with them.[1024] When his efforts were of no avail, he himself went to them.[1025] These letters and discussions describe to us his personality and the great status he holds. He spoke about the killing of ʿUthmān with accurate information, uncovering the dimensions of the incident, and closed the opportunity for the instigators of the dissension to cling onto any unsubstantial excuses.

When he found that his efforts were unsuccessful, he (a.s.) ordered his companions to control themselves and stay calm, saying to them:

اللّٰهُمّ رَبَّ السَّمواتِ وما أظَلَّت، وَالأَرَضينَ وما أقَلَّت، ورَبَّ العَرشِ العَظيمِ، هذِهِ البَصرَةُ أسأَلُكَ مِن خَيرِها، وأعوذُ بِكَ مِن شَرِّها، اللّٰهمَّ أنزِلنا فيها خَيرَ مُنزَل وأنتَ خَيرُ المُنزِلينَ، اللّٰهمَّ إنّ هؤُلاءِ القَومَ قَد خَلَعوا طاعَتي وبَغَوا عَلَيَّ ونَكَثوا بَيعَتي، اللّٰهمَّ احقِن دِماءَ المُسلِمينَ.

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جُهُودُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِمَنعِ القِتالِ

عندما تحرّك الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام مع قوّاته من ذي قار، بعث صَعْصَعة بن صوحان إلى طلحة والزبير وعائشة، ومعه كتاب تحدّث فيه عن إثارتهم للفتنة، وذكر فيه موقفهم الحاقد الماكر من عثمان بن حُنيف، وحذّرهم من مغبّة عملهم، وعاد صعصعة فأخبره قائلاً: «رَأَيتُ قَوماً ما يُريدونَ إلّا قِتالَكَ».

وتأهّبت قوّات الطرفين للحرب، بيد أنّ الإمام سلام الله عليه منع أصحابه من أن يبدؤوهم بقتال، وحاول في بادئ أمره أن يردع أُولي الفتنة عن الحرب. وإنّ حديثه عليه السلام مع قادة جيش الجمل، ومع الجيش نفسه يجلب الانتباه. وبذل قصارى جهوده في سبيل المحافظة على الهدوء، والحؤول دون اشتعال نار الحرب، فبعث إلى قادة الجيش رسائل يحثّهم فيها على عدم الاصطدام، ثمّ أوفد مبعوثيه للتفاوض معهم. ولمّا لم تثمر جهوده شيئاً، ذهب بنفسه إليهم. ونلاحظ أنّ الإمام عليه السلام قد ترجم لنا في تلك الرسائل والمحاورات شخصيّته وأبان عظيم قدره، وأماط اللثام عن الموقف السابق الذي كان عليه مساعير الحرب، وتحدّث مرّة أُخرى عن قتل عثمان وكيفيّته بدقّة تامّة، وكشف أبعاد ذلك الحادث، وأغلق على مثيري الفتنة تشبّثهم بالمعاذير الواهية. ولمّا وجد ذلك عقيماً وتأهّب الفريقان للقتال، أوصى عليه السلام أصحابه بمَلْك

"Do not hasten until we have had an excuse with the people...." He then went to them and debated with them, but did not get any reply.

After all this, he sent Ibn ʿAbbās again for the last negotiation, that he might be able to deter them from war, so the blood of Muslims would not be spilt in vain; however, their hearing was sealed so they did not listen to the envoy of the Imām (a.s.) as they did not listen to the Imām (a.s.) himself.[1026]

(a) The Courageous Effort to Save the Enemy

356. **Murūj al-Dhahab:** "'Alī came out by himself riding on the mule of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) without any armour, so he called out: "O Zubayr, come out to me." Al-Zubayr came to him covered with an armour. When ʿĀ'ishah was informed about that, she said: "O Asmā', woe unto your calamity." When she was then told that ʿAlī is without his armour, she felt at ease. They [ʿAlī (a.s.) and al-Zubayr] hugged each other, and ʿAlī (a.s.) said to him: "O Zubayr, woe unto you! What has forth you to revolt?" He said: "The blood of ʿUthmān." He (a.s.) said: "May Allah kill whoever was the most involved in the killing of ʿUthmān. Do you not remember when I met the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) riding his donkey? The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) laughed to me and I laughed to him, when you were with him. Then you said: "O Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), ʿAlī will not leave his pride."

He replied to you, saying: "He has no pride. O Zubayr, do you love him?"

You said: "By Allah, I do love him."

Then he said to you: "By Allah, you will fight him when you are unjust to him."

Al-Zubayr then said: "I seek forgiveness from Allah. By Allah, if I had remembered it, I would not have revolted."

He (a.s.) said to him: "O Zubayr, go back."

Al-Zubayr said: "How should I go back when the belt[1027] [of war] has been fastened?! By Allah, this is a disgrace that cannot be

أنفسهم والمحافظة على الهدوء، وقال: «لا تَعجَلوا حَتّى أُعذِرَ إلَى القَومِ...». فقام إليهم فاحتجّ عليهم فلم يجد عند القوم إجابة.

وبعد اللتيا والتي، بعث ابن عبّاس ثانية من أجل التفاوض الأخير؛ لعلّه يردعهم عن الحرب ؛، لئلّا تُسفك دماء المسلمين هدراً، بيد أنّ القوم خُتم على سمعهم، فلم يصغوا إلى رسول الإمام، كما لم يصغوا إلى الإمامعليه السلام من قبل. وقد كان لعائشة وعبد الله بن الزبير خاصّة الدور الأكبر في ذلك.

أ ـ الإقدامُ الشُّجاعُ لإنقاذِ العَدُوِّ

356. **مروج الذهب:** خَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ بِنَفسِهِ حاسِراً عَلى بَغلَةِ رَسولِ اللهصلى الله عليه وآله لا سِلاحَ عَلَيهِ، فَنادى: يا زُبَيرُ، اخرُج إلَيَّ، فَخَرجَ إلَيهِ الزُّبَيرُ شاكّاً في سِلاحِهِ، فَقيلَ ذلِكَ لِعائِشَةَ، فَقالَت: وا ثُكلَكِ يا أسماءُ، فَقيلَ لَها: إنَّ عَلِيّاً حاسِرٌ، فَاطمَأَنَّت. وَاعتَنَقَ كُلُّ واحِد مِنهُما صاحِبَهُ.

فَقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: وَيحكَ يا زُبَيرُ! مَا الَّذي أخرَجَكَ؟ قالَ: دَمُ عُثمانَ، قالَ: قَتَلَ الله أولانا بِدَمِ عُثمانَ، أما تَذكُرُ يَومَ لَقيتُ رَسولَ اللهصلى الله عليه وآله في بَني بَياضَةَ وهُوَ راكِبٌ حِمارَهُ، فَضَحِكَ إلَيَّ رَسولُ اللّه، وضَحِكتُ إلَيهِ، وأنتَ مَعَهُ، فَقُلتَ أنتَ: يا رَسولَ اللّهِ، ما يَدَعُ عَلِيٌّ زَهوَهُ.

فَقالَ لَكَ: لَيسَ بِهِ زَهوٌ، أ تُحِبُّهُ يا زُبَير؟

فَقُلتَ: إنّي وَاللّهِ لأُحِبُّهُ.

فَقالَ لَكَ: إنَّكَ وَاللّهِ سَتُقاتِلُهُ وأنتَ لَهُ ظالِمٌ.

فَقالَ الزُّبَيرُ: أستَغفِرُ اللّهَ، وَاللّهِ لَو ذَكَرتُها ما خَرَجتُ.

فَقالَ لَهُعليه السلام: يا زُبَيرُ، ارجِع، فَقالَ: وكَيفَ أرجِعُ الآنَ وقَدِ التَقَت حَلقَتَا البِطانِ ؟!هذا

washed away."

He (a.s.) said: "O Zubayr, go back in disgrace before disgrace is joined with Hellfire."

Al-Zubayr went back and said:

I chose disgrace over blazing fire,

Until creatures stand forth from soil.

ʿAlī said something that I was not ignorant of,

By your soul, this is indeed a disgrace in this world and in religion.

I said: Censure is sufficient, O Abū al-Ḥasan;

For some of what you have said is enough for me.

Al-Zubayr's son ʿAbdullah said: "Where are you going and leaving us?" He said: "O son, Abū al-Ḥasan reminded me about something I had forgotten." ʿAbdullah said: "Nay, by Allah, but you have fled from the swords of Banī ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, for they are long and sharp and are carried by the chivalry." His father said: "Nay, by Allah, but I remembered what the epoch has made me forget, so I chose disgrace over Hellfire. May you have no father;[1028] do you taunt me with a cowardice?"

He then turned, raised his spear and attacked the right wing of the army [of the Imām (a.s.)].

ʿAlī said: "Open a path for him, as they have incited him." He then returned and charged at the left wing, then returned and attacked the centre. After this he went back to his son, saying: "Does a cowardly person do this?" He then turned away."[1029]

(b) The Outcome of al-Zubayr

357. **al-Jamal,** narrating from Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who said: "Al-Zubayr ran away fleeing towards Medina, so when he got to the valley of al-Sibāʿ, al-Aḥnaf raised his voice saying: "What should I do with al-Zubayr? He has made two Muslim groups fight killing one another, and now he wants to go back to his family."

When Ibn Jurmūz heard, he left in quest of al-Zubayr, with

وَاللهِ العارُ الَّذي لا يُغسَلُ.

فَقالَ عليه السلام: يا زُبَيرُ، ارجِع بِالعارِ قَبلَ أن تَجمَعَ العارَ وَالنّارَ.

فَرَجَعَ الزُّبَيرُ وهُوَ يَقولُ:

اِختَرتُ عاراً عَلى نار مُؤَجَّجَة	ما إن يَقومُ لَها خَلقٌ مِنَ الطّينِ
نادى عَلِيٌّ بِأَمر لَستُ أجهَلُهُ	عارٌ لَعَمرُكَ فِي الدُّنيا وفِي الدّينِ
فَقُلتُ: حَسبُكَ مِن عَذلٍ أبا حَسَن	فَبَعضُ هذَا الَّذي قَد قُلتَ يَكفيني

فَقالَ ابنُهُ عَبدُ اللّه: أينَ تَذهَبُ وتَدَعُنا؟ فَقالَ: يا بُنَيَّ، اُذكُرني أبُو الحَسَنِ بِأَمر كُنتُ قَد أُنسيتُهُ، فَقالَ: لا وَاللّهِ، ولكِنَّكَ فَرَرتَ مِن سُيوفِ بَني عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ؛ فَإنَّها طِوالٌ حِدادٌ، تَحمِلُها فِتيَةٌ أنجادٌ، قالَ: لا وَاللّهِ، ولكِنّي ذَكَرتُ ما أنسانيهِ الدَّهرُ، فَاختَرتُ العارَ عَلَى النّارِ، أبِالجُبنِ تُعَيِّرُني لا أبا لَكَ؟ ثُمَّ أمالَ سِنانَهُ وشَدَّ فِي المَيمَنَةِ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: اِفرِجوا لَهُ فَقَد هاجوهُ.

ثُمَّ رَجَعَ فَشَدَّ فِي المَيسَرَةِ، ثُمَّ رَجَعَ فَشَدَّ فِي القَلبِ، ثُمَّ عادَ إلَى ابنِهِ، فَقالَ: أ يَفعَلُ هذا جَبانٌ؟ ثُمَّ مَضى مُنصَرِفاً.

ب ـ عاقِبَةُ الزُّبَيرِ

357. **الجمل عن مروان بن الحكم:** هَرَبَ الزُّبَيرُ فارّاً إلَى المَدينَةِ حَتّى أتى وادِيَ السِّباعِ، فَرَفَعَ الأَحنَفُ صَوتَهُ وقالَ: ما أصنَعُ بِالزُّبَيرِ؟ قَد لَفَّ بَينَ غارَينِ مِنَ النّاسِ حَتّى قَتَلَ بَعضُهُم بَعضاً، ثُمَّ هُوَ يُريدُ اللِّحاقَ بِأَهلِهِ !!

فَسَمِعَ ذلِكَ ابنُ جُرموز فَخَرَجَ في طَلَبِهِ، وَاتَّبَعَهُ رَجُلٌ مِن مُجاشِع حَتّى لَحِقاهُ، فَلَمّا

a man from the Mujāshiʿ tribe, until they got to him. When al-Zubayr saw them, he became cautious. The two said to him: "O disciple of the Messenger of Allah, you are safe from us, nobody will harm you." Ibn Jurmūz accompanied him, and while they were walking together, he would walk behind, and al-Zubayr would distance himself, so Ibn Jurmūz said: "O Abū ʿAbdullah, take off your armour and put it on your horse, for it is tiring you." So, al-Zubayr took it off, and ʿAmr ibn Jurmūz [intentionally] fell behind and stayed. Al-Zubayr called out to him to catch up, so ʿAmr who was on his horse would come closer. ʿAmr suddenly attacked him and stabbed him in his chest, removing the spear head from his chest. He then dismounted his horse and severed al-Zubayr's head, taking it to al-Aḥnaf, who then sent it to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.).

When ʿAlī (a.s.) saw the head of al-Zubayr and his sword, he said: "Hand me the sword." They gave him the sword, and he shook it and said: "This is a sword that fought with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) for a long time, but it has now become the reason for his evil death." He then looked into the face of al-Zubayr and said: "You were fortunate to be in the company of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), but Satan intervened and led you to such a fate."[1030]

(c) The Debates between Imām ʿAlī and Ṭalḥa

358. **Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa,** quoting the words between the Imām (a.s.) and Ṭalḥa: "Ṭalḥa said: "Withdraw yourself from the government, and we will make it determined by consultation. If they accept you, I will be among them in, but if they accept someone else, you must be like the rest of the Muslims [and follow]."

ʿAlī said: "O Abū Muḥammad, did you not pledge allegiance to me of your own acoord? I will not leave my allegiance."

Ṭalḥa said: "I pledged allegiance when the sword was over my neck."

ʿAlī said: "Do you not know that I did not force any person to

رَآهُما الزُّبَيرُ حَذِرَهُما.

فَقالا: يا حَوارِيَّ رَسولِ الله، أنتَ في ذِمَّتِنا لا يَصِلُ إلَيكَ أحَدٌ. وسايَرَهُ ابنُ جُرموز، فَبَينا هُوَ يَسايِرُهُ ويَستَأخِرُ، وَالزُّبَيرُ يُفارِقُهُ، قالَ: يا أبا عَبدِ الله، اِنزِع دِرعَكَ فَاجعَلها عَلى فَرَسِكَ فَإنَّها تُثقِلُكَ وتُعييكَ، فَنَزَعَها الزُّبَيرُ وجَعَلَ عَمرُو بنُ جُرموز يَنكُصُ ويَتَأَخَّرُ، وَالزُّبَيرُ يُناديهِ أن يَلحَقَهُ وهُوَ يَجري بِفَرَسِهِ، ثُمَّ يَنحازُ عَنهُ حَتّى اطمَأَنَّ إلَيهِ ولَم يُنكِر تَأَخُّرَهُ عَنهُ، فَحَمَلَ عَلَيهِ وطَعَنَهُ بَينَ كَتِفَيهِ فَأَخرَجَ السِّنانَ مِن ثَديَيهِ، ونَزَلَ فَاحتَزَّ رَأسَهُ وجاءَ بِهِ إلَى الأَحنَفِ، فَأَنفَذَهُ إلى أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام .

فَلَمّا رَأى رَأسَ الزُّبَيرِ وسَيفَهُ قالَ: ناوِلني السَّيفَ، فَناوَلَهُ، فَهَزَّهُ وقالَ:

سَيفٌ طالَما قاتَلَ بِهِ بَينَ يَدَي رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله، ولكِنَّ الحينَ ومَصارِعَ السّوءِ !

ثُمَّ تَفَرَّسَ في وَجهِ الزُّبَيرِ وقالَ:

لَقَد كانَ لَكَ بِرَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله صُحبَةٌ ومِنهُ قَرابَةٌ، ولكِنَّ الشَّيطانَ دَخَلَ مِنخَرَيكَ، فَأَورَدَكَ هذَا المَوردَ !

ج ـ مُناقَشاتُ الإمامِ عليه السلام وطَلحَةَ

358. **الإمامة والسياسة** ـ في ذِكرِ مادارَ بَينَ الإمامِ عليه السلام وَطَلحَةَ مِنَ الكَلامِ ـ : قالَ طَلحَةُ: اِعتَزِل هذَا الأَمرَ، ونَجعَلُهُ شورى بَينَ المُسلِمينَ، فَإن رَضوا بِكَ دَخَلتُ فيما دَخَلَ فيهِ النّاسُ، وإن رَضوا غَيرَكَ كُنتَ رَجُلاً مِنَ المُسلِمينَ.

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: أوَلَم تُبايِعني يا أبا مُحَمَّدٍ طائِعاً غَيرَ مُكرَه؟ فَما كُنتُ لِأَترُكَ بَيعَتي.

pledge allegiance to me? If I did force someone, I would have forced Saʿd, Ibn ʿUmar and Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, who refused to pledge allegiance and withdrew themselves, so I left them."

Ṭalḥa said: "We were six people in the Council. Two of them died and three hate you."

ʿAlī said: "You could have shown your displeasure before the pledge of allegiance, but now you have no other choice but to accept, unless you abandon what you pledged because I have done wrong; if I have committed something wrong, show it to me. You made your mother ʿĀ'ishah come forth, but you left your women [at home]; this is the worst of the innovations you have committed. Would the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) be well pleased with violating the veil he covered her with and you taking her out?"

Ṭalḥa said: "She came to set things right."

ʿAlī said: "By Allah, she is more in need of having her own affairs be set right. O old man, accept good advice from me and be content with repentance alongside disgrace before it will be disgrace along with Hellfire."[1031]

1.9

Fighting

(a) The Supplication of Imām ʿAlī Before the Battle

359. **Al-Jamal:** "When the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) saw the people's desire for stubbornness and unlawful blood-shedding, he raised his hands to the sky and said: "O Allah, eyes are looking towards You, hands are expanded to You, the hearts are turned towards You, and deeds are coming closer to You: "Our Lord! Judge justly between us and our people, and You are the best of judges."[10321033]

قالَ طَلحَةُ: بايَعتُكَ وَالسَّيفُ في عُنُقي.

قالَ: أ لَم تَعلَم أنّي ما أكرَهتُ أحَداً عَلَى البَيعَةِ؟ ولَو كُنتُ مُكرِهاً أحَداً لَاَكرَهتُ سَعداً، وَابنَ عُمَرَ، ومُحَمَّدَ بنَ مَسلَمَةَ؛ أبَوُا البَيعَةَ وَاعتَزَلوا، فَتَرَكتُهُم.

قالَ طَلحَةُ: كُنّا فِي الشّورى سِتَّةٌ، فَماتَ اثنانِ وقَد كَرِهناكَ، ونَحنُ ثَلاثَةٌ.

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: إنَّما كانَ لَكُما ألّا تَرضَيا قَبلَ الرِّضى وقَبلَ البَيعَةِ، وأمّا الآنَ فَلَيس لَكُما غَيرُ ما رَضيتُما بِهِ، إلّا أن تَخرُجا مِمّا بويِعتُ عَلَيهِ بِحَدَث، فَإن كُنتُ أحدَثتُ حَدَثاً فَسَمّوهُ لي! وأخرَجتُم أُمَّكُم عائِشَةَ، وتَرَكتُم نِساءَكُم، فَهذا أعظَمُ الحَدَثِ مِنكُم، أرِضىً هذا لِرَسولِ اللهﷺ أن تَهتِكوا سِتراً ضَرَبَهُ عَلَيها، وتُخرِجوها مِنهُ؟!

فَقالَ طَلحَةُ: إنَّما جاءَت لِلإصلاحِ.

قالَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام: هِيَ ـ لَعَمرُ اللهِ ـ إلى مَن يُصلِحُ لَها أمرَها أحوَجُ. أيُّهَا الشَّيخُ! إقبَلِ النُّصحَ وَارضَ بِالتَّوبَةِ مَعَ العارِ، قَبلَ أن يَكونَ العارُ وَالنّارُ.

9 / 1

القِتال

أ دُعاءُ الإمامِ عليه السلام قَبلَ القِتالِ

359. **الجمل:** لَمّا رَأى أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام ما قَدِمَ عَلَيهِ القَومُ مِنَ العِنادِ وَاستَحلّوهُ مِن سَفكِ الدَّمِ الحَرامِ، رَفَعَ يَدَيهِ إلَى السَّماءِ وقالَ: اللّهُمَّ إلَيكَ شَخَصَتِ الأبصارُ، وبُسِطَتِ الأيدي، وأفضَتِ القُلوبُ، وتَقَرَّبَت إلَيكَ بِالأعمالِ، ﴿رَبَّنَا افْتَحْ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ قَوْمِنَا بِالْحَقِّ وَأَنتَ خَيْرُ الْفَاتِحِينَ﴾.

(b) The Imām Motivating his Companions to Fight

360. **Al-Jamal:** "The Commander of the faithful (a.s.) gave them [the people of the Camel] three days to desist and obey [the government]; when he knew of their persistence to oppose, he stood amongst his companions and said: "O servants of Allah, charge at this group with expanded chests, for they have violated my allegiance and killed my followers (shīʿah). They tortured my agent and expelled him from Baṣra after hurting him with a severe beating and a harsh punishment. He was an old man among the prominent figures of the Anṣār and the notables, but they did not observe his sanctity. They killed the Sindis who were righteous men; they killed Ḥukaym ibn Jabala unjustly and unrightly because he hated [them] for Allah. They pursued my followers after they had fled and caught them in every fields or under every hill and struck their necks after torturing them. What happened to them? "May Allah assail them, where do they stray?!"[1034]

O servants of Allah, charge at them and attack them like lions, for they are evil people, and those who help them are evil. Face them patiently, relying [on Allah] and be tranquil, for you are indeed the warriors and fighters who have prepared yourselves to strike, thrust and combat your opponent. He who feels tranquil at times of hardship and brave at times of combat, but sees failure or weakness in his brother, he must defend him as he defends himself, because if Allah wishes He will make him like that person."[1035]

(c) The Tranquillity of Imām ʿAlī at War

361. **Al-Jamal,** narrating from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, who said: "When we arrived at Baṣra, camped there and prepared our ranks, my father ʿAlī (a.s.) gave me the banner and said: "Do not do anything until they do something (against you)[1036]." He then went to sleep. When the arrows of the enemy began to fall on us, I woke him up. He woke up rubbing his eyes, while the people of

ب ـ تَحريضُ الإمامِ عليه السلام أصحابَهُ عَلَى القِتالِ

360. **الجمل:** إنَّ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام أنظَرَهُم [أصحابَ الجَمَلِ] ثَلاثَةَ أيّام؛ لِيَكُفّوا ويَرعَووا، فَلَمّا عَلِمَ إصرارَهُم عَلَى الخِلافِ قامَ في أصحابِهِ فَقالَ:

عِبادَ اللّهِ! إنهَدوا إلى هَؤلاءِ القَومِ مُنشَرِحَةً صُدورُكُم، فَإنَّهُم نَكَثوا بَيعَتي، وقَتَلوا شيعَتي، ونَكَّلوا بِعامِلي، وأخرَجوهُ مِنَ البَصرَةِ بَعدَ أن آلَموهُ بِالضَّربِ المُبَرِّحِ، وَالعُقوبَةِ الشَّديدَةِ، وهُوَ شَيخٌ مِن وُجوهِ الأَنصارِ وَالفُضَلاءِ، ولَم يَرعَوا لَهُ حُرمَةً، وقَتَلُوا السَّبابِجَةَ رِجالاً صالِحينَ، وقَتَلوا حُكَيمَ بنَ جَبَلَةَ ظُلماً وعُدواناً؛ لِغَضَبِهِ للّهِ، ثُمَّ تَتَبَّعوا شيعَتي بَعدَ أن هَرَبوا مِنهُم وأخَذوهُم في كُلِّ غائِطَة، وتَحتَ كُلِّ رابِيَة، يَضرِبونَ أعناقَهُم صَبراً، ما لَهُم؟ ﴿قَـتَلَهُمُ اللّه أَنَّى يُؤْفَكُونَ﴾!!

فَانهَدوا إلَيهِم عِبادَ اللّه، وكونوا اُسوداً عَلَيهِم؛ فَإنَّهُم شِرارٌ، ومُساعِدوهُم عَلَى الباطِلِ شِرارٌ، فَالقَومُ صابِرينَ مُحتَسِبينَ مَوَطِّنينَ أنفُسَكُم، إنَّكُم مُنازِلونَ ومُقاتِلونَ، قَد وَطَّنتُم أنفُسَكُم عَلَى الضَّربِ وَالطَّعنِ ومُنازَلَةِ الأَقرانِ. فَأَيُّ امرِىء أحَسَّ مِن نَفسِهِ رَباطَةَ جَأش عِندَ الفَزَعِ وشَجاعَةً عِندَ اللِّقاءِ ورأى مِن أخيهِ فَشَلاً ووَهناً، فَليَذُبَّ عَنهُ كَما يَذُبُّ عَن نَفسِهِ؛ فَلَو شاءَ اللّهُ لَجَعَلَهُ مِثلَهُ.

ج ـ السَّكينَةُ العَلَوِيَّةُ فِي الحَربِ

361. **الجمل عن محمّد ابن الحنفيّة:** لَمّا نَزَلنَا البَصرَةَ وعَسكَرنا بِها وصَفَفنا صُفوفَنا، دَفَعَ أبي عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام إلَيَّ اللِّواءَ، وقالَ: لا تُحدِثَنَّ شَيئاً حَتّى يُحدَثَ فيكُم. ثُمَّ نامَ، فَنالَنا نَبلُ القَومِ،

the Camel were shouting: "O avengers of ʿUthmān!"

He [ʿAlī] (a.s.) fought armourless, clad in one shirt; then he said to me: "Advance with the banner!" So I advanced and I said: "O father, on such a day you fight with only one shirt?" He (a.s.) said: "Every person will face his written term. By Allah, I fought with the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) armourless more than I was armoured."[1037]

(d) The Intensification of the Battle

362. **Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa:** "The two groups were intensely fighting each other. The right wing of the Baṣra army defeated the right wing of ʿAlī's army, and the Rabīʿah tribe of the army of Baṣra defeated the Rabīʿah tribe of the army of ʿAlī.....Then ʿAlī came forward and looked at his companions being defeated and killed. When he saw that, he shouted at his son Muḥammad who was holding the banner, saying to him: "Attack." He [Muḥammad] went forward slowly and stood in his place, so ʿAlī came to him from behind and hit him on his back between his shoulders, and then took the banner from him. ʿAlī advanced forward and entered the enemy's camp. The right wing and left wing of both sides were restless, ʿAmmār in one of them and ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in the other wing.

ʿAlī (a.s.) broke through the enemy's camp thrusting and killing,..... He then gave the banner to his son Muḥammad and said: "Thus do." So Muḥammad advanced forward holding the banner accompanied by the Anṣār, until he reached the camel and the palanquin, so those around it fled. The people fought so intensely on that day, that blows and strikes were exchanged while being on their knees."[1038]

(e) Imām ʿAlī's Fighting

363. **Al-Futūḥ:** "'Alī distanced himself [from the enemy's camp] desiring to meet his companions. A herald called out from behind him, so he looked back and it was ʿAbdullah ibn Khalaf al-Khuzāʿī, the owner of ʿĀ'ishah's house in Baṣra. When ʿAlī saw him, he

فَأَفزَعتُهُ، فَفَزِعَ وهُوَ يَمسَحُ عَينَيهِ مِنَ النَّومِ، وأصحابُ الجَمَلِ يَصيحونَ: يا ثاراتِ عُثمانَ! فَبَرَزَ عليه السلام ولَيسَ عَلَيهِ إلّا قَميصٌ واحِدٌ، ثُمَّ قالَ: تَقَدَّم بِاللِّواءِ! فَتَقَدَّمتُ وقُلتُ: يا أبَتِ أفي مِثلِ هذَا اليَومِ بِقَميصٍ واحِدٍ ؟!

فَقالَ عليه السلام: أحرَزَ أمراً أجَلُهُ، وَاللهِ قَاتَلتُ مَعَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وآله وأنَا حاسِرٌ أكثَرَ مِمّا قاتَلتُ وأنَا دارِعٌ .

د اِشتِدادُ القِتالِ

362. **الإمامة والسياسة:** اِقتَتَلَ القَومُ قِتالاً شَديداً، فَهَزَمَت يَمَنُ البَصرَةِ يَمَنَ عَلِيٍّ، وهَزَمَت رَبيعَةُ البَصرَةِ رَبيعَةَ عَلِيٍّ... ثُمَّ تَقَدَّم عَلِيٌّ فَنَظَرَ إلى أصحابِهِ يُهزَمونَ ويُقتَلونَ، فَلَمّا نَظَرَ إلى ذلِكَ صاحَ بِابنِهِ مُحَمَّد ـ ومَعَهُ الرّايَةُ ـ: أنِ اقتَحِم! فَأبطَأ وثَبَتَ، فَأتى عَلِيٌّ مِن خَلفِهِ فَضَرَبَهُ بَينَ كَتِفَيهِ، وأخَذَ الرّايَةَ مِن يَدِهِ، ثُمَّ حَمَلَ فَدَخَلَ عَسكَرَهُم، وإنَّ المَيمَنَتَينِ وَالمَيسَرَتَينِ تَضطَرِبانِ؛ في إحداهُما عَمّارٌ، وفِي الأُخرى عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عَبّاس، ومُحَمَّدُ بنُ أبي بَكر.

قالَ: فَشَقَّ عَلِيٌّ في عَسكَرِ القَومِ يَطعَنُ ويَقتُلُ، ثُمَّ خَرَجَ... ثُمَّ أعطَى الرّايَةَ لِابنِهِ وقالَ: هكَذا فَاصنَع. فَتَقَدَّمَ مُحَمَّدٌ بِالرّايَةِ ومَعَهُ الأنصارُ، حَتّى انتَهى إلَى الجَمَلِ وَالهَودَجِ وهَزَمَ ما يَليهِ، فَاقتَتَلَ النّاسُ ذلِكَ اليَومَ قِتالاً شَديداً، حَتّى كَانتِ الواقِعَةُ والضَّربُ عَلَى الرُّكَبِ.

هـ ـ مُقاتَلَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِنَفسِهِ

363. **الفتوح:** اِنفَرَقَ عَلِيٌّ يُريدُ أصحابَهُ، فَصاحَ بِهِ صائِحٌ مِن وَرائِهِ، فَالتَفَتَ وإذا بِعَبدِاللّهِ بنِ خَلَف الخُزاعِيِّ وهُوَ صاحِبُ مَنزِلِ عائِشَةَ بِالبَصرَةِ، فَلَمّا رَآهُ عَلِيٌّ عَرَفَهُ، فَناداهُ: ما تَشاءُ يَابنَ خَلَف؟

قالَ: هَل لَكَ فِي المُبارَزَةِ؟

knew him, so he called out to him: "O son of Khalaf, what do you want?" He said: "Do you want to fight?" ʿAlī said: "I would not hate to, but woe unto you, O son of Khalaf, what comfort do you seek in death, when you know who I am."

ʿAbdullah ibn Khalaf said: "O son of Abū Ṭālib, spare me of your praises and come close to me to see which of us will kill his opponent." He then recited a poem, and ʿAlī replied. They confronted each other, and ʿAbdullah ibn Khalaf began first with a hit which ʿAlī repelled with his shield. ʿAlī then moved to his side and hit him with a strike that cut off his right hand, and then he hit him again cutting off the top of his head."[1039]

(f) Marwān Killing Ṭalḥa

364. **Al-Futūḥ:** "Ṭalḥa called out as loud as he could: "O servants of Allah, patience, patience! Victory and reward will come after patience." Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam looked at him, and then he said to his slave: "O slave, woe unto you! By Allah, I know that the one who incited the people to kill ʿUthmān in his house was Ṭalḥa, and he was the one who killed ʿUthmān. However, cover me, and I will set you free." So, the slave hid him.

Marwān then casted a poisoned arrow at Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaidullah and hit him with it. Ṭalḥa fell down from the strike and fell unconscious; he then awoke and looked at the blood coming out from him, so he said: *"Indeed we belong to Allah, and to Him do we indeed return."*[1040] By Allah, I think this verse in the Book of Allah refers to us, as it says: "*Beware of a punishment which shall not visit the wrongdoers among you exclusively, and know that Allah is severe in retribution.*"[10411042]

(g) The Continuation of the War under the Leadership of ʿĀ'ishah

365. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** narrating from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥa, who said: "The first fight continued till midday, when Ṭalḥa was wounded and al-Zubayr was killed. When the army sought refuge to ʿĀ'ishah

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: ما أكرَهُ ذلِكَ، ولكن وَيحَكَ يَابنَ خَلَف ما راحَتُكَ فِي القَتلِ وقَد عَلِمتَ مَن أنَا!!

فَقالَ عَبدُ الله بنُ خَلَف: دَعني مِن مَدحِكَ يَابنَ أبي طالِب، وَادنُ مِنّي لِتَرى أيُّنا يَقتُلُ صاحِبَهُ! ثُمَّ أنشَدَ شِعراً، فَأَجابَهُ عَلِيٌّ عَلَيهِ، وَالتَقَوا لِلضَّربِ، فَبادَرَهُ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ خَلَف بِضَربَة دَفَعَها عَلِيٌّ بِحَجَفَتِهِ، ثُمَّ انحَرَفَ عَنهُ عَلِيٌّ فَضَربَهُ ضَربَةً رَمى بِيَمينِهِ، ثُمَّ ضَرَبَهُ أُخرى فَأَطارَ قِحفَ رَأسِهِ.

و ـ قَتلُ طَلحَةَ بِيَدِ مَروانَ

364. **الفتوح:** جَعَلَ طَلحَةُ يُنادي بِأَعلى صَوتِهِ: عِبادَ اللّهِ! الصَّبرَ الصَّبرَ! إنَّ بَعدَ الصَّبرِ النَّصرُ وَالأَجرُ. فَنَظَرَ إلَيهِ مَروانُ بنُ الحَكَمِ، فَقالَ لِغُلام لَهُ: وَيلَكَ يا غُلامُ! وَاللّهِ إنّي لأَعلَمُ أنَّه ما حَرَّضَ عَلى قَتلِ عُثمانَ يَومَ الدّارِ أحَدٌ كَتَحريضِ طَلحَةَ ولا قَتَلَهُ سِواهُ! ولكِن استُرني فَأَنتَ حُرٌّ؛ فَسَتَرَهُ الغُلامُ.

ورَمى مَروانُ بِسَهمٍ مَسمومٍ لِطَلحَةَ بنِ عُبَيدِ اللّهِ، فَأَصابَهُ بِهِ، فَسَقَطَ طَلحَةُ لِما بِهِ وقَد عُمِيَ عَلَيهِ. ثُمَّ أفاقَ، فَنَظَرَ إلَى الدَّمِ يَسيلُ مِنهُ فَقالَ: إنّا للّهِ وإنّا إلَيه راجِعونَ، أظُنُّ وَاللّهِ أنَّنا عُنينا بِهذِهِ الآيَةِ مِن كِتابِ اللّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ إذ يَقولُ: ﴿وَاتَّقُوا فِتْنَةً لَّا تُصِيبَنَّ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنكُمْ خَاصَّةً وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ﴾.

ز ـ إستمرارُ الحَربِ بِقِيادَةِ عائِشَةَ

365. **تاريخ الطبري عن محمّد وطلحة:** كانَ القِتالُ الأَوَّلُ يَستَحِرُّ إلَى انتِصافِ النَّهارِ،

and the people of Kūfah desired to fight and demanded ʿĀ'ishah to be handed over, ʿĀ'ishah complained and censured them.

They continued to fight until they called out one another and separated; then they returned to battle in the afternoon; this was on Thursday in Jumādā al-Ākhira. Before midday they were fighting with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and at midday with ʿĀ'ishah."[1043]

(h) The Hamstringing of the Camel and the Dispersing of the Army

366. **Al-Jamal:** "When the people dispersed from around the camel [of ʿĀ'ishah], the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) was worried that they would return to it, so the battle would relaunch, so he said: "Cut the camel's veins." The companions of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) went to the camel and hamstrung it. It fell to its side, and ʿĀ'ishah screamed out so loud that everyone in the two army camps heard."[1044]

(i) The Duration of the War

367. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf:** "The battle lasted from midday to sunset."[1045]

1.10.

After the Victory

(a) Honour

368. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said:** "'Alī ordered his herald to call out on the day of Baṣra [in the Battle of the Camel: "He who flees must not be chased, a wounded men must not be finished off, and a prisoner must not be killed. Whoever closes his door is secure, whoever puts his weapons down is secure." He ['Alī] did not take any of their spoils."[1046]

(b) The Announcement of Granting a General Amnesty

369. **Ansāb al-Ashrāf:** "After ʿAlī gained victory, he stood up to deliver

وأُصيبَ فيهِ طَلحَةُ، وذَهَبَ فيهِ الزُّبَيرُ، فَلَمّا أوَوا إلى عائِشَةَ وأبى أهلُ الكوفَةِ إلّا القِتالَ ولَم يُريدوا إلّا عائِشَةَ، ذَمَرَتهم عائِشَةُ.

فَاقتَتَلوا حَتّى تَنادَوا فَتَحاجَزوا، فَرَجَعوا بَعدَ الظُّهرِ فَاقتَتَلوا، وذلِكَ يَومَ الخَميسِ في جُمادَى الآخِرَةِ، فَاقتَتَلوا صَدرَ النَّهارِ مَعَ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ، وفي وَسَطِهِ مَعَ نِسَةَ..

ح ـ عَقرُ الجَمَلِ وتَفَرُّقُ أصحابِهِ

366. **الجمل:** لَمّا تَفَرَّقَ النّاسُ عَنِ الجَمَلِ أشفَقَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام أن يَعودَ إلَيهِ فَتعودَ الحَربُ، فَقالَ: عَرقِبُوا الجَمَلَ. فَتَبادَرَ إلَيهِ أصحابُ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام فَعَرقَبوهُ، ووَقَعَ لِجَنبِهِ، وصاحَت عائِشَةُ صَيحَةً أسمَعَت مَن فِي العَسكَرَينِ.

ط ـ مُدَّةُ الحَربِ

367. **أنساب الأشراف:** كانَتِ الحَربُ مِنَ الظُّهرِ إلى غُروبِ الشَّمسِ.

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بَعدَ الظَّفَرِ

أ ـ الكَرامَةُ

368. **الإمام الباقر عليه السلام:** أمَرَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام مُنادِيَهُ فَنادى يَومَ البَصرَةِ: «لا يُتَّبَعُ مُدبِرٌ، ولا يُذَفَّفُ عَلى جَريح، ولا يُقتَلُ أسيرٌ، ومَن أغلَقَ بابَهُ فَهُوَ آمِنٌ، ومَن ألقى سِلاحَهُ فَهُوَ آمِنٌ»، ولَم يَأخُذ مِن مَتاعِهِم شَيئاً.

ب ـ إصدارُ العَفوِ العامِّ

369. **أنساب الأشراف:** قامَ عَلِيٌّ ـ حينَ ظَهَرَ وظَفِرَ ـ خَطيباً فَقالَ: يا أهلَ البَصرَةِ! قَد عَفَوتُ

a sermon, saying: "O people of Baṣra, I have pardoned you all, so beware of dissension, for indeed you are the first of the people who broke the allegiance and ripped apart the unity of the ummah."[1047]

(c) Discussions between Imām ʿAlī and ʿĀ'ishah

370. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī, in respect of ʿĀ'ishah:** "ʿAlī came to her when she was in the house of ʿAbdullah ibn Khalaf al-Khuzāʿī with his son known as Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalḥāt. He [ʿAlī] said: "O Ḥumayrā',[1048] will you not stop this movement?" She said: "O son of Abū Ṭālib, you have gained power, so be lenient."

He said: "Leave for Medina and go back to your house that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) commanded you to stay in." She said: "I will."[1049]

(d) Escorting ʿĀ'ishah back to Medina

371. **Al-Jamal:** "When ʿAlī decided to head towards Kūfah, he sent for ʿĀ'ishah ordering her to leave to Medina; so she prepared herself for the journey; he sent forty women with her, clad in turbans and hats, and gave them swords. He ordered these women to protect her and be on her right hand side, her left and behind her.

ʿĀ'ishah continued to say throughout the journey: "O Allah, do to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib what he has done to me! He has sent men with me and did not observe the sanctity of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)."

When the women arrived in Medina with her, they took off their turbans and threw down their swords and entered the city with her. When she saw that they were women, she regretted what she said in dispraise of the Commander of the faithful (a.s.). She said: "May Allah reward the son of Abū Ṭālib the best, as he observed the sanctity of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.)."[1050]

(e) The Spoils of War

372. **Sharḥ al-Akhbār:** "ʿAlī (a.s) gave his companions as booty whatever (wealth) the people of Bāsra had acquired for fighting against him

عَنكُم؛ فَإيّاكُم وَالفِتنَةَ؛ فَإنَّكُم أوّلُ الرَّعِيَّةِ نَكَثَ البَيعَةَ، وشَقَّ عَصَا الأُمَّةِ.

ثُمَّ جَلَسَ وبايَعَهُ النّاسُ.

ج ـ مُحادَثاتٌ بَينَ الإمامِ عليه السلام وعائِشَةَ

370. **تاريخ اليعقوبي** في خَبَرِ عائِشَةَ ـ أتاها عَلِيٌّ، وهِيَ في دارِ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ خَلَفٍ الخُزاعِيِّ، وابنُهُ المَعروفُ بِطَلحَةِ الطَّلحاتِ، فَقالَ: إيهاً يا حُمَيراءُ! ألَم تَنتَهي عَن هذَا المَسيرِ؟

فَقالَت: يَابنَ أبي طالِب! قَدَرتَ فَأَسجِح!

فَقالَ: اخرُجي إلَى المَدينَةِ، وَارجِعي إلى بَيتِكِ الَّذي أمَرَكِ رَسولُ الله أن تَقَرّي فيهِ.

قالَت: أفعَلُ.

د ـ إشخاصُ عائِشَةَ إلَى المَدينَةِ

371. **الجمل:** لَمّا عَزَمَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام عَلَى المَسيرِ إلَى الكوفَةِ أنفَذَ إلى عائِشَةَ يَأمُرُها بِالرَّحيلِ إلَى المَدينَةِ، فَتَهَيَّأَت لِذلِكَ، وأنفَذَ مَعَها أربَعينَ امرَأَةً ألبَسَهُنَّ العمائِمَ وَالقَلانِسَ، وقَلَّدَهُنَّ السُّيوفَ، وأمَرَهُنَّ أن يَحفَظنَها، ويَكُنَّ عَن يَمينِها وشِمالِها ومِن وَرائِها.

فَجَعَلَت عائِشَةُ تَقولُ فِي الطَّريقِ: اللّهمَّ افعَل بِعَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِب بِما فَعَلَ بي! بَعَثَ مَعِيَ الرِّجالَ ولَم يَحفَظ بي حُرمَةَ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله.

فَلَمّا قَدِمنَ المَدينَةَ مَعَها ألقَينَ العَمائِمَ وَالسُّيوفَ ودَخَلنَ مَعَها، فَلَمّا رَأَتهُنَّ نَدِمَت عَلى ما فَرَّطَت بِذَمِّ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام وسَبِّهِ.

وقالَت: جَزَى اللّهُ ابنَ أبي طالِب خَيراً، فَلَقَد حَفِظَ فِيَّ حُرمَةَ رَسولِ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله.

هـ ـ غَنائِمُ الحَربِ

372. **شرح الأخبار:** كانَ عَلِيٌّ ـ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ ـ قَد غَنَّمَ أصحابَهُ ما أجلَبَ بِهِ أهلُ البَصرَةِ إلى قِتالِهِ وأجلَبوا بِهِ: يَعني أتَوا بِهِ في عَسكَرِهِم ولَم يَعرِض لِشَيء غَيرِ ذلِكَ مِن أموالِهِم،

- that is what they had brought to their army camp - leaving the rest of the wealth of those killed to be given to their heirs. He took out the fifth of what they had gathered as spoils, and thus did the normative rule come to pass."[1051]

(f) Imām ʿAlī Entering the Muslim Treasury of Baṣra

373. **Al-Jamal:** "When ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf left Baṣra, and Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr went back to the Muslim Treasury, they observed what was in it attentively. When they saw the gold and silver contained in it, they said: "These are the spoils that God promised us with and informed us it will be ours very soon."

Abū al-Aswad said: "I heard these words from them. In another incident happened later on, I saw ʿAlī entering the Muslim Treasury of Baṣra; when he saw what was in it, he said: "O yellow [gold], O white [silver], deceive someone else. Money is the master of the oppressors, and I am the master of the believers."

By Allah, he did not pay attention to what was in it and did not think about what he saw there. I saw him consider it as insignificant as dust[1052]. I was surprised at the people [Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr] and at him (a.s.), so I said: "These are among those that seek this world, whereas he is among those that desire the hereafter." So my insight regarding him increased."[1053]

(g) Imām ʿAlī Rebuking the People of Baṣra

374. **Al-Jamal:** "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) wrote the letters of victory, he stood up among the people and delivered a sermon. He praised Allah and lauded Him, and then invoked God to bless Muḥammad and his progeny. Then he said: "Allah is indeed All-forgiving, Merciful, Mighty and Revengeful. He appointed His pardon and forgiveness to those who obey Him, and He appointed His punishment and penalty to those who oppose Him and disobey His command and innovate in religion. The righteous have attained assistance through His Mercy. O

وجَعَلَ ما سِوى ذلِكَ مِن أموالِ مَن قُتِلَ مِنهُم لِوَرَثَتِهِم، وخَمَّسَ ما اُغنِمَهُ مِمّا أجلَبوا بِهِ عَلَيهِ، فَجَرَت أيضاً بِذلِكَ السُّنَّةُ.

و ـ دُخولُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بَيتَ مالِ البَصرَةِ

373. **الجمل:** لَمّا خَرَجَ عُثمانُ بنُ حُنَيف مِنَ البَصرَةِ، وعادَ طَلحَةُ وَالزُّبَيرُ إلى بَيتِ المالِ فَتَأَمَّلا ما فيهِ، فَلَمّا رَأَوا ما حَواهُ مِنَ الذَّهَبِ وَالفِضَّةِ قالوا: هذِهِ الغَنائِمُ الَّتي وَعَدنَا اللّه بِها، وأخبَرَنا أنَّهُ يُعَجِّلُها لَنا.

قالَ أبُو الأَسوَدِ: فَقَد سَمِعتُ هذا مِنهُما، ورَأَيتُ عَلِيّاً عليه السلام بَعدَ ذلِكَ، وقَد دَخَلَ بَيتَ مالِ البَصرَةِ، فَلَمّا رَأى ما فيهِ قالَ: يا صَفراءُ ويا بَيضاءُ غُرّي غَيري! اَلمالُ يَعسوبُ الظَّلَمَةِ، وأنَا يَعسوبُ المُؤمِنينَ.

فَلا وَاللّهِ مَا التَفَتَ إلى ما فيهِ، ولا فَكَّرَ فيما رَآهُ مِنهُ، وما وَجَدتُهُ عِندَهُ إلّا كَالتُّرابِ هَواناً! فَعَجِبتُ مِنَ القَومِ ومِنهُ عليه السلام ! فَقُلتُ: اُولئِكَ مِمَّن يُريدُ الدُّنيا، وهذا مِمَّن يُريدُ الآخِرَةَ، وقَوِيَت بَصيرَتي فيهِ.

ز ـ تَوبيخُ الإمامِ عليه السلام أهلَ البَصرَةِ

374. **الجمل:** لَمّا كَتَبَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام الكُتُبَ بِالفَتحِ قامَ فِي النّاسِ خَطيباً، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ تَعالى وأثنى عَلَيهِ، وصَلّى عَلى مُحَمَّد وآلِهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنَّ اللّهَ غَفورٌ رَحيمٌ عَزيزٌ ذُو انتِقام، جَعَلَ عَفوَهُ ومَغفِرَتَهُ لِأَهلِ طاعَتِهِ، وجَعَلَ عَذابَهُ وعِقابَهُ لِمَن عَصاهُ وخالَفَ أمرَهُ، وَابتَدَعَ في دينِهِ ما لَيسَ مِنهُ، وبِرَحمَتِهِ نالَ

people of Baṣra, Allah has given me the power to overcome you, and He has spared you from your actions, so beware of doing the like of it. You are the first to begin the fight, to break the unity and to abandon the truth and fairness."[1054]

(h) Electing Ibn ʿAbbās as Governor over Baṣra

375. **Al-Jamal**, narrating from al-Wāqidī from his narrators, who said: "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) intended to leave Baṣra, he appointed ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās as his vicegerent and gave him instructions. He said, among others, the following: "O Ibn ʿAbbās, observe piety in Allah and justice over those whom you rule. Show a good face to people, allow them to attend your gatherings, and give them your patience. Beware of anger, for it is an excuse for Satan, and beware of personal inclination, for it will indeed hinder you from the path of Allah.

Know that what brings you close to Allah will itself distance you from Hellfire, and what distances you from Allah will bring you close to Hellfire. Remember Allah abundantly and do not be among the heedless."

Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā recorded the following: "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) designated ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās over Baṣra, he [ʿAlī] gave a sermon among the people. He praised Allah and lauded Him and invoked God to bless Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.). Then he said: "O people, I have appointed ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās over you, so listen to him and obey his command as long as he obeys Allah and His Messenger. If he does wrong to you or deviates from the truth, then inform me, and I will dismiss him. I hope that I find him virtuous, pure and devout, and I have appointed him over you only because I think he is thinking this so. May Allah forgive us and you."

ʿAbdullah stayed in Baṣra until the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) moved towards Syria, so he [ʿAbdullah] appointed Ziyād ibn Abīh as vicegerent and put Abū al-Aswad as his assistant, so he joined the Commander of the faithful (a.s.) and travelled with him to Ṣiffīn."[1055]

الصّالِحونَ العَونَ، وقَد أمكَنَنِيَ اللّهُ مِنكُم يا أهلَ البَصرَةِ، وأسلَمَكُم بِأعمالِكُم؛ فَإيّاكُم أن تَعودوا إلى مِثلِها؛ فَإنَّكُم أوّلُ مَن شَرَعَ القِتالَ وَالشِّقاقَ، وتَرَكَ الحَقَّ وَالإنصافَ.

ح ـ اِستِخلافُ ابنِ عَبّاس عَلَى البَصرَةِ

375. **الجمل عن الواقدي عن رجاله:** لَمّا أرادَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام الخُروجَ مِنَ البَصرَةِ استَخلَفَ عَلَيها عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ العَبّاسِ وأوصاهُ، فَكانَ في وَصِيَّتِهِ لَهُ أن قالَ:

يَا بنَ عَبّاس، عَلَيكَ بِتَقوَى اللّهِ وَالعَدلِ بِمَن وُلّيتَ عَلَيهِ، وأن تَبسُطَ لِلنّاسِ وَجهَكَ، وتُوَسِّعَ عَلَيهِم مَجلِسَكَ وتَسَعَهُم بِحِلمِكَ. وإيّاكَ وَالغَضَبَ؛ فَإنَّهُ طِيَرَةٌ مِنَ الشَّيطانِ، وإيّاكَ وَالهَوى؛ فَإنَّهُ يَصُدُّكَ عَن سَبيلِ اللّهِ.

وَاعلَم أنَّ ما قَرَّبَكَ مِنَ اللّهِ فَهُوَ مُباعِدُكَ مِنَ النّارِ، وما باعَدَكَ مِنَ اللّهِ فَهُوَ مُقَرِّبُكَ مِنَ النّارِ. وَاذكُرِ اللّهَ كَثيراً ولا تَكُن مِنَ الغافِلينَ.

ورَوى أبو مِخنَف لوطُ بنُ يَحيى قالَ: لَمّا استَعمَلَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ العَبّاسِ عَلَى البَصرَةِ خَطَبَ النّاسَ، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنى عَلَيهِ، وصَلّى عَلى رَسولِهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

يا مَعاشِرَ النّاسِ، قَدِ استَخلَفتُ عَلَيكُم عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ العَبّاسِ، فَاسمَعوا لَهُ وأطيعوا أمرَهُ ما أطاعَ اللّهَ ورَسولَهُ؛ فَإن أحدَثَ فيكُم أو زاغَ عَنِ الحَقِّ فَأَعلِموني أعزِلهُ عَنكُم؛ فَإنّي أرجو أن أجِدَهُ عَفيفاً تَقِيّاً وَرِعاً، وإنّي لَم أُوَلِّهِ عَلَيكُم إلّا وأنَا أظُنُّ ذلِكَ بِهِ، غَفَرَ اللّهُ لَنا ولَكُم.

فَأَقامَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بِالبَصرَةِ حَتّى عَمِلَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام عَلَى التَّوَجُّهِ إلَى الشّامِ، فَاستَخلَفَ عَلَيها زيادَ بنَ أبيهِ، وضَمَّ إلَيهِ أبَا الأَسوَدِ الدُّؤَلِيَّ، ولَحِقَ بِأَميرِالمُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام، فَسارَ مَعَهُ إلى صِفّينَ.

(i) Imām ʿAlī Entering Kūfah

376. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn,** narrating from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUbayd ibn Abī al-Kanūd and others, who said: "When ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib came from Baṣra to Kūfah on Monday the twelfth of Rajab, 36 [AH], after Allah had honoured him with victory, making him win over his enemy, accompanied by the notables and the people of Baṣra, he was received by the people of Kūfah, their reciters and their noble men. They prayed for blessings for him and said: "O Commander of the Faithful, where will you stay? Will you stay in the palace?" He said: "No, but I will stay in al-Ruḥbah."[1056] He halted there and then went to the main mosque. He prayed two units of prayer in it and then ascended the pulpit. He praised Allah and lauded him, and sent blessing to His Messenger. Then he said: "O people of Kūfah, you have virtue in Islam as long as you do not alter it. I invited you to the truth and you answered, and you began with the wrong and you changed it (i.e. the virtue). Verily, virtue lies in your implementation of God's laws and divisions. You are the role models of those who answer and enter what you have entered. Verily, what I most fear in you is the pursuance of desire and drawn out expectations. The pursuance of desire hinders the truth and drawn out expectations make one forget the hereafter. Verily, the world has departed and is going away, and the hereafter is close and coming, and each one of them has its children, so be among the children of the hereafter. Today is action without judgment and tomorrow is judgment without action. Praise be to Allah Who has helped His friend, disappointed His enemy, gave dignity to the truthful and the rightful and humiliated the breaker and the falsifier.

You must be God-wary and obey whoever obeys Allah from among the Household of your Prophet, who have better right to your obedience in what they obeye Allah, rather than those who arrogate [the religion] to themselves or have claims but counter us.

ط ـ قُدومُ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلَى الكوفَةِ

376. **وقعة صفّين عن عبد الرحمن بن عبيد بن أبي الكنود وغيره:** لَمّا قَدِمَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب مِنَ البَصرَةِ إلَى الكوفَةِ يَومَ الإثنَينِ لِثنَتَي عَشرَةَ لَيلَةً مَضَت مِن رَجَب سَنَةَ سِتٍّ وثَلاثينَ، وقَد أعَزَّ اللّه نَصرَهُ، وأظهَرَهُ عَلى عَدُوِّهِ، ومَعَهُ أشرافُ النّاسِ وأهلُ البَصرَةِ، استَقبَلَهُ أهلُ الكوفَةِ وفيهِم قُرّاؤُهُم وأشرافُهُم، فَدَعَوا لَهُ بِالبَرَكَةِ وقالوا: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، أينَ تَنزِلُ؟ أ تَنزِلُ القَصرَ؟ فَقالَ: لا، ولكِنّي أنزِلُ الرُّحبَةَ. فَنَزَلَها وأقبَلَ حَتّى دَخَلَ المَسجِدَ الأعظَمَ فَصَلّى فيهِ رَكعَتَينِ، ثُمَّ صَعِدَ المِنبَرَ فَحَمِدَاللّهَ وأثنى عَلَيهِ وصَلّى عَلى رَسولِهِ وقالَ:

أمّا بَعدُ؛ يا أهلَ الكوفَةِ! فَإنَّ لَكُم فِي الإسلامِ فَضلاً ما لَم تُبَدِّلوا وتُغَيِّروا. دَعَوتُكُم إلَى الحَقِّ فَأَجَبتُم، وبَدَأتُم بِالمُنكَرِ فَغَيَّرتُم. ألا إنَّ فَضلَكُم فيما بَينَكُم وبَينَ اللّهِ فِي الأَحكامِ وَالقَسمِ، فَأَنتُماُسوَةُ مَن أجابَكُم ودَخَلَ فيما دَخَلتُم فيهِ. ألا إنَّ أخوَفَ ما أخافُ عَلَيكُمُ اتِّباعُ الهَوى، وطولُ الأَمَلِ؛ فَأَمَّا اتِّباعُ الهَوى فَيَصُدُّ عَنِ الحَقِّ، وأمّا طولُ الأَمَلِ فَيُنسِي الآخِرَةَ. ألا إنَّ الدُّنيا قَد تَرَحَّلَت مُدبِرَةً، وَالآخِرَةَ تَرَحَّلَتَ مُقبِلَةً، ولِكُلٍّ واحِدَة مِنهُما بَنونَ؛ فَكونوا مِن أبناءِ الآخِرَةِ. اَليَومَ عَمَلٌ ولا حِسابٌ، وغَداً حِسابٌ ولا عَمَلٌ. الحَمدُ للّهِ الَّذي نَصَرَ وَلِيَّهُ، وخَذَلَ عَدُوَّهُ، وأعَزَّ الصّادِقَ المُحِقَّ، وأذَلَّ النّاكِثَ المُبطِلَ.

عَلَيكُم بِتَقوَى اللّهِ وطاعَةِ مَن أطاعَ اللّهَ مِن أهلِ بَيتِ نَبِيِّكُم، الَّذينَ هُم أولى بِطاعَتِكُم

These people gain virtue through our virtue, deny our affair [of the government], and fight us over our rights. They have tasted the outcome of their actions and will soon see their own misguidance. Lo! There are men who desisted from helping me, so I have the right to reproach them. Forsake them and let them hear what they dislike, so they may be reproached and the party of Allah may be recognized at the time of disunity."[1057]

فيما أطاعُوا اللّهَ فيهِ مِنَ المُنتَحِلينَ المُدَّعينَ المُقابِلينَ إلَينا، يَتَفَضَّلونَ بِفَضلِنا، ويُجاحِدونَنا أمرَنا، ويُنازِعونَنا حَقَّنا، ويُدافِعونَنا عَنهُ. فَقَد ذاقوا وَبالَ مَا اجتَرَحوا فَسوفَ يَلقَونَ غَيّاً. ألا إنَّهُ قَد قَعَدَ عَن نُصرَتي مِنكُم رِجالٌ فَأَنَا عَلَيهِم عاتِبٌ زار. فَاهجُروهُم وأسمِعوهُم ما يَكرَهونَ حَتّى يُعتِبوا، لِيُعرَفَ بِذلِكَ حِزبُ اللّهِ عِندَ الفُرقَةِ.

Chapter Two

The Secand War: The Battle of Ṣiffīn

2.1.

Information on the War

a) Its Date

Nearly four months after the sedition of the Breakers (al-Nākithūn) under the leadership of ʿĀ'ishah, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr was surpassed while its wounds had not been yet healed, and its blood had still been dribbling, the ʿAlawid version of Islam confronted the sedition of the Unjust (al-Qāsiṭūn) under the leadership of Muʿāwiyah. Imam ʿAlī left Kufah on Shawwal, 5th 36 AH to suppress this sedition.[1058] It was nearly the end of Dhu 'l-Qi'dah[1059] in the course of halting (and camping) in Ṣiffīn a blitzcreig was carried out for dominating over the Euphrates that had already been dominated over by the army of Muʿāwiyah before the arrival of the Imam and his army. This blitzcreig resulted in the victory of Imam Ali's army.

In the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah skirmishes occurred between the two armies,[1060] untill a truce was declared in the month of Muharram of the year 37 AH[1061]; however, the war went on until the real war broke out between the two armies on the beginning of the month of Ṣafar in

الفصل الثاني

الحرب الثانية: وقعة صفّين

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مواصفات الحرب

أ ـ تأريخها

بعد مضي حوالي أربعة أشهر على إخماد فتنة الناكثين بقيادة عائشة وطلحة والزبير وفي وقت لم تكن جراحها قد اندملت ودماؤها قد جفّت، واجه الإسلام العلوي فتنة القاسطين بقيادة معاوية. فخرج الإمام عليّ عليه السلام في الخامس من شوّال عام ٣٦ للهجرة من الكوفة لإخماد هذه الفتنة. وفي أواخر ذي القعدة وأثناء حطّ الرحال في صفّين وقعت معركة خاطفة للسيطرة على شريعة الفرات التي سيطر عليها جيش معاوية قبل وصول الإمام وجيشه، وقد انتهت هذه المعركة بانتصار جيش الإمام عليّ عليه السلام.

وفي شهر ذي الحجّة وقعت مناوشات بين الجيشين، إلى أن أُعلنت الهدنة بين الفريقين في محرّم من عام ٣٧، وما إن انتهت حتى وقعت الحرب الحقيقيّة بينهما في بداية صفر عام٣٧ و حمى وطيسها في الثامن من صفر. وفي العاشر منهحينما كان جيش الإمام على

the year 37 AH.;[1062] the fierce fighting broke out on the eighth day of Ṣafar. On tenth day of Ṣafar when the Imam's army was on the verge of a tremendous victory, this opportunity was lost due to the stratagem of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, and the Imam went back to Kufah.

Its Locus

Ṣiffīn: it is an area near al-Raqqa on the bank of the Euphrates from the western side between al-Raqqa and Bālis[1063].[1064]

The distance between Damascus and al-Raqqa, which is near Ṣiffīn, is approximately 55 kilometres.[1065]

The Number of People Participated

Conflicting views have been cited about the number of the troops in the armies of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and Muʿāwiyah. For some of the sources mentioned the number of the combatants only, whereas others may have added the retainers and slaves. Other historians may have also included all those who usually accompany the armies from among the supporting groups, women and children.

Even though historical texts stated that the army of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) consisted of 120 thousand[1066], 150 thousand[1067], 95 thousand[1068] or more than 100 thousand[1069] or 50 thousand[1070], in accordance with the differences amongst them, what is well known is that the number of the combatants of the army of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) was ninety thousand.[1071]

The reports related to the number of the troops of the army of Muʿāwiyah are also contradictory. They include 60 thousand[1072], 70 thousand[1073], 83 thousand[1074], 90 thousand[1075], 100 thousand[1076], 120 thousand[1077], or 130 thousand[1078]; however, the most prevalent report says that they were 85 thousand .[1079]

The Great Companions of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

A larg number of the great companions of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) participated at the battle of Ṣiffīn with the Commander of the believers (a.s.) in addition to those who sacrificed all that which was valuable and precious in the cause of the pillars of Islam.

The reports differ about their numbers; they are said to vary

وشك إحراز الانتصار الحاسم، إلّا أنّها انفضّت بحيلة من عمرو بن العاص، وعاد الإمام إلى الكوفة.

ب ـ مَكانُها

صِفّين ـ بكسرتين وتشديد الفاء ـ موضع بقرب الرقّة على شاطئ الفرات من الجانب الغربي بين الرقّة وبالس.

وتبلغ المسافة بين دمشق والرقّة ـ وهي بقرب صفّين ـ ٥٥٠ كيلو متراً تقريباً.

ج ـ عَدَدُ المُشارِكينَ فيها

ذكرت أعداد متضاربة عن عدد جيشي الإمام عليّ عليه السلام ومعاوية. ولعلّ سبب ذلك يعود إلى أنّ بعضهم ذكر عدد المقاتلين فقط، بينما أضاف بعضٌ آخر الخدم والغلمان. وزاد عليهم آخرون كلَّ مَن يرافق الجيوش عادةً من جماعات الميرة، والنساء والأطفال.

ومع أنّ النصوص التاريخيّة أشارت إلى أنّ جيش الإمام عليّ عليه السلام بلغ قوامه ١٢٠ ألفاً أو ١٥٠ ألفاً أو ٩٥ ألفاً أو أكثر من ١٠٠ ألف أو ٥٠ ألفاً على اختلافٍ بينها، إلّا أنّ المشهور هو أنّ عدد جيش الإمام كان تسعين ألفاً.

وتضاربت الروايات أيضاً بخصوص عدد جيش معاوية ما بين ٦٠ ألفاً و ٧٠ ألفاً و٨٣ ألفاً و٩٠ ألفاً ومائة ألف ومائة وعشرين ألفاً و١٣٠ ألفاً، إلّا أنّ الروايات التي تصرّح بأن عددهم كان خمسةً وثمانين ألفاً هي الأشهر.

د ـ أكابِرُ أصحابِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

شارك في حرب صفّين إلى جانب أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام الكثير من أكابر صحابة الرسول صلى الله عليه وآله وغيرهم ممّن بذل كلّ غال ونفيس في سبيل إرساء دعائم الإسلام. وتختلف الروايات في ذكر

between 70 and 80 among those who witnessed the Battle of Badr, 800 among those who witnessed the Allegiance of al-Riḍwān, and 400 other companions.

In contrast, the number of the companions who participated in the army of Muʿāwiyah does not exceed the number of the fingers of one hand. Moreover, they are from among those who embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. Moreover, they are from among those who embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca.

The Prominent Companions of Muʿāwiyah

None of the companions of Muʿāwiyah were of the forerunners to Islam, or rather some of them fought the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) for many years or were expelled or cursed by the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).

The Number Killed

What is well known is that the number of those who were killed from the people of Iraq was 25 thousand and from the people of Syria was 45 thousand.[1080]

2.2.

The Identity of the Leaders of the Unjust (Qasiṭīn)

Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān

He was born in 20 before the Hegira and embraced Islam in 8 AH by force under the shining swords of the Muslim fighters. He and his likes were among those who were known (in the Prophet's words) as al-Ṭulaqāʾ.[1081]

ʿUmar appointed him as governor over Syria; he adopted for himself an autocratic policy and a monarchy form of government. He struck on the chord of independence from the time he was appointed governor and ʿUmar was lenient with him for certain reasons.[1082]

During the era of ʿUthmān – who was aspiring to empower the Umayyads over the people – Muʿāwiyah did not desist from his

عددهم؛ فمنها ما يشير إلى أنّ عددهم كان بين ٧٠ و ٨٠ من البدريّين، و ٨٠٠ ممّن شهدوا بيعة الرضوان، و ٤٠٠ من سائر الصحابة.

وفي مقابل ذلك كان عدد الذين شاركوا في جيش معاوية من الصحابة لا يتجاوز عدد أصابع اليد وهم ممّن أسلموا بعد الفتح.

هـ ـ وُجوه أصحابِ مُعاوِيَةَ

لم يكن أحد من أصحاب معاوية من السابقين إلى الإسلام، بل كان بعضهم ممّن حارب النبيّ ﷺ سنوات عديدة أو ممّن طرده أو لعنه النبيّ ﷺ .

و ـ عَدَدُ القَتلى فيها

المشهور أنّ القتلى من أهل العراق خمسة وعشرون ألفاً، ومن أهل الشام خمسة وأربعون ألفاً.

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هُوِيَّةُ رُؤَسَاءِ الفَاسِطِينَ

أ ـ مُعاوِيَةُ بنُ أبي سُفيانَ

ولد في سنة ٢٠ قبل الهجرة وأسلم سنة ٨ هـ مُكرهاً تحت بوارق فرسان الإسلام، وعُرف هو وأضرابه بـ«الطُّلَقاء».

ولّاه عمر على الشام، فانتهج لنفسه أُسلوباً تحكّميّاً سلطويّاً، وضرب على وتر الاستقلال مذ نُصب والياً عليه، وتساهل معه عمر لأسباب ما.

وفي عهد عثمان الذي كان يتطلّع إلى تسليط الأُمويّين على الناس لم يرعوِ معاوية عن ظلمه وجوره، وتمرّغ في ترفه ونعيمه، بلا وازع من ضمير، ولا رادع من سلطان.

وإنّ إمارته التي استمرّت عشرين سنة، وأساليبه في تجهيل الناس وتحميقهم، وبثّ الذعر

oppression and tyranny, or rather he increased in opulence and haughtiness without any self-restraint or deterrence from the ruler.

Indeed his rule which lasted for twenty years, his method in keeping the people ignorant and foolish, his spread of fear and panic in their hearts , all these practices prepared the ground for his authority over Syria.

He decided to oppose the Imām, Commander of the believers, from the time he assumed the Caliphate; he strived earnestly to instigate Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr against him and led the Battle of Ṣiffīn against the Imām (a.s.).

After the arbitration, he increased the launching of inhuman attacks on the regions within the jurisdiction of the government of the Imām (a.s.), corrupted the earth and destroyed the crop and the stock.

Thereafter he was able to impose the armistice on Imām al-Ḥasan (a.s.) in 41AH, through a special plot and concocted uproar, and he was able to consolidate his grip on power without any dispute. Then he began to oppress the Followers of the Commander of the believers (a.s.) and his supporters, such that his peers and followers were not able to withstand his practices.

His encounter al-Mughīra and his informing of his enmity to the pure religion of Islam reveals his deep aversion to Islam it even as alludes to his stubborness and meanness.[1083]He was excessive in reviling the Imām (a.s.), until, when he was asked to stop, he said:

"Nay, by God, until the young are raised on it and the adults are aged by it. So no one would make mention of his virtue ."[1084]

Ibn Abū al-Ḥadīd touched on his efforts to about his obliterate the virtues of the Imām , fabricate virtues for himself and formulate traditions. In fact all that he undertook corresponds to the thinking of Caesar and Khusrow . He also desired to alter the religious teachings.

His leading prayers in Madinah, his omitting the Basmala[1085] and the objection of the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār against it, are but a few arguments for his misguidance.

والهلع في نفوسهم، وإبقائهم على جهلهم؛ كلّ أُولئك مهّد الأرضيّة لكلّ عمل يصبّ في مصلحته بالشام.

عزم على مناوءة الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام منذ تولّيه الخلافة، وجدّ كثيراً في تحريض طلحة والزبير عليه، وقاد معركة صفّين ضدّ الإمام عليه السلام.

وبعد قضيّة التحكيم أكثر من شنّ الغارات الوحشيّة على المناطق الخاضعة لحكومة الإمام عليه السلام، وأفسد في الأرض، وأهلك الحرث والنسل.

ثمّ تمكّن من فرض الصلح على الإمام الحسن عليه السلام سنة ٤١ هـ عبر مكيدة خاصّة، وضجيج مفتعل، فأحكم قبضته على السلطة بلا منازع، ثمّ طفق يضطهد شيعة أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام وأنصاره، موغلاً في ذلك، حتى أنّ أقرانه وأتباعه لم يطيقوا ممارساته.

وإنّ لقاء المغيرة به، وإخباره عن موقفه العدائي ضدّ الدين الإسلامي الحنيف يترجمان حقده الدفين، كما يدلّان على غاية خسّته ودَنَسه، وقد أفرط في سبّ الإمام عليه السلام، وعندما طُلب منه أن يكفّ قال:

«لا والله، حتى يربوَ عليه الصغير، ويهرم عليه الكبير، ولا يذكر ذاكر له فضلاً»!!

وتستوقفنا المعلومات التي يذكرها ابن أبي الحديد حول طمسه فضائل الإمام، واختلاقه فضائل لنفسه، وسعيه في وضع الحديث، نقلاً عن كتاب الأحداث للمدائني، وغيره من الكتب القديمة، والواقع أنّ كلّ ما قام به يوائم التفكير القيصري والكسروي، ويبتغي تبديل تعاليم الدين.

وتعتبر إمامته للصلاة في المدينة، وتركه البسملة، واحتجاج المهاجرين والأنصار عليه أدلّة قاطعة على ما نقول.

However, indeed Muʿāwiyah dressed himself with the Caliphate; the religious Caliphate which he did not believe in from the bottom of his heart. He spared no effort to distort the religion. He did not hesitate to alter the criteria of the Truth. He allowed himself every action for the of consolidation of his grip on the affairs and the continuation of his power. Muʿāwiyah died in 60AH and appointed Yazīd as ruler over the people. By this he was able to take another step in order to distort the religious reality whose effects have been well known in history.

The Invocation of the Prophet against Him

377. **Ṣaḥīh Mulim,** reporting from Ibn Abbās, who said: "I was playing with children when the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) passed by. I hid myself behind a door. He came and patted me upon my shoulders and said: Go and call Muʿāwiyah for me. I [went and] returned and said: He is eating. After a while he said [again]: Go and call Muʿāwiyah for me. I [went and] returned and said: He is eating. He said: May God not fill his belly!"[1086]

378. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said:** "If you see Muʿāwiyah on my pulpit, kill him!"[1087]

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

He was a cunning politician, a skilled swindler, a multi-dimensional individual; he was considered to be one of the four cunning Arabs[1088]. He had his roots in obscenity, and his mother al-Nābigha was of the notorious harlots.

When ʿAmr was born in 50 before the Hegira, his mother [at first] attributed him to five people, then she chose al-ʿĀṣ and attributed [the baby] to him.[1089]

ʿAmr grew up under the protection of one who lampooned the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) excessively, and to whom surat al-Kawthar (Qur'ān: 108) alluded as without posterity[1090]. Imām al-Ḥasan (a.s.) used to say about him: "He has the most ignoble lineage and the most wicked position."[1091]

ومهما يكن فإنّ معاوية تقمّص الخلافة؛ الخلافة الدينيّة التي لا يعتقد بها اعتقاداً راسخاً من أعماق قلبه، وادّعى خلافة من قصد قتاله، ولم يتورّع عن تشويه الدين، ولم يأبهْ لتغيير معارف الحقّ. وأباح لنفسه كلّ عمل من أجل إحكام قبضته على الأُمور، واستمرار تسلّطه وتحكّمه. هلك معاوية سنة ٦٠ هـ ونصب يزيد حاكماً على الناس، فخطا بذلك خطوة أُخرى نحو قلب الحقائق الدينيّة، وهو ما اشتُهرت آثاره في التاريخ.

دُعاءُ النَّبيِ ﷺ عَلَيهِ

377. **صحيح مسلم عن ابن عبّاس:** كُنتُ ألعَبُ مَعَ الصِّبيانِ فَجاءَ رَسولُ اللهِ ﷺ، فَتَوارَيتُ خَلفَ باب. قالَ: فَجاءَ فحَطَأَني حَطأَةً وقالَ: اِذهَب وَادعُ لي مُعاوِيَةَ. قالَ: فَجِئتُ فَقُلتُ: هُوَ يَأكُلُ. قالَ: ثُمَّ قالَ لي: اِذهب فَادعُ لي مُعاوِيَةَ. قالَ: فَجِئتُ فَقُلتُ: هُوَ يَأكُلُ. فَقالَ: لا أشبَعَ اللّهُ بَطنَهُ!

378. **رسول الله ﷺ:** إذا رَأَيتُم مُعاوِيَةَ عَلى مِنبَري فَاقتُلوهُ.

ب ـ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ

سياسيّ ماكر، ومحتال ماهر، ووجهٌ متلوّن عجيب، وعُدَّ أحد دهاة العرب الأربعة. كان له في الفحشاء عِرقٌ؛ فأُمّه النابغة كانت من البغايا المشهورة.

ولمّا ولد عمرو في سنة ٥٠ قبل الهجرة، نسبته أُمّه إلى خمسة، ثمّ اختارت العاص وألحقته به.

نشأ عمرو في حجر من كان يهجو النبيّ ﷺ كثيراً، وهو الذي عبّرت عنه سورة الكوثر بالأبتر. وكان الإمام الحسن عليه السلام يقول فيه: «ألأَمُهُم حَسَباً، وأخبَثُهُم مَنصِباً».

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ used to harass the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and ridicule him a lot in Mecca. After all the obstinacy and immorality he demonstrated, the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) cursed him and said: "O God, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ ridiculed me, and you know that I am not a poet, so curse him for every verse he has lampooned me."[1092]

When a number of Muslims migrated to Abyssinia, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ went to the land of al-Najāshī as an emissary of Quraysh to extradite them, but he was not successful.[1093]

Ibn Abū al-Ḥadīd said - in describing ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ - : ʿAmr was one of those who used to ridicule and insult the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) in Mecca; he would put stones in his path, because the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) would come out of his house at night and circumambulate the Kʿabah, so ʿAmr used to put stones in his path that he may stumble therewith. This was due to the hot enmity ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ showed to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.). The people of Mecca sent him to al-Najāshī to arouse his dislike for the religion, to expel the emigrants to Abyssinia from his land, and to kill Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib if possible.[1094]

He fought the Muslims in many battles alongside the polytheist.[1095] When he noticed the increasing strength of Islam, he submitted [to it] and embraced Islam in 8AH ., before the Conquest of Mecca.[1096]

He was conversant with the arts of fighting. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) appointed him as head of the army which included Abū Bakr and ʿUmar[1097] at the battle of Dhāt al-Salāsil. When the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) passed away, he was on assignment to Oman[1098].[1099]

ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb liked him a lot; he used to honour and revere him.[1100] Ibn al-ʿĀṣ had conquered Egypt during his era, and so he appointed him as its governor.[1101]

He continued to be the governor for a while during the era of ʿUthmān, until he dismissed him and appointed his maternal brother ʿAbdullah ibn Sʿad ibn Abū Sarḥ in his place in line with his procedures for the consolidation of Umayyad dominance.[1102] This distressed ʿAmr, and so he became averse to ʿUthmān, and had an

وكان عمرو بن العاص يؤذي النبيّ ﷺ ويهجوه كثيراً في مكّة. وبعد كلّ ما أبداه من عناد وتهتّك لعنه رسول الله ﷺ وقال: «اللّهمَّ إنَّ عَمرَو بنَ العاصِ هَجاني، وأنتَ تَعلَمُ انّي لَستُ بِشاعِر، فَالعَنهُ مَكانَ كُلِّ بَيت هَجاني لَعنَةً».

وعندما هاجر عدد من المسلمين إلى الحبشة، ذهب عمرو بن العاص إلى بلاد النجاشي مبعوثاً من قريش ليُرجعهم، فلم يفلح.

قال ابن أبي الحديد في وصف عمرو بن العاص: وكان عمرو أحد من يؤذي رسول الله ﷺ بمكّة ويشتمه، ويضع في طريقه الحجارة؛ لأنّه كان رسول الله ﷺ يخرج من منزله ليلاً، فيطوف بالكعبة، وكان عمرو يجعل له الحجارة في مسلكه ليعثر بها... لشدّة عداوة عمرو بن العاص لرسول الله ﷺ أرسله أهل مكّة إلى النجاشي ليزهّده في الدين، وليطرد عن بلاده مهاجرة الحبشة، وليقتل جعفر بن أبي طالب عنده إن أمكنه قتله.

قاتل المسلمين في حروب متعدّدة إلى جانب المشركين.

ولمّا أحسّ بقدرة الإسلام المتعاظمة، أسلم سنة ٨ هـ قبل فتح مكّة.

كان ملمّاً بفنون القتال. أمّره النبيّ ﷺ في غزوة ذات السلاسل، وفي الجيش أبو بكر، وعمر، وعندما توفّي النبيّ ﷺ كان في مهمّة بعُمان .

أحبّه عمر بن الخطّاب كثيراً، وكان يكرّمه ويبجّله. وفتح ابن العاص مصر في أيّامه، ثمّ ولّاه عليها.

وظلّ والياً عليها في عهد عثمان مدّة، ثمّ عزله عثمان وولّى أخاه لأُمّه عبد الله ابن سعد بن أبي سرح؛ انطلاقاً من سياسته في تحكيم الأُمويّين. فاغتمّ عمرو لذلك وحقد على عثمان،

important role in provoking the people against him.[1103]

Ibn al-ʿĀṣ was cunning, conscious of his time, desirous for this world and following his caprice; thus he knew well he will not be in harmony with such personalities as the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī (a.s.). He therefore went in the direction of Muʿāwiyah[1104] - when the Imām assumed the Caliphate - out of his love of this world. He once said to Muʿāwiyah: Indeed, it is nothing but this world that we assault each other for.[1105] He considered the governorship of Egypt a condition for his support of Muʿāwiyah.[1106]

At the battle of Ṣiffīn, he was the head of the Syrian army, an adviser to Muʿāwiyah, and the manager of the war on that battlefield.[1107] His heart was blackened; the love of this world blinded him from seeing the truth. He knew the virtues of the Commander of the Faithful and often declared them.[1108] He also knew ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir and his personality. He also believed the words of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) when he said to him: "The oppressive group will kill you."[1109]

On the other hand, he knew the meanness, depravity and arbitrariness of Muʿāwiyah.

Similarly, he himself had no equal in baseness and ignobility when he revealed his private parts to the Imām, Commander of the believers (a.s.), when he saw death had grasped his throat. He thus escaped death with this act of disgrace.[1110]

He was the one who contrived the plot to raise the Qur'ān on the spears when the battle intensified, thus saving the Syrian army from eventual defeat.[1111]

He represented Muʿāwiyah at the arbitration; and deceived Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, and so made the outcome of the arbitration in favour of Muʿāwiyah,[1112] paving the way for other seditions.

He was one of the skilled architects of the propagandist policy against the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.)[1113]. Indeed his creation of an unhealthy environment, his misleading people and changing the situation against the Commander of the Faithful are a sign of his baseness, cruelty and deception, to some of which referred the Imam

وكان له دور مهمّ في تأليب الناس عليه.

وكان ابن العاص داهية، عارفاً بزمانه، ومن جانب آخر كان رَكوناً إلى الدنيا، عابداً لهواه، من هنا كان يعلم جيّداً أنّه لا يمكن أن ينسجم مع أشخاص مثل أمير المؤمنين عليّ عليه السلام، لذلك ولّى صوب معاوية عندما تقلّد الإمام الخلافة، وهو يعلم أنّ حبّ الدنيا هو الذي حداه على ذلك، وقال لمعاوية مرّة: إن هي إلّا الدنيا نتكالب عليها... .

وهكذا كان، إذ جعل ولاية مصر شرطاً لمؤازرته معاوية.

وكان في حرب صفّين قائداً لجيش الشام، ومستشاراً لمعاوية، وموجّهاً للحرب في ساحة القتال.

وكان أسود القلب، أعماه حبّ الدنيا عن رؤية الحقّ، وكان يعرف فضائل أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام، وطالما صرّح بها. وكذلك كان يعرف عمّار بن ياسر وشخصيّته، ويعتقد بكلام رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فيه إذ قال له: «تَقتُلُكَ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ».

ومن جهة أُخرى كان يدرك ضعة معاوية ورذالته وتعسّفه.

كما كان هو نفسه لا نظير في ضعته وحقارته؛ إذ كشف عورته للإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام لمّا رأى الموت قد أمسك بخناقه!! فنجا من الموت بهذه المكيدة التي تمثّل وصمة عار عليه.

وهو صاحب خطّة رفع المصاحف على الرماح عند اشتداد الحرب، وتواتر الهزائم، فأنقذ جيش الشام من اندحار حتميّ.

ومثّل معاوية في التحكيم، فخدع أبا موسى الأشعري؛ إذ جعل نتيجة التحكيم لمصلحة معاوية، فمهّد الأرضيّة لفتن أُخرى.

وكان أحد المخطّطين البارعين للسياسة الدعائيّة المناهضة لأمير المؤمنين عليه السلام . وإنّ قيامه بتعكير الأجواء، وتضليل الناس، وانتقال المواقف ضدّ أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام معلم على لؤمه وقبحه ومكره، وأشار الإمام إلى شيء من ذلك إشارة بليغة في الخطبة ٨٤ من نهج البلاغة.

eloquently in the sermon 84 of nahj al-Balaghah.

Ibn al-ʿĀṣ fought Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr in Egypt, overcame him and strengthened his grip on it.[1114]

He died in 43AH,[1115] leaving behind a huge amount of wealth, full of gold and silver coins. It is said that his transferable wealth equalled seventy camels full of gold.[1116]

His Regret at Upon His Death

379. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī, relates:** "When he was about to die, he said to his son: Your father loved to have died at the battle of the Dhāt al-Salāsil, I have become embroiled with that for which I have no answers in the presence of God. He then looked at his wealth and noticed its abundance and said: I wish it were dung; I wish I had died long before this day, thirty years ago. I prepared for Muʿāwiyah his world, but I destroyed my religion. I preferred the life of this world over the next. My integrity was blinded until my appointed term arrived; it is as if I see Muʿāwiyah taking my wealth.When ʿAmr passed away on the Eve of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, 43 AH Muʿāwiyah appointed his son ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAmr in his place."[1117]

2.3.

Imām ʿAlīs Policy

Dismissing Muʿāwiyah

We have previously mentioned that one of the first actions that Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) took after the allegiance of the people to him was the dismissal of the governors of ʿUthmān. The politicians among the companions of the Imām did not deem it expedient to dismiss two personalities: Muʿāwiyah and Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

After a lot of clarification alongside the intervention of Mālik al-Ashtar, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) agreed to keep Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. However concering Muʿāwiyah the efforts that were utilised to convince the Imām to keep him in his position were not

قاتل ابنُ العاص محمّدَ بن أبي بكر في مصر، فغلبه وأحكم قبضته عليها.

هلك سنة ٤٣ هـ. وخلّف ثروة طائلة، ودراهم ودنانير وافرة. وذُكر أنّ أمواله المنقولة بلغت سبعين رقبة جمل مملوءة ذهباً.

شِدَّةُ أسَفِهِ عِندَ المَوتِ

379. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** لَمّا حَضَرَت عَمراً الوَفاةُ قالَ لِابنِهِ: لَوَدَّ أبوكَ أنَّهُ كانَ ماتَ في غَزاةِ ذاتِ السَّلاسِلِ؛ إنّي قَد دَخَلتُ في أُمور لا أدري ما حُجَّتي عِندَ اللّهِ فيها.

ثُمَّ نَظَرَ إلى مالِهِ فَرَأى كَثرَتَهُ، فَقالَ: يا لَيتَهُ كانَ بَعراً، يا لَيتَني مِتُّ قَبلَ هذَا اليَومِ بِثَلاثينَ سَنَةً؛ أصلَحتُ لِمُعاوِيَةَ دُنياهُ، وأفسَدتُ ديني، آثَرتُ دُنيايَ وتَرَكتُ آخِرَتي، عُمِّيَ عَلَيَّ رُشدي حَتّى حَضَرَني أجَلي، كَأنّي بِمُعاوِيَةَ قَد حَوى مالي، وأساءَ فيكُم خِلافَتي.

وتُوُفِّيَ عَمرٌو لَيلَةَ الفِطرِ سَنَةَ ٤٣ هـ فَأقَرَّ مُعاوِيَةُ ابنَهُ عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ عَمرٍو.

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السِّيَاسَةُ العَلَوِيَّةُ

أ ـ عَزلُ مُعاوِيَةَ

ذكرنا سابقاً أنّ أُولى الأعمال التي اتّخذها الإمام عليّ عليه السلام بعد مبايعة الناس له على طريق الشروع بالإصلاحات هو عزل عمّال عثمان. وكان الساسة من أصحاب الإمام لا يرون من المصلحة عزل شخصين، هما: معاوية وأبي موسى الأشعري.

وأخيراً وبعد الكثير من التوضيحات وفي أعقاب وساطة مالك الأشتر، وافق أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام على إبقاء أبي موسى الأشعري. أمّا بالنسبة الى معاوية فلم تفلح جميع الجهود التي بذلت لإقناع الإمام بإبقائه في منصبه، إذ كان لا يرى جواز إبقائه والياً ولو لحظة واحدة.

successful, for he considered it impossible to keep him as a governor even for a moment.

Muʿāwiyah, however, did not pay allegiance to the Imām nor did he let the people of Syria pay their allegiance. He began to conspire from the first day of the Caliphate of the Imām, paving the way for a military encounter.

The first question that may be raised in this regard is how is it possible to justify the action of the Imām from the political perspective? Was it not convenient for the Imām to keep Muʿāwiyah in his position at the beginning of his Caliphate, until the affairs had settled for him, after, he and the people of Syria have paid their allegiance, and thereafter dismiss him that the Battle of Ṣiffīn do not occur and that the Islamic government under his leadership is established? Was not the protection of the unity (and integrity) of the Community and the continuation of the Islamic system; both of which are obligatory, necessitate the remaining of Muʿāwiyah as the governor of Syria even if temporarily?

Defending the Policy of Dismissing Muʿāwiyah

On the basis of what the Imām adopted in the politics and administration of the Islamic System which was previously explained, it is possible to reply to these questions very easily, however because of this politics many important issues arise that need mentioning here:

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd defended this policy in detail; we present the salient points here:

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd substantiates at the outset through historical sources and documents that Muʿāwiyah was not going to pay allegiance to the Imām under any circumstances. He then refers to the religious principles that the Imām followed in his appointment and dismissal of the governors and rulers. He then presents at the end a thorough analysis of a scholar by the name of Ibn Sinān who explains in it that it was not possible to keep Muʿāwiyah under the circumstances in which the people paid their allegiance to ʿAlī after the assassination of ʿUthmān, for that would have made the Imām to confront at the beginning of his government situations similar to what ʿUthmān ended up with towards the end of his rule.

أمّا بالنسبة إلى معاوية فهو لم يبايع الإمام ولم يترك أهل الشام يبايعونه. وبدأ منذ اليوم الأول لخلافة الإمام بالتآمر عليه، ممهّداً بذلك الأجواء للصدام العسكري.

وأوّل سؤال يُثار في هذا المجال هو كيف يمكن تبرير عمل الإمام هذا من الوجهة السياسيّة؟ ألم يكن من الأفضل أن يُبقي الإمامُ معاوية في منصبه في بداية خلافته إلى حين استتباب الأُمور، وإلى أن يبايع هو وأهل الشام، ثمّ يعزله من بعد ذلك لكي لا تقع حرب صفّين ولكي تستقرّ الحكومة الإسلاميّة بقيادته؟ ألم يكن الحفاظ على وحدة كلمة الأُمّة وديمومة النظام الإسلامي وهما من أوجب الواجبات، يقضيان بإبقاء معاوية على ولاية الشام ولو مؤقّتاً؟

دفاع عن سياسة عزل معاوية

استناداً إلى ما يتبنّاه الإمام في سياسة وإدارة النظام الإسلامي التي سبق شرحها يمكن الردّ على هذه التساؤلات بكلّ سهولة. بَيدَ أنّ هذه السياسة توجد بشأنها أُمور مهمّة لابدّ من الإشارة إليها هاهنا:

دافع ابن أبي الحديد عن هذه السياسة بالتفصيل، ونحن نورد النقاط المهمّة فيها:

استدلّ ابن أبي الحديد ابتداءً من خلال المصادر والوثائق التاريخيّة على أنّ معاوية ما كان يبايع الإمام في أيِّ ظُروف كانت. ثمّ أشار إلى المبادئ الدينيّة التي كان يسير عليها الإمام في تعيين وعزل الولاة والعمال. ثمّ أورد في ختام المطاف تحليلاً رصيناً لعالم يدعى ابن سنان بيّن فيه عدم امكانيّة إبقاء معاوية في الظروف التي بايع فيها الناس عليّاً من بعد قتل عثمان؛ لأنّها ستجعل الإمام يواجه في أوّل حكومته أوضاعاً كالتي انتهى إليها عثمان في أُواخر حكمه.

1. Reinstatement of Muāwiyah Would Not Induce Him to Pay Allegiance

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd , concering the criticism of the policy of the Imām, reported the following

They say: If he had kept Muʿāwiyah [in his position] over Syria, when the allegiance for the Caliphate was pledged to him in Madinah until the affair had settled for him , so Muʿāwiyah and the people of Syria would pay their allegiance, and thereafter he would dismiss him, he would have spared the war from occurring between them.

The answer: "The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) knew for certain to the at that time that Muʿāwiyah was not ready to pay allegiance even if he had made him stay over the governorship of Syria. He would even have strengthened Muʿāwiyah and consolidated his refusal to pay allegiance. For the questioner may say:

It would have been appropriate for him to demand his allegiance to him and to let him stay as governor over Syria, at the same time or to demand the allegiance first, or to retain his governorship over Syria and delay the demand for the allegiance to another time.

If it was the first option, then it was possible that Muʿāwiyah would read [the ruling of] his position appointment for the people of Syria and consolidate his position in their presence saying: If he had not been suitable for the position, ʿAlī (a.s.) would not have depended on him. Then he would procrastinate the pledge of allegiance.

If it was the second option, then that was what the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) did.

If it was the third option, then it would be like the first, or rather, it would have consolidated Muʿāwiyah in his opposition and disobedience.

How should one who knows history assume that Muʿāwiyah would have pledged the allegiance to him if he had let him stay over Syria, despite a old legacy of hatred. Imām ʿAlī was the one who killed Ḥanẓalah, his brother, al-Walīd, his uncle and ʿUtbah; his grandfather

1. إبقاء معاوية في منصبه لا يدعوه إلى البيعة

نقل ابن أبي الحديد فيما يخصّ انتقاد سياسة الإمام بعزل معاوية:

منها قولهم: لو كان حين بويع له بالخلافة في المدينة أقرّ معاوية على الشام إلى أن يستقرّ الأمر له ويتوطّد ويبايعه معاوية وأهل الشام ثمّ يعزله بعد ذلك، لكان قد كُفي ما جرى بينهما من الحرب.

والجواب: إنّ قرائن الأحوال حينئذ قد كان علم أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام منها أنّ معاوية لا يبايع له وإن أقرّه على ولاية الشام، بل كان إقراره له على إمرة الشام أقوى لحال معاوية وآكد في الامتناع من البيعة؛ لأنّه لا يخلو صاحب السؤال إمّا أن يقول: كان ينبغي أن يطالبه بالبيعة ويقرن إلى ذلك تقليده بالشام فيكون الأمران معاً، أو يتقدّم منه عليه السلام المطالبة بالبيعة، أو يتقدّم منه اقراره على الشام وتتأخّر المطالبة بالبيعة إلى وقت ثان.

فإن كان الأوّل فمن الممكن أن يقرأ معاوية على أهل الشام تقليده بالإمرة فيؤكّد حاله عندهم، ويقرّر في أنفسهم: لولا أنّه أهل لذلك لما اعتمده عليّ عليه السلام معه، ثمّ يماطله بالبيعة ويحاجزه عنها.

وإن كان الثاني فهو الذي فعله أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام.

وإن كان الثالث فهو كالقسم الأوّل، بل هو آكد فيما يريده معاوية من الخلاف والعصيان.

وكيف يتوهّم من يعرف السير أنّ معاوية كان يبايع له لو أقرّه على الشام وبينه وبينه ما لا تبرك الابل عليه من التِّرات القديمة والأحقاد، وهو الذي قتل حنظلة أخاه، والوليد خاله، وعتبة جدّه، في مقام واحد!! ثمّ ما جرى بينهما في أيّام عثمان حتى أغلظ كلّ واحد منهما لصاحبه، وحتى تهدّده معاوية وقال له: إنّي شاخص إلى الشام وتارك عندك هذا الشيخ ـ يعني عثمان ـ واللّهِ لئن انحصّت منه شعرة واحدة لأضربنّك بمائة ألف سيف!!...

on one occasion. Muʿāwiyah even threatened him and said: I am going to Syria and I am leaving this old man – meaning ʿUthmān – with you. By God, if a strand of his hair is lost, I will fight you with a hundred thousand swords.

Hence, Ibn ʿAbbās said to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.): Appoint him for a month and dismiss him forever , and so did al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba , out of heedlessness and lack of knowledge.

ʿAlī (a.s.) was more knowledgeable about his condition with Muʿāwiyah. He knew Muʿāwiyah, his denial, his cunning and the malice he bore for ʿAlī (a.s.), especially after the assassination of ʿUthmān. Muʿāwiyah was more astute than he should be misled. ʿAlī (a.s.) knew there no remedy not for this sickness except the sword.[1118]

2. Disruption to the Central Government

Zetting Muʿāwiyah stay as governor of Syria would not have consolidated the pillars of the Imām's government, or rather, it would have caused disruptions from the beginning. Ibn Sinān came to the following conclusion:

"Indeed we know that one of the incidents that led to the resentment of ʿUthmān and was a cause of the Muslims blockading and killing him was the governorship of Muʿāwiyah over Syria despite his apparent tyranny, aggression and violation of religious rulings. When ʿUthmān was addressed and questioned, he apologised and said that ʿUmar had appointed him before him. The Muslims did not accept his apology and insisted on his dismissal, until the affairs led to what they led. ʿAlī (a.s.) was among Muslims who fell most disgusted at this issue and knew well the evil consequences of such position. If he began his Caliphate by making Muʿāwiyah stay over Syria, wouldn't he have begun with what ʿUthmān had ended his term up? That would definitely have led to his dismissal and assassination. If it was permissible according to the law of Islam and if it was not a sin, it would have still been a grave political error and a strong reason for disobedience and opposition. It would not have been possible for him (a.s.) to say to the Muslims:

و أمّا قول ابن عبّاس لهعليه السلام: ولّه شهراً واعزله دهراً، وما أشار به المغيرة بن شعبة، فإنّهما ما توهّماه وما غلب على ظنونها وخطر بقلوبهما.

وعليّعليه السلام كان أعلم بحاله مع معاوية، وأنّها لا تقبل العلاج والتدبير، وكيف يخطر ببال عارف بحال معاوية ونكره ودهائه وما كان في نفسه من عليّعليه السلام من قتل عثمان ومن قبل قتل عثمان أنّه يقبل إقرار عليّعليه السلام له على الشام، وينخدع بذلك، ويبايع ويعطي صفقة يمينه! إنّ معاوية لأدهى من أن يُكاد بذلك، وإنّ عليّاًعليه السلام لأعرف بمعاوية ممّن ظنّ أنّه لو استماله بإقراره لبايع له. ولم يكن عند عليّعليه السلام دواء لهذا المرض إلّا السيف؛ لأنّ الحال إليه كانت تؤول لا محالة، فجعل الآخر أوّلاً.

2. إبقاء معاوية كان يزعزع الحكومة المركزيّة

لم يكن إبقاء معاوية على ولاية الشام يقوّي ركائز حكومة الإمام، بل إنّه كان يؤدي الى زعزعتها منذ البداية. وقد جاء تحليل ابن سنان في هذا المضمار على النحو التالي:

إنّا قد علمنا أنّ أحد الأحداث التي نقمت على عثمان وأفضت بالمسلمين إلى حصاره وقتله تولية معاوية الشام مع ما ظهر من جوره وعدوانه، ومخالفة أحكام الدين في سلطانه، وقد خوطب عثمان في ذلك فاعتذر بأنّ عمر ولّاه قبله، فلم يقبل المسلمون عذره، ولا قنعوا منه إلّا بعزله، حتى أفضى الأمر إلى ما أفضى.

وكان عليّعليه السلام من أكثر المسلمين لذلك كراهية، وأعرفهم بما فيه من الفساد في الدين، فلو أنّهعليه السلام افتتح عقد الخلافة له بتوليته معاوية الشام وإقراره فيه، أ ليس كان يبتدئ في أوّل أمره بما انتهى إليه عثمان في آخره، فأفضى إلى خلعه وقتله ؟! ولو كان ذلك في حكم الشريعة سائغاً والوزر فيه مأموناً لكان غلطاً قبيحاً في السياسة، وسبباً قويّاً للعصيان والمخالفة، ولم يكن

My real intention is to dismiss Muʿāwiyah when the affair has been settled and stabilised, and the masses have obeyed me. My intention is to deceive him and to hasten his obedience and pledge of allegiance of his army. Then I will dismiss him and deal with him justly. There is no doubt that upon announement of this decision this news would reach Muʿāwiyah, thus the Imam's plan would be ruined and the notion upon which he had relied would be destroyed."[1119]

3. Its Contradiction with the Principles of Imām ʿAlī's Policy

Ibn Sinān put forth another response to the criticism of the policy of dismissal. He said: "Know that the true answer is that ʿAlī (a.s.) could not confirm the opposition of Islamic legislation for political expediency, whether that policy was religious or worldly. As for the worldly, it is when the Imām accuses a person of corrupting his Caliphate without evidence, for ʿAlī (a.s.) would not approve his slaying or detention on the basis of suspicion. As for the religious, an example would be to punish a suspect for robbery, for he would not penalize him until it is proved by confession or clear proof.

As for the other, they had a different opinion contrary to ʿAlī's. Mālik ibn Anas acts in accordance with the general well-being; such that it is permissible for the Imām to kill a third of the community in order to reform the two thirds. The view of the majority is that it is permissible to act on the basis of ones, opinion. According to the view of the Imām, which we have mentioned, Muʿāwiyah is considered to be an unrighteous person, and the employment of unrightous people is not permissible. He was not of those who deemed it convient to establish the foundation of his Caliphate by transgressing the Law of Islam. Thus he had to dismiss him openly even though it had led to the war."[1120]

b) Rejection of the Policy of Compromise[1121]

380. Murūj al-Dhahab, reporting from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "I returned from Mecca five nights after the assassination of ʿUthmān, so I

يمكنه عليه السلام أن يقول للمسلمين: إنّ حقيقة رأيي عزل معاوية عند استقرار الأمر وطاعة الجمهور لي، وإنّ قصدي بإقراره على الولاية مخادعته وتعجيل طاعته ومبايعة الأجناد الذين قِبله، ثمّ أستأنف بعد ذلك فيه ما يستحقّه من العزل، وأعمل فيه بموجب العدل؛ لأنّ إظهاره عليه السلام لهذا العزم كان يتّصل خبره بمعاوية، فيفسد التدبير الذي شرع فيه، وينتقض الرأي الذي عوّل عليه.

3. إبقاء معاوية يتعارض مع المباني السياسيّة للإمام عليه السلام

قدّم ابن سنان ردّاً آخر على الطعن بسياسته في عزل معاوية، وفيه إشارة إلى مبانيه السياسيّة في الحكم، ويسمّيه جواباً حقيقيّاً ويقول فيه: واعلم أنّ حقيقة الجواب هو أنّ عليّاً عليه السلام كان لا يرى مخالفة الشرع لأجل السياسة، سواء أكانت تلك السياسة دينيّة أو دنيويّة؛ أمّا الدنيويّة فنحو أن يتوهّم الإمام في إنسان أنّه يروم فساد خلافته من غير أن يثبت ذلك عليه يقيناً؛ فإنّ عليّاً عليه السلام لم يكن يستحلّ قتله ولا حبسه، ولا يعمل بالتوهّم وبالقول غير المحقّق. وأمّا الدينيّة فنحو ضرب المتّهم بالسرقة؛ فإنّه أيضاً لم يكن يعمل به، بل يقول: إن يثبت عليه بإقرار أو بيّنة أقمتُ عليه الحدّ، وإلّا لم أعترضه.

وغير عليّ عليه السلام قد كان منهم من يرى خلاف هذا الرأي، ومذهب مالك بن أنس العمل على المصالح المرسلة، وأنّه يجوز للإمام أن يقتل ثلث الأُمّة لإصلاح الثلثين، ومذهب أكثر الناس أنّه يجوز العمل بالرأي وبغالب الظنّ، وإذا كان مذهبه عليه السلام ما قُلناه، وكان معاوية عنده فاسقاً، وقد سبق عنده مقدّمة أُخرى يقينيّة، هي أنّ استعمال الفاسق لا يجوز، ولم يكن ممّن يرى تمهيد قاعدة الخلافة بمخالفة الشريعة. فقد تعيّن مجاهرته بالعزل، وإن أفضى ذلك إلى الحرب.

ب ـ رفض سياسة المداهنة

380. **مروج الذهب عن ابن عبّاس:** قَدِمتُ مِن مَكَّةَ بَعدَ مَقتَلِ عُثمانَ بِخَمسِ لَيال، فَجِئتُ عَلِيّاً أدخُلُ عَلَيهِ، فَقيلَ لي: عِندَهُ المُغيرَةُ بنُ شُعبَةَ، فَجَلَستُ بِالبابِ ساعَةً، فَخَرَجَ المُغيرَةُ،

came to visit ʿAlī (a.s.). I desired to enter, when it was said to me that al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba was with him. I waited at the door for an hour until al-Mughīra came out. He greeted me and said: When did you arrive? I said: Right now. I entered the chamber of ʿAlī (a.s.) and greeted him. I said: Inform me about al-Mughīra, why was he alone with you?

The Imām said: "He came to me two days after the death of ʿUthmān, and said: I want to meet you in private, so I agreed. He said: Indeed advice is deemed cheap and you are of the remaining companions of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and I am a good adviser to you. I advise you not to dismiss the governors of ʿUthmān for this year, write to them and let them stay in their positions. Once they have paid allegiance, and so your affair has been settled, you may dismiss or appoint those with whom you are well-pleased. I said to him: By God, I will not employ compromise in my religion, nor will I exercise hypocrisy in my affairs. He said: If you refuse, then dismiss those whom you please, but let Muʿāwiyah stay, for he is daring and the people of Syria listen to him. You have proof for such an action, for indeed ʿUmar appointed him over all the Syrian territory. I said to him: No, by God, I will not employ Muʿāwiyah even for two days. So, he [al-Mughīra] left me; he then returned and said: I recommended you to do something but you rejected me. I have looked into it and found that you are correct. Your allegiance should not be pledged through deception or dishonesty.

Ibn ʿAbbās said: "I told ʿAlī (a.s.): When he [al-Mughīra] first offered to counsel you, he was benevolent but the second time he betrayed you"[1122]

c) Imām ʿAlī Invites Muʿāwiyah to Pledge Allegiance

381. Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, relates: "When ʿAlī (a.s.) was pledged Allegiance, he wrote to Muʿāwiyah: Indeed the people killed ʿUthmān without consulting me and pledged their allegiance to

فَسَلَّمَ عَلَيَّ، وقالَ: مَتى قَدِمتَ؟ قُلتُ: السّاعَةَ، ودَخَلتُ عَلى عَلِيٍّ وسَلَّمتُ عَلَيهِ.. .

قُلتُ: أخبِرني عَن شَأنِ المُغيرَةِ، ولِمَ خَلا بِكَ ؟

قالَ: جاءَني بَعدَ مَقتَلِ عُثمانَ بِيَومَينِ، فَقالَ: أخلِني، فَفَعَلتُ، فَقالَ: إنَّ النُّصحَ رَخيصٌ، وأنتَ بَقِيَّةُ النّاسِ، وأنَا لَكَ ناصِحٌ، وأنَا اُشيرُ عَلَيكَ أن لا تَرُدَّ عُمّالَ عُثمانَ عامَكَ هذا، فَاكتُب إلَيهِم بِإثباتِهِم عَلى أعمالِهِم، فَإذا بايَعوا لَكَ، وَاطمَأنَّ أمرُكَ، عَزَلتَ مَن أحبَبتَ، وأقَرَرتَ مَن أحبَبتَ.

فَقُلتُ لَهُ: وَاللّهِ، لا اُداهِنُ في ديني، ولا اُعطِي الرِّياءَ في أمري.

قالَ: فَإن كُنتَ قَد أبَيتَ فَانزِع مَن شِئتَ، وَاترُك مُعاوِيَةَ؛ فَإنَّ لَهُ جُرأَةً وهُوَ في أهلِ الشّامِ مَسموعٌ مِنهُ، ولَكَ حُجَّةٌ في إثباتِهِ، فَقَد كانَ عُمَرُ وَلّاهُ الشّامَ كُلَّها.

فَقُلتُ لَهُ: لا وَاللّهِ، لا أستَعمِلُ مُعاوِيَةَ يَومَينِ اَبَداً.

فَخَرَجَ مِن عِندي عَلى ما أشارَ بِهِ، ثُمَّ عادَ، فَقالَ: إنّي أشَرتُ عَلَيكَ بِما أشَرتُ بِهِ وأبَيتَ عَلَيَّ، فَنَظَرتُ فِي الأَمرِ وإذا أنتَ مُصيبٌ لا يَنبَغي أن تَأخُذَ أمرَكَ بِخُدعَة، ولا يَكونَ فيهِ دُلسَةٌ.

قالَ ابنُ عَبّاس: فَقُلتُ لَهُ: أمّا أوَّلُ ما أشارَ بِهِ عَلَيكَ فَقَد نَصَحَكَ، وأمّا الآخِرُ فَقَد غَشَّكَ.

ج ـ الإمامُ عليه السلام يَدعو مُعاوِيَةَ إلَى البَيعَةِ

381. **شرح نهج البلاغة:** لَمّا بويعَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام كَتَبَ إلى مِعاوِيَةَ: أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنَّ النّاس قَتَلوا عُثمانَ

me after consultation. If my letter reaches you, then pledge your allegiance and delegate the notables of Syria who are near you to me."[1123]

d) The Policy of Muʿāwiyah in Answering the Imām (a.s.)

382. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī relates, in mentioning the letter of Imām ʿAlī to Muʿāwiyah and Abū Mūsā: "The emissary of the Commander of the Faithful to Muʿāwiyah, was Sabra al-Juhanī, came to Muʿāwiyah, but he [Muʿāwiyah] refused to write anything in reply. He sufficed himself with a few lines of poetry.

When al-Juhanī insisted on his reply, he did not say more than those verses. The affair continued until three months passed after the assassination of ʿUthmān, when Muʿāwiyah summoned a man from the tribe of ʿAbas and one from the tribe of Rawāḥa called Qabīṣa. He gave him a sealed scroll with these word: From Muʿāwiyah to ʿAlī; he then said: When you enter Madinah hold the bottom of the scroll. He then told him what to say and released the emissary of ʿAlī.

They both set forth and arrived in Madinah on the first day of Rabīʿ al-Awwal; when they entered Madinah, ʿAbasī raised the scroll as commanded and, people came forth to look at it and then returned to their homes, as they knew that Muʿāwiyah was opposing [the allegiance of ʿAlī]. He kept on until he entered on ʿAlī. He gave him the scroll. ʿAlī broke the seal of the scroll but did not find anything written in it, so he said to the emissary [of Muʿāwiyah]: What is behind you? He said: Am I secure? ʿAlī said: Yes, the emissaries are secure, they are not killed. He said: I have left a people thirsty for revenge. ʿAlī said: Upon whom? He said: Upon yourself. I have left sixty thousand old men crying under the shirt of ʿUthmān. ʿAlī said: Are they demanding [revenge for] the blood of ʿUthmān from me! Am I not like ʿUthmān wronged[1124]? O God indeed I am innocent [and cleared] of the blood of ʿUthmān."[1125]

عَن غَيرِ مَشورَة مِنّي، وبايَعوني عَن مَشورَة مِنهُم وَاجتِماع، فَإذا أتاكَ كِتابي فَبايِع لي، وأوفِد إلَيَّ أشرافَ أهلِ الشّامِ قِبَلَكَ.

د ـ سِياسَةُ مُعاوِيَةَ في جَوابِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

382. **تاريخ الطبري** ـ في ذِكرِ كِتابِ الإمامِ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ وأبي موسى ـ: وكانَ رَسولُ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ سَبرَةَ الجُهَنِيَّ، فَقَدِمَ عَلَيهِ فَلَم يَكتُب مُعاوِيَةُ بِشَيء، ولَم يُجِبهُ، ورَدَّ رَسولَهُ، وجَعَلَ كُلَّما تَنَجَّزَ جَوابَهُ لَم يَزِد عَلى قَولِهِ:

أدِم إدامَةَ حِصن أوخَذا بِيَدي ... حَرباً ضَروساً تَشُبُّ الجَزلَ وَالضَّرَما

في جارِكُم وَابنِكُم إذ كانَ مَقتَلُهُ ... شَنعاءَ شَيَّبَتِ الأَصداغَ وَاللِّمَما

أعيَى المَسودُ بِها وَالسَّيِّدونَ فَلَم ... يوجَد لَها غَيرُنا مَولىً ولا حَكَما

وجَعَلَ الجُهَنِيُّ كُلَّما تَنَجَّزَ الكِتابَ لَم يَزِدهُ عَلى هذِهِ الأَبياتِ، حَتّى إذا كانَ الشَّهرُ الثّالِثُ مِن مَقتَلِ عُثمانَ في صَفَر دَعا مُعاوِيَةُ بِرَجُل مِن بَني عَبس ثُمَّ أحَدِ بَني رَواحَةَ يُدعى قَبيصَةَ، فَدَفَعَ إلَيهِ طوماراً مَختوماً عُنوانُهُ: مِن مُعاوِيَةَ إلى عَلِيٍّ، فَقالَ: إذا دَخَلتَ المَدينَةَ فَاقبِض عَلى أسفَلِ الطّومارِ، ثُمَّ أوصاهُ بِما يَقولُ، وسَرَّحَ رَسولَ عَلِيٍّ.

وخَرَجا فَقَدِمَا المَدينَةَ في رَبيعِ الأَوَّلِ لِغُرَّتِهِ، فَلَمّا دَخَلاَ المَدينَةَ رَفَعَ العَبسِيُّ الطّومارَ كَما أمَرَهُ، وخَرَجَ النّاسُ يَنظُرونَ إلَيهِ، فَتَفَرَّقوا إلى مَنازِلِهِم وقَد عَلِموا أنَّ مُعاوِيَةَ مُعتَرِضٌ، ومَضى يَدخُلُ عَلى عَلِيٍّ، فَدَفَعَ إلَيهِ الطّومارَ فَفَضَّ خاتَمَهُ فَلَم يَجِد في جَوفِهِ كِتابَةً، فَقالَ لِلرَّسولِ: ما وَراءَكَ؟ قال: آمِنٌ أنَا؟ قالَ: نَعَم؛ إنَّ الرُّسُلَ آمِنَةٌ لا تُقتَلُ. قالَ: وَرائي أنّي تَرَكتُ قَوماً لا يَرضَونَ إلّا بِالقَوَدِ. قالَ: مِمَّن؟ قالَ: مِن خَيطِ نَفسِكَ، وتَرَكتُ سِتّينَ ألفَ شَيخ يَبكي تَحتَ قَميصِ عُثمانَ وهُوَ مَنصوبٌ لَهُم قَد ألبَسوهُ مِنبَرَ دِمَشقَ. فَقالَ: مِنّي يَطلُبونَ دَمَ عُثمانَ! أ لَستُ مَوتوراً كَتِرَةَ عُثمانَ؟ !اللّهُمَّ إنّي أبرَأُ إلَيكَ مِن دَمِ عُثمانَ.

e) Appointment of a Governor over Syria

383. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, reporting from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥa, who said: "'Alī sent his governors to the [different] cities. he sent Sahl ibn Ḥunayf to Syria. Sahl set forth until he arrived at Tabūk[1126], where he was encountered by a group of horsemen.They said: Who are you? He said: [I am] a governor. They said: over which? He said: over Syria. They said: If 'Uthmān had sent you, you would have been welcomed; if someone else has sent you, then [you should] return! He said: Have you not heard of what happened? They said: Yes. So he returned to 'Alī."[1127]

f) Dispatching Jarīr ibn 'Abdullah to Mu'āwiyah

384. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, relates: 'Alī sent Jarīr ibn 'Abdullah al-Bajalī to Mu'āwiyah when he left Baṣra for Kūfah, after the battle of the Camel, inviting him to pledge allegiance. When 'Alī advanced to Baṣra to fight those that he fought there, Jarīr was the governor of Hamadān; he had been appointed by 'Uthmān. Al-Ash'ath ibn Qais, the governor of Azerbaijān, had been appointed by 'Uthmān. When 'Alī arrived at Kufah, after leaving Baṣra, he wrote to [both of] them commanding them to take the pledge of allegiance from the people on his behalf and to proceed. They complied and came to him. When 'Alī wanted to send an emissary to Mu'āwiyah, Jarīr ibn 'Abdullah said: ... Send me to him that I may invite him to enter into your obedience, for indeed he has liking for me. Al-Ashtar said to 'Alī: Do not send him; by God, I think he is inclined to him.

'Alī said: Leave him, let us see what he will return with.

He sent him to Mu'āwiyah with a written letter informing him of the agreement of the Muhājirūn (Emigrants) and the Ansār (Helpers) on his allegiance, the withdrawal of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr [of their allegiance] and the outcome of his battle with them and inviting him to enter what the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār had intered namely obedience to him (i. e. Ali). He therefore sent Jarīr; however, when he arrived [at Mu'āwiyah], he temporized, requested a respite and summoned 'Amr to consult him concering what 'Alī had written to him. He [i.e. 'Amr] advised him to send for the notables of Syria, demand 'Alī for the blood of 'Uthmān and to fight him with them, and Mu'āwiyah did accordingly."[1128]

هـ ـ تَعيينُ الوالي لِلشّامِ وإرجاعُهُ

383. **تاريخ الطبري عن محمّد وطلحة:** بَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ عُمّالَهُ عَلَى الأَمصارِ فَبَعَثَ... سَهلَ بنَ حُنَيف عَلَى الشّامِ، فَأَمّا سَهلٌ فَإِنَّهُ خَرَجَ حَتّى إذا كانَ بِتَبوكَ لَقِيَتهُ خَيلٌ، فَقالوا: مَن أنتَ؟ قالَ: أميرٌ. قالوا: عَلى أيِّ شَيء؟ قالَ: عَلَى الشّامِ، قالوا: إن كانَ عُثمانُ بَعَثَكَ فَحَيَّهَلاً بِكَ، وإن كانَ بَعَثَكَ غَيرُهُ فَارجِع! قالَ: أوَما سَمِعتُم بِالَّذي كانَ؟ قالوا: بَلى؛ فَرَجَعَ إلى عَلِيٍّ.

و ـ إشخاصُ جَريرِ بنِ عَبدِ اللّه إلى مُعاوِيَةَ

384. **تاريخ الطبري:** وَجَّهَ عَلِيٌّ عِندَ مُنصَرَفِهِ مِنَ البَصرَةِ إلَى الكوفَةِ وفَراغِهِ مِنَ الجَمَلِ جَريرَ بنَ عَبدِ اللهِ البَجَلِيَّ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ يَدعوهُ إلى بَيعَتِهِ، وكانَ جَريرٌ حينَ خَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ إلَى البَصرَةِ لِقِتالِ مَن قاتَلَهُ بِها بِهَمَذانَ عامِلا عَلَيها كانَ عُثمانُ استَعمَلَهُ عَلَيها، وكانَ الأَشعَثُ بنُ قَيس عَلى آذَربَيجانَ عامِلا عَلَيها كانَ عُثمانُ استَعمَلَهُ عَلَيها، فَلَمّا قَدِمَ عَلِيٌّ الكوفَةَ مُنصَرِفاً إلَيها من البَصرَةِ كَتَبَ إلَيهِما يَأمُرُهُما بِأَخذِ البَيعَةِ لَهُ عَلى مَن قِبَلِهِما مِنَ النّاسِ وَالإِنصِرافِ إلَيهِ. فَفَعَلا ذلِكَ، وَانصَرَفا إلَيهِ. فَلَمّا أرادَ عَلِيٌّ تَوجيهَ الرَّسولِ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ، قالَ جَريرُ بنُ عَبدِ اللّهِ:... ابعَثني إلَيهِ فَإِنَّهُ لي وِدٌّ حَتّى آتِيَهُ فَأَدعوَهُ إلَى الدُّخولِ في طاعَتِكَ، فَقالَ الأَشتَرُ لِعَلِيٍّ: لا تَبعَثهُ، فَوَاللّهِ إنّي لأَظُنُّ هَواهُ مَعَهُ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: دَعهُ حَتّى نَنظُرَ مَا الَّذي يَرجِعُ بِهِ إلَينا.

فَبَعَثَهُ إلَيهِ وكَتَبَ مَعَهُ كِتاباً يُعلِمُهُ فيهِ بِاجتِماعِ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ عَلى بَيعَتِهِ، ونَكثِ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ وما كانَ مِن حَربِهِ إيّاهُما، ويَدعوهُ إلى الدُّخولِ فيما دَخَلَ فيهِ المُهاجِرونَ وَالأَنصارُ مِن طاعَتِهِ، فَشَخَصَ إلَيهِ جَريرٌ، فَلَمّا قَدِمَ عَلَيهِ ماطَلَهُ وَاستَنظَرَهُ، ودَعا عَمراً فَاستَشارَهُ فيما كَتَبَ بِهِ إلَيهِ، فَأَشارَ عَلَيهِ أن يُرسِلَ إلى وُجوهِ الشّامِ، ويُلزِمَ عَلِيّاً دَمَ عُثمانَ، ويُقاتِلَهُ بِهِم، فَفَعَلَ ذلِكَ مُعاوِيَةُ.

Muʿāwiyah Temporizes to Get Ready for War

385. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, reporting from al-Jurjānī, who said: "Muʿāwiyah came to Jarīr in his house and said: O Jarīr, Indeed I have an opinion. He said: What is it? He said: Write to your companion that he should allow me to collect the taxes of Egypt and Syria and that, when he passes away, he should not make the pledge of allegiance to someone else binding on me. I thereby would surrender to him and acknowledge his Caliphate.

Jarīr said: Write whatever you want and I will write with you. Muʿāwiyah thus wrote that to ʿAlī and ʿAlī in turn wrote to Jarīr: Muʿāwiyah desired that he would not be bound to the pledge of allegiance and that he would choose of his affairs as he desires. He also wanted to temporize (and to give you the run-around), in order that he may assess the preparedness of the Syrian people. Indeed al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba suggested me to employ Muʿāwiyah over Syria when I was in Madinah, but I rejected. Lest I would take, God forbid, those who mislead as assistans. If he pledges his allegiance, or else, let you return."[1129]

The Imam's Companions Suggest Preparation for War

386. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his sermon after his companions suggested him to get ready for the war, after he had sent Jarīr ibn ʿAbdullah al-Bajalī to Muʿāwiyah: "My preparation for war with the people of Syria while Jarīr is still there is meant to close the door for Syria and prevent its people from any good if they intend it. However, I have fixed a time limit for Jarīr, after which he should not stay unless he wishes to deceive or disobey. My opinion is in favour of patience, so wait a while, even though I do not dislike your preparations. I have observed this matter thoroughly from all sides, I turned it in and out, and I found no other choice except war or disbelief with what Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) has brought. Indeed

ز ـ مُعاوِيَةُ يُبَدِّدُ الوَقتَ استِعداداً لِلحَربِ

385. **وقعة صفّين عن الجرجاني:** كانَ مُعاوِيَةُ أتى جَريراً في مَنزِلِهِ فَقالَ: يا جَريرُ إنّي قَد رَأَيتُ رَأياً.

قالَ: هاتِهِ.

قالَ: أكتُب إلى صاحِبِكَ يَجعَلُ لِيَ الشّامَ ومِصرَ جِبايَةً، فإذا حَضَرَتهُ الوَفاةُ لَم يَجعَل لِأَحَد بَعدَهُ بَيعَةً في عُنُقي، وأُسَلِّمُ لَهُ هذَا الأَمرَ، وأكتُبُ إلَيهِ بِالخِلافَةِ.

فَقالَ جَريرٌ: أكتُب بِما أرَدتَ، وأكتُبُ مَعَكَ.

فَكَتَبَ مُعاوِيَةُ بِذلِكَ إلى عَلِيٍّ. فَكَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ إلى جَرير:

أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنَّما أرادَ مُعاوِيَةُ ألّا يَكونَ لي في عُنُقِهِ بَيعَةٌ، وأن يَختارَ مِن أمرِهِ ما أحَبَّ، وأرادَ أن يُريكَ حَتّى يَذوقَ أهلَ الشّامِ. وإنَّ المُغيرَةَ بنَ شُعبَةَ قَد كانَ أشارَ عَلَيَّ أن أستَعمِلَ مُعاوِيَةَ عَلَى الشّامِ وأنَا بِالمَدينَةِ، فَأَبَيتُ ذلِكَ عَلَيهِ. ولَم يَكُنِ اللهُ لِيَراني أتَّخِذُ المُضِلّينَ عَضُداً، فَإن بايَعَكَ الرَّجُلُ، وإلّا فَأَقبِل.

ح ـ أصحاب الإمامِ عليه السلام يُشيرونَ عَلَيهِ بِالاِستِعدادِ لِلحَربِ

386. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ مِن كَلام لَهُ وقَد أشارَ عَلَيهِ أصحابُهُ بِالاِستعدادِ لِلحَربِ بَعدَ إرسالِهِ جَريرَ بنَ عَبدِ اللهِ البَجَليَّ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ ـ: إنَّ استِعدادي لِحَربِ أهلِ الشّامِ وجَريرٌ عِندَهُم إغلاقٌ لِلشّامِ وصَرفٌ لِأَهلِهِ عَن خَير إن أرادوهُ. ولكِن قَد وَقَّتُّ لِجرَير وَقتاً لا يُقيمُ بَعدَهُ إلّا مَخدوعاً أو عاصِياً. وَالرَّأيُ عِندي مَعَ الأَناةِ، فَأَرودوا ولا أكرَهُ لَكُمُ الإعدادَ.

there was over the people a ruler who brought about innovations which compelled them to speak out. So they spoke out, revenged and changed [the whole system]."[1130]

2.4.

Propaganda War

The Device of Muʿāwiyah in the Propaganda War

387. Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, reporting from al-Naqīb Abū Ja'far, who said: "Muʿāwiyah was looking for that by which he could criticise ʿAlī, hoping that he would speak ill of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and that they usurped his right. He never ceased to conspire against him in his writings and letters, hoping to find ʿAlī heedless about what is in his heart concering Abū Bakr and ʿUmar either in writing or in communication, so he will employ it as proof against him with the people of Syria. He had already belittled him before them, in that he had killed ʿUthmān, supported his assassination, killed Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, took ʿĀishah captive and spilt the blood of the people of Baṣra. ʿAlī's disassociation from Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in return for their oppression and opposition to the Messenger concering the issue of the Caliphate. This great catastrophe would not be restricted to corrupting the people of Syria towards ʿAlī, or rather, it would include the people of Iraq who were his troops, confidants and supporters, because they believed in the leadership of the first two Caliphs, except for the elite of the Shiʿa.

When he wrote that letter with Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī, he intended to anger ʿAlī, embarrass him and compel him, when he reads that Abū Bakr was indeed the best of the Muslims, to upset his plans in his reply by mentioning that which will includes a slandering of Abū Bakr. The answer, however, was not distinct. There was no statement of their oppression nor was there any

ولَقَد ضَرَبتُ أنفَ هذَا الأَمرِ وعَينَهُ، وقَلَّبتُ ظَهرَهُ وبَطنَهُ، فَلَم أرَ لي فيهِ إلَّا القِتالَ أوِ الكُفرَ بِما جاءَ مُحَمَّدٌ ﷺ. إنَّهُ قَد كانَ عَلَى الأُمَّةِ وال أحدَثَ أحداثاً وأوجَدَ النّاسَ مَقالاً، فَقالوا ثُمَّ نَقَموا فَغَيَّروا.

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حَربُ الدِّعايَةِ

أ ـ كَيدُ مُعاوِيَةَ في حَربِ الدِّعايَةِ

387. **شرح نهج البلاغة عن النقيب أبي جعفر:** كانَ مُعاوِيَةُ يَتَسَقَّطُ عَلِيّاً ويَنعى عَلَيهِ ما عَساهُ يَذكُرُهُ مِن حالِ أبي بَكر وعُمَرَ وأنَّهُما غَصَباهُ حَقَّهُ، ولا يَزالُ يَكيدُهُ بِالكِتابِ يَكتُبُهُ والرِّسالَةِ يَبعَثُها يَطلُبُ غِرَّتَهُ؛ لِيَنفُثَ بِما في صَدرِهِ مِن حالِ أبي بَكر وعُمَرَ إمّا مُكاتَبَةً أو مُراسَلَةً، فَيَجعَلَ ذلِكَ حُجَّةً عَلَيهِ عِندَ أهلِ الشّامِ، ويُضيفَهُ إلى ما قَرَّرَهُ في أنفُسِهِم مِن ذُنوبِهِ كَما زَعَمَ، فَقَد كانَ غَمَصَهُ عِندَهُم بِأنَّهُ قَتَلَ عُثمانَ ومالاَ عَلى قَتلِهِ، وأنَّهُ قَتَلَ طَلحَةَ والزُّبَيرَ وأسَرَ عائِشَةَ وأراقَ دِماءَ أهلِ البَصرَةِ، وبَقِيَت خَصلَةٌ واحِدَةٌ وهُوَ أن يَثبُتَ عِندَهُم أنَّهُ يَتَبَرَّأُ مِن أبي بَكر وعُمَرَ، ويَنسُبُهُما إلى الظُّلمِ ومُخالَفَةِ الرَّسولِ في أمرِ الخِلافَةِ، وأنَّهُما وَثَبا عَلَيها غَلَبَةً وغَصَباهُ إيّاها.

فَكانَت هذِهِ الطّامَّةُ الكُبرى لَيسَت مُقتَصِرَةً عَلى فَسادِ أهلِ الشّامِ عَلَيهِ، بَل وأهلِ العِراقِ الَّذينَ هُم جُندُهُ وبِطانَتُهُ وأنصارُهُ؛ لِأَنَّهُم كانوا يَعتَقِدونَ إمامَةَ الشَّيخَينِ إلَّا القَليلَ الشّاذَّ مِن خَواصِّ الشّيعَةِ.

فَلَمّا كَتَبَ ذلِكَ الكِتابَ مَعَ أبي مُسلِمٍ الخَولانِيِّ قَصَدَ أن يُغضِبَ عَلِيّاً ويُحرِجَهُ ويُحوِجَهُ إذا قَرَأَ ذِكرَ أبي بَكر وأنَّهُ أفضَلُ المُسلِمينَ إلى أن يَخلِطَ خَطَّهُ فِي الجَوابِ بِكَلِمَة

statement of their innocence; on one occasion he shows mercy to them, and on another he says that they took his right but he left it for them. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ urged to Muʿāwiyah to write another letter similar to the first one in order to provoke ʿAlī (a.s.) and belittle him, in order to distort his reputation and blemish his beliefs.

ʿAmr said to him: Indeed ʿAlī (a.s.) is an imprudent person; if you incite him by praising Abū Bakr and ʿUmar then, write to him. He thus wrote to him and sent it with Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī, one of the companions, after he had decided to send it with Abū al-Dardā.

The text of the letter is as follows:

From the servant of God, Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān, to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib:

"Indeed God chose Muḥammad for His Message, preferred him with his revelation and the communication of His ordinance. He rescued [people] from blindness and guided them from misguidance through him. He then [caused him to] pass away in righteousness and praise, after he had delivered the Law, eradicated polytheism and extinguished the fire of falsehood. God rewarded him and doubled his favours and blessings. Thereafter God favoured Muḥammad with companions who supported, assisted and helped him. They were as God says: "*and those who are with him are hard against the disbelievers and merciful amongst themselves*"[1131]. The best of them in rank and the most elevated in status in the sight of God and the Muslims is the first Caliph, who unified the word[1132], strengthened the mission and fought the renegades. Then comes the second Caliph, who conquered cities and humiliated the necks of the polytheists. Then comes the third Caliph, the oppressed. He spread the religion and made the word of the Truth fill the horizons through his efforts.

When Islam had been consolidated and established, you showed

تَقتَضي طَعناً في أبي بَكر، فَكانَ الجَوابُ مُجمجَماً غَيرَ بَيِّن لَيسَ فيهِ تَصريحٌ بِالتَّظليمِ لَهُما ولاَ التَّصريحُ بِبَراءَتِهِما وتارَةً يَتَرَحَّمُ عَلَيهِما وتارَةً يَقولُ: أخَذا حَقّي وقَد تَرَكتُهُ لَهُما.

فَأَشارَ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ عَلى مُعاوِيَةَ أن يَكتُبَ كِتاباً ثانِياً مُناسِباً لِلكِتابِ الأوَّلِ؛ لِيَستَفِزّا فيهِ عَلِيّاً عليه السلام ويَستَخِفّاهُ، ويَحمِلَهُ الغَضَبُ مِنهُ أن يَكتُبَ كَلاماً يَتَعَلَّقانِ بِهِ في تَقبيحِ حالِهِ وتَهجينِ مَذهَبِهِ.

وقالَ لَهُ عَمرٌو: إنَّ عَلِيّاً عليه السلام رَجُلٌ نَزِقٌ تَيّاهٌ، ومَا استَطعَمتَ مِنهُ الكَلامَ بِمِثلِ تَقريظِ أبي بَكر وعُمَرَ فَاكتُب. فَكَتَبَ كِتاباً أنفَذَهُ إلَيهِ مَعَ أبي أُمامَةَ الباهِلِيِّ وهُوَ مِنَ الصَّحابَةِ بَعدَ أن عَزَمَ عَلى بِعثَتِهِ مَعَ أبِي الدَّرداءِ ونُسخَةُ الكِتابِ:

مِن عَبدِ اللّهِ مُعاوِيَةَ بنِ أبي سُفيانَ إلى عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِب:

أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنَّ اللّهَ تَعالى جَدُّهُ، اصطَفى مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه وآله لِرِسالَتِهِ وَاختَصَّهُ بِوَحيِهِ وتَأدِيَةِ شَريعَتِهِ، فَأَنقَذَ بِهِ مِنَ العَمايَةِ وهَدى بِهِ مِنَ الغَوايَةِ، ثُمَّ قَبَضَهُ الَيهِ رَشيداً حَميداً قَد بَلَّغَ الشَّرعَ ومَحَقَ الشِّركَ وأخمَدَ نارَ الإفكِ، فَأَحسَنَ اللهُ جَزاءَهُ وضاعَفَ عَلَيهِ نِعَمَهُ وآلاءَهُ، ثُمَّ إنَّ اللّه سُبحانَهُ اختَصَّ مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه وآله بِأَصحاب أيَّدوهُ وآزَروهُ ونَصَروهُ، وكانوا كَما قالَ اللهُ سُبحانَهُ لَهُم: ﴿أَشِدَّآءُ عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَآءُ بَيْنَهُمْ﴾ فَكانَ أفضَلَهُم مَرتَبَةً وأعلاهُم عِندَ اللهِ وَالمُسلِمينَ مَنزِلَةً الخَليفَةُ الأوَّلُ، الَّذي جَمَعَ الكَلِمَةَ ولَمَّ الدَّعوَةَ وقاتَلَ أهلَ الرِّدَّةِ، ثُمَّ الخَليفَةُ الثّاني الَّذي فَتَحَ الفُتوحَ ومَصَّرَ الأمصارَ وأذَلَّ رِقابَ المُشرِكينَ، ثُمَّ الخَليفَةُ الثّالِثُ المَظلومُ الَّذي نَشَرَ المِلَّةِ وطَبَّقَ الآفاقَ بِالكَلِمَةِ الحَنيفِيَّةِ.

فَلَمَّا استَوثَقَ الإسلامُ وضَرَبَ بِجِرانِهِ عَدَوتَ عَلَيهِ فَبَغَيتَهُ الغَوائِلَ ونَصَبتَ لَهُ المَكايِدَ، وضَرَبتَ لَهُ بَطنَ الأمرِ وظَهرَهُ ودَسَستَ عَلَيهِ وأغرَيتَ بِهِ، وقَعَدتَ حَيثُ استَنصَرَكَ عَن نَصرِهِ وسَأَلَكَ أن تُدرِكَهُ قَبلَ أن يُمَزَّقَ فَما أدرَكتَهُ، وما يَومُ المُسلِمينَ مِنكَ بِواحِد.

enmity to it, and conspired against it. You struck its interior and its exterior, plotted against it, and instigated with it, deserted it when it sought your help.

You were jealous of Abū Bakr, dishonest towards him and aspired to thwart his affairs. You sat in your house and instigated a gang of people to delay the pledge of allegiance to him. Thereafter you disliked the Caliphate of ʿUmar, were jealous of him, and deemed his term long. You were well pleased with his assassination and were gloating over his outcome, that you even tried to kill his son, because he killed the killer of his father. Then nobody was more jealous than you in relation to your cousin ʿUthmān, so you revealed his faults and concealed his merits. [Firstly], you criticized him for his comprehension [of religion], his religion, his past and his intellect. You instigated the foolish ones from among your companions and followers against him until they killed him in your presence, when you did not defend him with your tongue or with your hand. You rebelled against all of them and delayed your pledge of allegiance until you were taken and dragged by force, in the same way a bull camel with a nose string is dragged by the nose. Now you stand forth to demand the caliphate, when the killers of ʿUthmān are your confidants, friends and those around you. This is of the desires of the soul and the misguidance of the pleasures.

Thus put aside obstinacy and futility and give to us the killers of ʿUthmān. Let the issue [of succession] be determined by consultation among the Muslims in order that they may agree upon someone with whom God is pleased. There is neither allegiance to you from us, nor obedience to you on us, and there is no pleasure for you with us. All I have for you and your companions is the sword. By God I would pursue the killers of ʿUthmān wherever they are and however they are until I kill them or my soul returns to God.

Concering that which you never cease to reproach by way of your precedence and your strife [in the path of God]. I have found God saying: *"They count it as a favour to you that they have embraced*

لَقَد حَسَدتَ أبا بَكر وَالتَوَيتَ عَلَيهِ ورُمتَ إفسادَ أمرِهِ، وقَعَدتَ في بَيتِكَ، وَاستَغوَيتَ عِصابَةً مِنَ النّاسِ حَتّى تَأَخَّروا عَن بَيعَتِهِ، ثُمَّ كَرِهتَ خِلافَةَ عُمَرَ وحَسَدتَهُ وَاستَطَلتَ مُدَّتَهُ، وسُرِرتَ بِقَتلِهِ وأظهَرتَ الشَّماتَةَ بِمُصابِهِ حَتّى إنَّكَ حاوَلتَ قَتلَ وَلَدِهِ؛ لِأَنَّهُ قَتَلَ قاتِلَ أبيهِ، ثُمَّ لَم تَكُن أشَدَّ مِنكَ حَسَداً لِابنِ عَمِّكَ عُثمانَ نَشَرتَ مَقابِحَهُ وطَوَيتَ مَحاسِنَهُ، وطَعَنتَ في فِقهِهِ ثُمَّ في دينِهِ ثُمَّ في سيرَتِهِ ثُمَّ في عَقلِهِ، وأغرَيتَ بِهِ السُّفَهاءَ مِن أصحابِكَ وشيعَتِكَ حَتّى قَتَلوهُ بِمَحضَر مِنكَ لا تَدفَعُ عَنهُ بِلِسان ولا يَد، وما مِن هؤُلاءِ إلّا مَن بَغَيتَ عَلَيهِ وتَلَكَّأتَ في بَيعَتِهِ حَتّى حُمِلتَ إلَيهِ قَهراً تُساقُ بِخَزائِمِ الاقتِسارِ كَما يُساقُ الفَحلُ المَخشوشُ، ثُمَّ نَهَضتَ الآنَ تَطلُبُ الخِلافَةَ، وقَتَلَةُ عُثمانَ خُلَصاؤُكَ وسُجَراؤُكَ والمُحدِقونَ بِكَ، وتِلكَ مِن أمانِيِّ النُّفوسِ وضَلالاتِ الأَهواءِ.

فَدَعِ اللَّجاجَ وَالعَبَثَ جانِباً وَادفَع إلَينا قَتَلَةَ عُثمانَ، وأَعِدِ الأَمرَ شورى بَينَ المُسلِمينَ لِيَتَّفِقوا عَلى مَن هُوَ للّهِ رِضاً. فَلا بَيعَةَ لَكَ في أعناقِنا ولا طاعَةَ لَكَ عَلَينا ولا عُتبى لَكَ عِندَنا، ولَيسَ لَكَ ولِأَصحابِكَ عِندي إلّا السَّيفُ، وَالَّذي لا إلهَ إلّا هُوَ لَأَطلُبَنَّ قَتَلَةَ عُثمانَ أينَ كانوا وحَيثُ كانوا حَتّى أقتُلَهُم أو تَلتَحِقَ روحي بِاللّهِ.

فَأَمّا ما لا تَزالُ تَمُنُّ بِهِ مِن سابِقَتِكَ وجِهادِكَ فَإِنّي وَجَدتُ اللّهَ سُبحانَهُ يَقولُ: ﴿يَمُنُّونَ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ أَسْلَمُوا قُل لَّا تَمُنُّوا عَلَيَّ إِسْلَـمَكُم بَلِ اللَّهُ يَمُنُّ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ هَدَنكُم لِلْإِيمَـانِ إِن كُنتُمْ صَادِقِينَ﴾ ولَو نَظَرتَ في حالِ نَفسِكَ لَوَجَدتَها أشَدَّ الأَنفُسِ امتِناناً عَلَى اللّهِ بِعَمَلِها، وإذا كانَ الامتِنانُ عَلَى السّائِلِ يُبطِلُ أجرَ الصَّدَقَةِ فَالامتِنانُ عَلَى اللّهِ يُبطِلُ أجرَ الجِهادِ

Islam. Say,' Do not count it as a favour to me your embracing of Islam. Rather it is God who has done you a favour in that. He has guided you to faith, should you be truthful."[1133] If you look at yourself, you will find that your soul never ceases to count its favours onto God for its actions. If one's reproaches to the beggar invalidate the reward of charity, then the counting of favours on God will nullify the reward of striving [in the path of God] and render it like *"a rock covered with soil: a downpour strikes it, leaving it bare. They have no power over anything of what they have earned, and God does not guide the disbelieving lot."*[1134]

Al-Naqīb Abū Ja'far said: When this letter reached ʿAlī (a.s.) with Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī, he spoke to the latter as he did to Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī and sent with the following reply.

The Wise Replies of Imām ʿAlī

388. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his letter to Muʿāwiyah as an answer, considered to be one of his best letters: "Indeed I have received your letter wherein you mention that God chose Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) for His religion and His support for him through those companions [of the Holy Prophet] who assisted him. Time has amazingly concealed something about you to us that you begin to inform us of the favours of God, at our disposal and His blessings [conferred] upon us through our Prophet. You have nothing to do with them and you have no share in these blessings and favours. You were there by like the person who carries dates to Hajar[1135] or one who challenges his own master to a duel. You assume that the best of the people in Islam are so and so and you have mentioned something which if it is completed, it will totally withdraw from you, and if it is diminished, its repudiation will not harm you.

What have you to do with the preferred and [those that are] preferred over, the ruling and the ruled? What have the freed ones newly-converted Meccans to do with the distinction between the Muhājirūn, the order of their positions and the arrangement of their status? Far be it, the noise of the arrow is not of the same

ويَجعَلُهُ كَ﴿صَفْوَانٍ عَلَيْهِ تُرَابٌ فَأَصَابَهُ وَابِلٌ فَتَرَكَهُ صَلْدًا لَّا يَقْدِرُونَ عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِّمَّا كَسَبُوا وَاللَّهُ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ﴾.

قالَ النَّقيبُ أبو جَعفَر: فَلَمّا وَصَلَ هذَا الكِتابُ إلى عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام مَعَ أبي أُمامَةَ الباهِلِيِّ، كَلَّمَ أبا أُمامَةَ بِنَحو مِمّا كَلَّمَ بِهِ أبا مُسلِم الخَولانِيَّ وكَتَبَ مَعَهُ هذَا الجَوابَ.

قالَ النَّقيبُ: وفي كِتابِ مُعاوِيَةَ هذا ذِكرُ لَفظِ الجَمَلِ المَخشوشِ أوِ الفَحلِ المَخشوشِ، لا فِي الكِتابِ الواصِلِ مَعَ أبي مُسلِم ولَيسَ في ذلِكَ هذِهِ اللَّفظَةُ وإنَّما فيهِ: «حَسَدتَ الخُلَفاءَ وبَغَيتَ عَلَيهِم عَرَفنا ذلِكَ مِن نَظَرِكَ الشَّزرِ وقَولِكَ الهُجرِ وتَنَفُّسِكَ الصُّعَداءَ وإبطائِكَ عَنِ الخُلَفاءِ».

قالَ: وإنَّما كَثيرٌ مِنَ النّاسِ لا يَعرِفونَ الكِتابَينِ، وَالمَشهورُ عِندَهُم كِتابُ أبي مُسلِم فَيَجعَلونَ هذِهِ اللَّفظَةَ فيهِ، وَالصَّحيحُ أنَّها في كِتابِ أبي أُمامَةَ، أ لا تَراها عادَت في جَوابِهِ؟ ولَو كانَت في كتابِ أبي مُسلِم لَعادَت في جَوابِهِ.

ب ـ الأَجوِبَةُ الواعِيَةُ لِلإمامِ

388. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ مِن كِتاب لَهُ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ جَواباً، وهُوَ مِن مَحاسِنِ الكُتُبِ ـ: أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَقَد أتاني كِتابُكَ تَذكُرُ فيهِ اصطِفاءَ اللّهِ مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه وآله لِدينِهِ وتَأييدَهُ إيّاهُ بِمَن أيَّدَهُ مِن أصحابِهِ، فَلَقَد خَبَّأَ لَنَا الدَّهرُ مِنكَ عَجَباً، إذ طَفِقتَ تَخبِرُنا بِبَلاءِ اللّه تَعالى عِندَنا ونِعمَتِهِ عَلَينا في نَبِيِّنا، فَكُنتَ في ذلِكَ كَناقِلِ التَّمرِ إلَى هَجَرَ أو داعي مُسَدِّدِهِ إلَى النِّضالِ.

وزَعَمتَ أنَّ أفضَلَ النّاسِ فِي الإسلامِ فُلانٌ وفُلانٌ، فَذَكَرتَ أمراً إن تَمَّ اعتَزَلَكَ كُلُّهُ،

category [like other arrows, so you do not belong to either group]. The one condemned has begun to judge in this issue.

O man, why do you not have mercy [on yourself] for your weaknesses and the shortness of your arm? The overpowering of the defeated or the victory of the victorious has nothing to do you with you. Indeed you have gone astray and deviated from the the path. Do you not see that a group amongst the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār were martyred in the path of God, until when our martyr was martyred, it was said: the master of the martyrs. The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) singled him out with seventy takbirs when he prayed over him.

Do you not see that a group had their hands cut-off in the path of God until when one of us had his hand cut off, it is said: the flier in Paradise and the possessor of two wings. Were it not that God disapproved man's praise of himself, [this] recaller would have mentioned merits that the hearts of the believers know, thus disregard the one who was a victim [of this world]. For indeed, we [the Ahlul Bait] are the handiwork of our Lord and people are our handiwork. The oldness of our dignity and our strength over your tribe did not prevent us from mixing ourselves with you, we married [of your women] and gave [our women] in marriage as equals, yet you were far from that.

How should that be when the Prophet is of us and the denier is of you [i.e. Abū Jahl], the Lion of God is of us [i.e Ḥamza] and the lion of the oath-takers is of you [i.e. ʿUtbah ibn Rabīʿa]. The two Masters of the youth of the people of Paradise are of us [i.e. Ḥasan and Ḥusain] and the children of the Fire (children of ʿUqbah ibn Abū Muʿayṭ) are of you. The best woman of the worlds [i.e. Fatimah] is of us and the firewood-carrying woman is of you. These are but a few of the merits in our. Our Islam was heard and our past is not to be rejected. The Book of God gathers for us that which has deviated from us. He says: "*but the blood relatives are more entitled to inherit from one another in the Book of God.*"[1136]He also said: "*The nearest people to Abraham, are those who follow him and those who follow the*

وإن نَقَصَ لَم يَلحَقكَ ثُلمُهُ. وما أنتَ وَالفاضِلَ والمَفضولَ، وَالسّائِسَ وَالمَسوسَ؟ وما لِلطُّلَقاءِ وأبناءِ الطُّلَقاءِ والتَّمييزَ بَينَ المُهاجِرينَ الأوَّلينَ، وتَرتيبَ دَرَجاتِهِم، وتَعريفَ طَبَقاتِهِم. هَيهاتَ لَقَد حَنَّ قِدحٌ لَيسَ مِنها، وطَفِقَ يَحكُمُ فيها مَن عَلَيهِ الحُكمُ لَها.

ألا تَربَعُ ـ أيُّهَا الإنسانُ ـ عَلى ظَلعِكَ، وتَعرِفُ قُصورَ ذَرعِكَ؟ وتَتَأَخَّرُ حَيثُ أخَّرَكَ القَدَرُ؟ فَما عَلَيكَ غَلَبَةُ المَغلوبِ ولا ظَفَرُ الظّافِرِ، وإنَّكَ لَذَهّابٌ فِي التّيهِ، رَوّاغٌ عَنِ القَصدِ.

ألا تَرى غَيرَ مُخبِرٍ لَكَ ولكِن بِنِعمَةِ اللّهِ أُحدِّثُ ـ أنَّ قَوماً استُشهِدوا في سَبيلِ اللّهِ تَعالى مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأنصارِ ـ ولِكُلٍّ فَضلٌ ـ حَتّىٰ إذَا استُشهِدَ شَهيدُنا قيلَ: سَيِّدُ الشُّهَداءِ، وخَصَّهُ رَسولُ اللّهﷺ بِسَبعينَ تَكبيرَةً عِندَ صَلاتِهِ عَلَيهِ.

أوَلا تَرى أنَّ قَوماً قُطِّعَت أيديهِم في سَبيلِ اللّه ـ ولِكُلٍّ فَضلٌ ـ حَتّىٰ إذا فُعِلَ بِواحِدِنا ما فَعَلَ بِواحِدِهِم قيلَ: الطَّيّارُ فِي الجَنَّةِ وذُو الجَناحَينِ، ولَولا ما نَهَى اللّهُ عَنهُ مِن تَزكِيَةِ المَرءِ نَفسَهُ لَذَكَرَ ذاكِرٌ فَضائِلَ جَمَّةً تَعرِفُها قُلوبُ المُؤمِنينَ، ولا تَمُجُّها آذانُ السّامِعينَ، فَدَع عَنكَ مَن مالَت بِهِ الرَّمِيَّةُ؛ فَإنّا صَنائِعُ رَبِّنا، وَالنّاسُ بَعدُ صَنائِعُ لَنا. لَم يَمنَعنا قَديمُ عِزِّنا ولا عادِيُّ طَولِنا عَلى قَومِكَ أن خَلَطناكُم بِأنفُسِنا، فَنَكَحنا وأنكَحنا فِعلَ الأكفاءِ، ولَستُم هُناكُ.

وأنّى يَكونُ ذلِكَ ومِنّا النَّبِيُّ ومِنكُمُ المُكَذِّبُ، ومِنّا أسَدُ اللّهِ ومِنكُم أسَدُ الأحلافِ، ومِنّا سَيِّدا شَبابِ أهلِ الجَنَّةِ ومِنكُم صِبيَةُ النّارِ، ومِنّا خَيرُ نِساءِ العالَمينَ ومِنكُم حَمّالَةُ

Holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and the true believers. God is the friend of the true believers"[1137] Thus we have better claim to kinship [to the Holy Prophet] and better claim to obedience.The Muhājirūn on the day of Saqīfa argued with the Anṣār on the basis of their relation to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) and were victorious over them; if their victory was through [their relationship to] him, then it is our right and not yours; however, if it was through somebody else, then the Anṣār's claim still holds.

You alleged that I had envied all the [previous] Caliphs and wronged all of them. Even if that was the case, there is no fault against you, that you would complain.

That is a complaint whose disgrace is far from you.

You said that I was led like a camel with a rope [to its nose] in order that I would pledge my allegiance; by God, you intended to dispraise me but you [have] praised and to disgrace me but you have disgraced yourself.

There is no fault for a Muslim if he is subject to oppression for as long as he is not doubtful about his religion or uncertain in his conviction. These are my arguments which were intended for someone other than you; however, I have explained to you a portion of it to recall.

Thereafter you mentioned what happened between me and ʿUthmān. You should be apologized for this due to your relation to him. Which one of us was his enemy? Which one urged [others] to kill him? Who assisted him and protected him? Whose assistance he sought, but he failed, expecting his death until his destiny arrived?

Nay, by God, "*God knows those of you who discourage others, and those who say to their brethren, 'Come to us! ' and they take little part at the battle.*"[1138]

I did not intend to apologise for having objected to his innovations [in religion]. If my sin towards him is my advice and guidance for him, then it may be that the one censured has [committed] no sin.

And sometimes the only reward a counsellor reaps is suspecion (of evil).

الحَطَبِ في كَثير مِمّا لَنا وعَلَيكُم؛ فَإسلامُنا قَد سُمِعَ، وجاهِلِيَّتُنا لا تُدفَعُ، وكِتابُ اللّهِ يَجمَعُ لَنا ما شَذَّ عَنّا وهُوَ قَولُهُ سُبحانَهُ وتَعالى: ﴿وَأُولُوا الأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَى بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَـبِ اللّهِ﴾ وقَولُهُ تَعالى: ﴿إِنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِإِبْرَ هِيمَ لَلَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُ وَهَـذَا النَّبِيُّ وَالَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَاللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ﴾ فَنَحنُ مَرَّةً أولى بِالقَرابَةِ، وتارَةً أولى بِالطّاعَةِ. ولَمّا احتَجَّ المُهاجِرونَ عَلَى الأَنصارِ يَومَ السَّقيفَةِ بِرَسولِ اللّهِﷺ فَلَجوا عَلَيهِم، فَإن يَكُنِ الفَلَجُ بِهِ فَالحَقُّ لَنا دونَكُم، وإن يَكُن بِغَيرِهِ فَالأَنصارُ عَلَى دَعواهُم.

وزَعمتَ أنّي لِكُلِّ الخُلَفاءِ حَسَدتُ وعَلى كُلِّهِم بَغَيتُ، فَإن يَكُن ذلِكَ كَذلِكَ فَلَيسَتِ الجِنايَةُ عَلَيكَ فَيَكونَ العُذرُ إلَيكَ:

وتِلكَ شَكاةٌ ظاهِرٌ عَنكَ عارُها

وقُلتَ إنّي كُنتُ أُقادُ كَما يُقادُ الجَمَلُ المَخشوشُ حَتّى أُبايِعَ، ولَعَمرُ اللّهِ لَقَد أرَدتَ أن تَذُمَّ فَمَدَحتَ، وأن تَفضَحَ فَافتَضَحتَ! وما عَلَى المُسلِمِ مِن غَضاضَة في أن يَكونَ مَظلوماً ما لَم يَكُن شاكّاً في دينِهِ، ولا مُرتاباً بِيَقينِهِ. وهذِهِ حُجَّتي إلى غَيرِكَ قَصدُها، ولكِنّي أطلَقتُ لَكَ مِنها بِقَدرِ ما سَنَحَ مِن ذِكرِها.

ثُمَّ ذَكَرتَ ما كانَ مِن أمري وأمرِ عُثمانَ فَلَكَ أن تُجابَ عَن هذِهِ لِرَحِمِكَ مِنهُ، فَأيُّنا كانَ أعدى لَه وأهدى إلى مَقاتِلِهِ. أ مَن بَذَلَ لَهُ نُصرَتَهُ فَاستَقعَدَهُ وَاستَكَفَّهُ، أم مَنِ استَنصَرَهُ فَتَراخى عَنهُ وبَثَّ المَنونَ إلَيهِ حَتّى أتى قَدَرُهُ عَلَيهِ ؟

كَلّا وَاللّهِ لَـ﴿قَدْ يَعْلَمُ اللّه الْمُعَوِّقِينَ مِنكُمْ وَ الْقَآئِلِينَ لِإِخْوَنِهِمْ هَلُمَّ إِلَيْنَا وَ لاَ يَأْتُونَ الْبَأْسَ إِلاَّ قَلِيلاً﴾ وما كُنتُ لِأَعتَذِرَ مِن أنّي كُنتُ أنقِمُ عَلَيهِ أحداثاً، فَإن كانَ الذَّنبُ إلَيهِ إرشادي وهِدايَتي

I only desired to put things in order, as far as I can, and my success lies only with God: in Him I have put my trust, and to Him I turn penitently.[1139]

Moreover, you mentioned that you have nothing for me and for my companions except the sword. Indeed you have made people laugh after weeping.

When did you find the sons of Abd al-Muṭṭalib withdrawing when facing the enemies or afraid of swords?

Wait a little, until Ḥamal[1140] *enters the battlefield.*[1141]

The one searching for you will shortly come after you and the thing which you deem far will be close to you. I am advancing towards you with an army of the Muhājirūn, the Anṣār and those that have succeeded them in goodness. Theirs is a powerful congregation. The dust of their movements is obvious. They have donned on the garment of death. The dearest meeting to them is the meeting of their Lord. Indeed they have been accompanied by the sons of [the Battle of] Badr and the Hashimite swords. Indeed you know that their blades have already struck your brother (Ḥanẓalah ibn Abū Sufyān), your maternal uncle (Walīd ibn ʿAtabah), your grandfather (ʿAtabah ibn Rabīʿāh) and kinsmen. "*and it is not far from the wrongdoers*"[1142]."[1143]

لَهُ فَرُبَّ مَلوم لا ذَنبَ لَهُ:

وقَد يَستَفيدُ الظِّنَّةَ المُتَنَصِّحُ

وما أرَدتُ إلَّا الإصلاحَ ما استَطَعتُ وما تَوفيقي إلَّا بِاللهِ عَلَيهِ تَوَكَّلتُ وإلَيهِ أُنيبُ.

وذَكَرتَ أنَّهُ لَيسَ لي ولِأصحابي عَندَكَ إلَّا السَّيفُ فَلَقَد أضحَكتَ بَعدَ استِعبار! مَتى ألفَيتَ بَني عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ عَنِ الأَعداءِ ناكِلينَ، وبِالسَّيفِ مُخَوَّفينَ ؟! فَـ

لَبِّث قَليلاً يَلحَقِ الهَيجا حَمَلْ

فَسَيَطلُبُكَ مَن تَطلُبُ، ويَقرُبُ مِنكَ ما تَستَبعِدُ، وأنَا مُرقِلٌ نَحوَكَ في جَحفَل مِنَ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ وَالتّابِعينَ لَهُم بِإحسان، شَديد زِحامُهُم، ساطِع قَتامُهُم، مُتَسَربِلينَ سَرابيلَ المَوتِ، أحَبُّ اللِّقاءِ إلَيهِم لِقاءُ رَبِّهِم، وقَد صَحِبَتهُم ذُرِّيَّةٌ بَدرِيَّةٌ وسُيوفٌ هاشِمِيَّةٌ، قَد عَرَفتَ مَواقِعَ نِصالِها في أخيكَ وخالِكَ وجَدِّكَ وأهلِكَ ﴿وَ مَا هِيَ مِنَ الظَّـلِمِينَ بِبَعِيد﴾.

The Goals of Muʿāwiyah in Propaganda War and the Wisdom behind the Answers of the Imām

Pondering on the letters exchanged between the Imām and Muʿāwiyah during the propaganda war and the audaciousness and impudence of the replies of Muʿāwiyah leads the scholar to the following question: Why did the Imām open the door to writing and exchange of letters with someone like Muʿāwiyah? Was it not better for the Imām to overlook the reply to Muʿāwiya's letter in order to be distant from all that obscenity?

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, after quoting a section of the letters exchanged between the Imām and Muʿāwiyah, writes: "I said: The most surprising thing that fate has produced – even though its amazements and wonders are many – is that the affair of ʿAlī should turn to the extent that Muʿāwiyah becomes an equal and a match to him. They mutually oppose the letters and replies. ʿAlī would not say a word except that he said something harsher than that. I wish that Muḥammad witnessed that, in order that he may see himself that the mission he established, the greatest difficulties he bore in this regard, the sword he struck to support its system, strengthened its pillars, filled the horizons with it, had turned sincerely to his enemies who denied him when he invited [them] towards it and dismissed him from his land when he encouraged [people] towards it. They bruised his face and killed his uncle and family. It was as if he strived for their comfort. Hance, when

Abū Sufyān passed by the grave of Ḥamza, he kicked it and said: "O Abā ʿUmārah! Indeed the affair that we fought over with swords has today come in the hands of our children playing with it."

Then the affair ended up where Muʿāwiyah competed with ʿAlī in glory as equals and counterparts compete against each other.

Secondly, I say to the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.): If only I knew, why did he open the door of communication between him and Muʿāwiyah? If it was necessary, then why did he not limit himself to admonishing him without contending with self praise and boasting? If that was necessary, he should have sufficed himself with that without confrontation or opposition: "Do not abuse those whom they invoke besides God, lest they should abuse God out of hostility, without any knowledge."[1144] It may be that there were certain advantages known by the Imām but hidden to us. To God is an affair that he will attain."[1145]

The truth of the matter is what Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd has mentioned at the conclusion of his statement in the form of possibility. What is definite is that the Imām did not enter the arena of this propaganda war without wisdom. In order to solicit the wisdom behind the writings of the Imām, it is necessary to know from the onset the nature of the aims of Muʿāwiyah in launching the propaganda war against the Imām.

The Goals of Muʿāwiyah

Before we proceed to explain the aims of Muʿāwiyah aspired from the propaganda war, it is necessary to point to the political letters which were considered to be one of the main tools of the psychological and propaganda war. In that era the tools of the media were restricted to public sermons and letters. Thus it was natural for letters to have media influence that surpasses that of oratory. It may be that the media influence of letters in that era injoys the position of contemporary journalism nowadays.

Muʿāwiyah proceeded to launch a comprehensive propaganda war against the Imām before the direct military attacks. On the basis of

his political approach, Muʿāwiyah desired war to prepare the social ground for a direct military encounter through the propaganda. Thus he resorted to sermons and letters, intending to achieve the following aims from the propaganda war:

Accusing Imām ʿAlī of Killing ʿUthmān

The greater part of Muʿāwiyah's writings to the Imām concentrates on this topic. He wished to raise doubts concerning the competence of the Imām to assume the Caliphate, even as he moved on the other hand in the direction of preparing the climate for a direct military confrontation with him on the pretext of avenging the blood of ʿUthmān.

There are many historical documents that substantiate this claim.[1146] Muʿāwiyah, followed this satanic policy before the assassination of ʿUthmān when he procrastinated supporting him. This issue became extremely clear when ʿUthmān noticed the disregard of Muʿāwiyah in supporting him in spite of his insistence that he would send forces to protect him from the revolutionaries. He frankly said to him: "You want me to be killed and then claim: I have better right to revenge."[1147]

Provoking Imām ʿAlī to Speak against the Caliphs

Muʿāwiyah knew well that ʿAlī (a.s.) considered himself to be the Caliph immediately after the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and that he was wronged in this incident; thus he refused to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr as long as Fātimah al-Zahrah (a.s.), [who was] part of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), was still alive. The Imām, however, did not deem it expedient to raise this issue, for it would have led to division in the Islamic community and the political entity of the Muslims would have split asunder.

One of the aims of Muʿāwiyah in the propaganda war was to incite the Imām, Commander of the believers (a.s), to attack the first and second Caliphs, so that he may exploit that as a cause for his confrontation in the face of the general opinion and a means to spread division among his supporters and followers.

Al-Naqīb Abū Jaʿfar says in this regard: "Muʿāwiyah was looking

for that by which he could criticise ʿAlī, hoping that he would speak ill of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar who usurped his right. He never ceased to conspire against him in his writings and letters, hoping to find ʿAlī heedless in his speech about Abū Bakr and ʿUmar either in writing or in communication, that he might exploit it as proof against him before the people of Syria.

This great catastrophe would not be restricted only to corruption of (the opinion of) the people of Syria about ʿAlī, or rather, it would include the people of Iraq who were his troops, confidants and supporters, because they believed in the leadership of the first two Caliphs, except for the elite of the Shiʿa."[1148]

Distortion of Allegiance to Imām ʿAlī

It has become evident from the introduction of this section that the inclusiveness of the pledge of allegiance to the Imām is one of the strengths that were associated with the inception of his rule. None of the previous Caliphs enjoyed such inclusive support. So, Muʿāwiyah desired to blemish his reputation to show that the Syrians' failure to pledge allegiance is proof of the illegitimacy of his Caliphate.

Discreding the Sanctity of the Imām

Muʿāwiyah was fully aware that he would not be able to confront the Imām and oppose him along with the list of achievements that the Commander of the believers underlook in addition to his brilliant past in religion, unless he ruins this sacredness in the minds and attacks his halo in the conscience of the public through intensive propaganda efforts combined with misleading and deceptive elements. The letters sent to the Imām were a step in this direction.

The Wise Replies of Imām ʿAlī

Now let us ask: What would have happened if the Imām retreated from this war of propaganda? What if he did not open the door of communication with Muʿāwiyah according to the thinking of Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd? What would have happened if he had ignored the words of Muʿāwiyah? Would Muʿāwiyah have chosen silence for example and

desisted from his propaganda war against the Imām?

No doubt, the policy of silence in the face of the destructive wave of propaganda that Muʿāwiyah followed would have ended to the detriment of the Imām. Indeed it is naive to imagine that if the Imām did not open the door of communication, Muʿāwiyah would not have begun his propaganda war against the Imām.

The writings and replies of the Imām were not only meant to ineffectualize the cunning propaganda of Muʿāwiyah, but also they turned into a historical document affirming the right of the Imām. The Imām embarked upon enlightening the intellects and creating a spirit of awareness amongst the people through those letters, even as he proceeded to defend himself in the best manner and furnished the evidence against Muʿāwiyah and showed the deception of his supporters. Similarly he has left for history documents about what came to pass between him and Muʿāwiyah. Indeed the Imām adhered to the policy of precaution in his actions to the extent that he did not let Muʿāwiyah achieve any of his aims from his propaganda war.

2.5.

Muʿāwiyah's Preparation for the War

The Advice of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

389. Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, in explaining the words of the Imām (a.s.) on the second day of his allegiance in Madinah, when he (a.s.) commanded that every land ʿUthmān had granted and all wealth he had given from the Public Treasury be returned, reports: Al-Kalbī said: "He [ʿAlī] (a.s.) then commanded that all the weapons that were stored in ʿUthmān's house and used against the Muslims be confiscated, that the camels that were taken from the alms be collected and seized, that his sword and shield be confiscated to the exception of the weapons which were not used to fight against the Muslims and his properties whether in his house or in other places. He commanded that the assets given away by ʿUthmān, wherever and with whomever they are, be returned.

When this news reached ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who was in Aylah in Syria he sent a letter to Muʿāwiyah saying, "Do whatever you wish. The son of Abī Ṭālib has extracted you from all the wealth you own, even as one strips a stick off its inner bark."[1149]

Seeking Assistance from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

390. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, reporting from ʿAmr ibn al-Sʿad and Muḥammad ibn ʿUbaidullah, who said: "Muʿāwiyah wrote to ʿAmr when he

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تَهَيُّؤُ مُعاوِيَةَ لِلحَرْبِ

أ ـ إشارَةُ عَمرِو بنِ العاصِ

389. **شرح نهج البلاغة** ـ في شَرحِ كَلامِهِ عليه السلام فِي اليَومِ الثّاني مِن بَيعَتِهِ بِالمَدينَةِ، حَيثُ أمَرَ عليه السلام بِرَدِّ كُلِّ قَطيعَة أقطَعَها عُثمانُ وكُلِّ مال أعطاهُ مِن بَيتِ المالِ ـ: قالَ الكَلبِيُّ: ثُمَّ أمَرَ عليه السلام بِكُلِّ سِلاح وُجِدَ لِعُثمانَ في دارِهِ مِمّا تَقَوّى بِهِ عَلَى المُسلِمينَ فَقُبِضَ، وأمَرَ بِقَبضِ نَجائِبَ كانَت في دارِهِ مِن إبِلِ الصَّدَقَةِ فَقُبِضَت، وأمَرَ بِقَبضِ سَيفِهِ ودِرعِهِ، وأمَرَ ألّا يُعرَضَ لِسِلاح وُجِدَ لَهُ لَم يُقاتَل بِهِ المُسلِمونَ، وبِالكَفِّ عَن جَميعِ أموالِهِ الَّتي وُجِدَت في دارِهِ وفي غَيرِ دارِهِ، وأمَرَ أن تُرتَجَعَ الأَموالُ الَّتي أجازَ بِها عُثمانُ حَيثُ أُصيبَت أو أُصيبَ أصحابُها.

فَبَلَغَ ذلِكَ عَمرَو بنَ العاصِ وكانَ بِأَيلَةَ مِن أرضِ الشّامِ، أتاها حَيثُ وَثَبَ النّاسُ عَلى عُثمانَ فَنَزَلَها فَكَتَبَ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ: ما كُنتَ صانِعاً فَاصنَع. إذ قَشَرَكَ ابنُ أبي طالِب مِن كُلِّ مال تملِكُهُ كَما تُقشَرُ عَنِ العَصا لِحاها.

ب ـ الإستِعانَةُ بِعَمرِو بنِ العاصِ

390. **وقعة صفّين عن عمر بن سعد ومحمّد بن عبيد اللّه**: كَتَبَ مُعاوِيَةُ إلى عَمرو وهُوَ بِالبَيعِ

was in al-Bayʿ in Palestine. Indeed what happened between ʿAlī and Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr has reached you. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam has come to us with a group of rejecters from al-Baṣra and Jarīr ibn ʿAbdullah has come to seek the pledge of allegiance for ʿAlī. I have withheld myself until you come to me. Come so that I may consult you. When the letter was read to ʿAmr, he consulted his two sons ʿAbdullah and Muḥammad and said: O my sons, what is your opinion?

ʿAbdullah said: I think that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) passed away when he was pleased with you, and so is the case with the two Caliphs. ʿUthmān was killed when you were not present with him. Remain in your house, for you would not be made the Caliph, nor do you want to be on the periphery of Muʿāwiyah for the insignificance of this world. Shortly you would be destroyed and thus you would be wretched.

Muḥammad said: I am of the opinion that you are a senior of Quraysh and its decision maker; if this matter elapses and you are lethargic, you would be humiliated. Join the people of Syria and be one of its hands, demand the blood of ʿUthmān; for indeed you have gained favour with it amongst the Umayyads.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said: as for you, O Abdullah, you have commanded me to what is best for me in my religion. You, however, O Muḥammad, has commanded me to what is best for me in this world. I will consider it."[1150]

The Promise of the Conditional Support

391. **Siyar Aʿalām al-Nubalā**, reporting from Yazīd ibn Abū Ḥabīb and ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Abū ʿAwn, who said: "When Muʿāwiyah had taken over [the government], he deemed Egypt too much to be under the protection of ʿAmr for as long as he lived. ʿAmr felt that everything had been set right through him and his planning. He supposed that Muʿāwiyah would grant him Syria as well, but he did, not and so ʿAmr despised him. Thus they disagreed, and were hostile to one another. Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥudayj reconciled them

مِن فِلَسطينَ: أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإِنَّهُ كانَ مِن أمرِ عَلِيٍّ وطَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ ما قَد بَلَغَكَ. وقَد سَقَطَ إلَينا مَروانُ بنُ الحَكَمِ في رافِضَةِ أهلِ البَصرَةِ، وقَدِمَ عَلَينا جَريرُ بنُ عَبدِ اللّهِ في بَيعَةِ عَلِيٍّ، وقَد حَبَستُ نَفسي عَلَيكَ حَتّى تَأتِيَني. أقبِل أُذاكِرك أمراً.

فَلَمّا قُرِئَ الكِتابُ عَلى عَمرو استَشارَ ابنَيهِ عَبدَ اللّه ومُحَمَّداً فَقالَ: إبنَيَّ، ما تَريانِ؟

فَقالَ عَبدُ الله: أرى أنَّ نَبِيَّ اللهﷺ قُبِضَ وهُوَ عَنكَ راضٍ، وَالخَليفَتانِ مِن بَعدِهِ، وقُتِلَ عُثمانُ وأنتَ عَنهُ غائِبٌ. فَقِرَّ في مَنزِلِكَ فَلَستَ مَجعولاً خَليفَةً، ولا تُريدُ أن تَكونَ حاشِيَةً لِمُعاوِيَةَ عَلى دُنيا قَليلَة، أوشَكَ أن تَهلِكَ فَتَشقى فيها.

وقالَ مُحَمَّدٌ: أرى أنَّكَ شَيخُ قُرَيش وصاحِبُ أمرِها، وإن تَصَرَّمَ هذَا الأَمرُ وأنتَ فيهِ خامِلٌ تَصاغَرَ أمرُكَ، فَالحَق بِجَماعَةِ أهلِ الشّامِ فَكُن يَداً مِن أياديها، وَاطلُب بِدَمِ عُثمانَ، فَإِنَّكَ قَدِ استَنَمتَ فيهِ إلى بَني أُمَيَّةَ.

فَقالَ عَمرٌو: أمّا أنتَ يا عَبدَ الله فَأَمَرتَني بِما هُوَ خَيرٌ لي في ديني، وأمّا أنتَ يا مُحَمَّدُ فَأَمَرتَني بِما هُوَ خَيرٌ لي في دُنيايَ، وأنَا ناظِرٌ فيهِ.

ج ـ وَعدُ المُؤازَرَةِ المَشروطَةِ

391. **سير أعلام النبلاء عن يزيد بن أبي حبيب وعبد الواحد بن أبي عون:** لَمّا صارَ الأَمرُ في يَدِ مُعاوِيَةَ، استَكثَرَ مِصرَ طُعمَةً لِعَمرٍو ما عاشَ، ورَأى عَمرٌو أنَّ الأَمرَ كُلَّهُ قَد صَلَحَ بِهِ وبِتَدبيرِهِ، وظَنَّ أنَّ مُعاوِيَةَ سَيَزيدُهُ الشّامَ، فَلَم يَفعَل، فَتَنَكَّرَ لَهُ عَمرٌو. فَاختَلَفا وتَغالَظا، فَأَصلَحَ بَينَهُما مُعاوِيَةُ بنُ حُدَيج، وكَتَبَ بَينَهُما كِتاباً بِأَنَّ: لِعَمرٍو وِلايَةَ مِصرَ سَبعَ سِنينَ،

and wrote a contract between them in the presence of witnesses to the effect that ʿAmr will be the governor of Egypt for seven years. ʿAmr went to Egypt in 39 AH and lived [there] for about three years and then died."[1151]

392. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said**, concering ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ: "Indeed he did not pledge allegiance to Muʿāwiyah until he had put a condition that he be rewarded with something. He would have to completely surrender to him and forsake religion."[1152]

Exploiting the Shirt of ʿUthmān

393. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from Muḥammad and Ṭalḥa, who said: "When Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr came to the people of Syria with the shirt of ʿUthmān with which he had been killed, dyed with his blood along with the fingers of Nāilah, his wife, which were cut at the joints with two fingers attached to part of the palm, two fingers were cut at the joint and half of the thumb, Muʿāwiyah put the shirt on the pulpit and wrote to the troops. People would come to see it, and cried for a year while it was on the pulpit with the fingers attached to it. The men of Syria took an oath not to come to (i.e. consort with) their wives, not to bathe ritually except through wet dreams, nor sleep on beds, until they retaliate from the killers of ʿUthmān and their supporters. They gathered around the shirt for a year while it was on the pulpit, glorified it, and they occasionall y wore it. The fingers of Nā'ilah were attached to its sleeves."[1153]

Conciliation with the Byzantium

394. **Murūj al-Dhahab,** relates: "Indeed Muʿāwiyah made peace with the Byzantine emperor on condition that he would take a certain amount of money to him, because he was preoccupied with ʿAlī."[1154]

Seeking Help from Mecca and Medina

395. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn,** reporting from Ziyād ibn Rustam, who said: Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān wrote to ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar ibn

وأشهَدَ عَلَيهِما شُهوداً، وسارَ عَمرٌو إلى مِصرَ سَنَةَ تِسعٍ وثَلاثينَ، فَمَكَثَ نَحوَ ثَلاثِ سِنينَ، وماتَ.

392. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام ـ في ذِكرِ عَمرِو بنِ العاصِ ـ: إنَّهُ لم يُبايِع مُعاوِيَةَ حَتّى شَرَطَ أن يُؤتِيَهُ أتِيَّةً، ويَرضَخَ لَهُ عَلى تَركِ الدِّينِ رَضيخَةً.

د ـ اِستِغلالُ قَميصِ عُثمانَ

393. **تاريخ الطبري عن محمّد وطلحة:** كانَ أهلُ الشّامِ لَمّا قَدِمَ عَلَيهِمُ النُّعمانُ بنُ بَشير بِقَميصِ عُثمانَ الَّذي قُتِلَ فيهِ مُخَضَّباً بِدَمِهِ، وبِأَصابِعِ نائِلَةَ زَوجَتِهِ مَقطوعَةً بِالبَراجِمِ؛ إصبَعانِ مِنها، وشَيءٌ مِنَ الكَفِّ، وإصبَعانِ مَقطوعَتانِ مِن أُصولِهِما، ونِصفُ الإبهامِ، وَضَعَ مُعاوِيَةُ القَميصَ عَلَى المِنبَرِ، وكَتَبَ بِالخَبَرِ إلَى الأَجنادِ.

وثابَ إلَيهِ النّاسُ، وبَكَوا سَنَةً وهُوَ عَلَى المِنبَرِ وَالأَصابِعُ مُعَلَّقَةٌ فيهِ، وآلَى الرِّجالُ مِن أهلِ الشّامِ ألّا يَأتُوا النِّساءَ، ولا يَمَسَّهُمُ الماءُ لِلغُسلِ إلّا مِن احتِلامٍ، ولا يَناموا عَلَى الفُرُشِ حَتّى يَقتُلوا قَتَلَةَ عُثمانَ، ومَن عَرَضَ دونَهُم بِشَيءٍ أو تَفنى أرواحُهُم. فَمَكَثوا حَولَ القَميصِ سَنَةً، وَالقَميصُ يوضَعُ كُلَّ يَومٍ عَلَى المِنبَرِ ويُجَلَّلُهُ أحياناً فَيُلبَسُهُ، وعُلِّقَ في أردانِهِ أصابِعُ نائِلَةَ.

هـ ـ المصالَحَةُ مَعَ الرُّومِ

394. **مروج الذهب:** قَد كانَ مُعاوِيَةُ صالَحَ مَلِكَ الرُّومِ عَلى مال يَحمِلُهُ إلَيهِ لِشُغلِهِ بِعَلِيٍّ.

و ـ الاِستِنصارُ مِن مَكَّةَ وَالمَدينَةِ

395. **وقعة صفّين عن زياد بن رستم:** كَتَبَ مُعاوِيَةُ بنُ أبي سُفيانَ إلى عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ عُمَرَ بنِ

al-Khaṭṭāb, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and Muḥammad ibn Muslima, apart from his writing to the people of Madinah. He wrote to Ibn ʿUmar as follows:

"There is none amongst Quraysh that is dearer to me after the assassination of ʿUthmān than you, under whom the Community should unite. Then I recalled your abandonment of him and your slandering of his supporters, so I took another position. Your dispute with ʿAlī, however, has made it easy for me and has erased some of your shortcomings. So help us – May God have mercy on you – [to attain] the rights of this oppressed Caliph, for indeed I do not desire to rule over you, but I want it for you. If you refuse, it will be determined through consultation amongst the Muslims."[1155]

Declaration of the War

396. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn,** reporting from Muḥammad and Ṣaliḥ ibn Ṣadaqa, who said: "'Alī (a.s.) wrote to Jarīr [his messenger to Muʿāwiyah]: If this letter of mine reaches, you make Muʿāwiyah come to a decision. Deal with him resolutely. Thereafter make him choose between war and a fortunate peace. If he chooses war, then declare it to him; however, if he chooses peace, then take his pledge of allegiance."

When the letter arrived to Jarīr, he came to Muʿāwiyah, made him read it and said to him: "O Muʿāwiyah, indeed the heart is not sealed except through sin and a chest is not opened except through repentance. I think that your heart is sealed. I see that you are standing between the Truth and the Falsehood; it is as if you are waiting for something in someone else's hand". Muʿāwiyah said: If God wills, I will give you a definite answer at the next gathering. When the people of Syria had pledged their allegiance to Muʿāwiyah and he had tested them, he said: O Jarīr, you may rejoin your leader. He wrote to him declaring war. He also wrote at the bottom of the letter the saying of Kʿab ibn Juʿaīl:

الخَطّابِ خاصَّةً، وإلى سَعدِ بنِ أبي وَقّاص، ومُحَمَّدِ بنِ مَسلَمَةَ، دونَ كِتابِهِ إلى أهلِ المَدينَةِ، فَكانَ في كِتابِهِ إلَى ابنِ عُمَرَ:

أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنَّهُ لَم يَكُن أحَدٌ مِن قُرَيش أحَبَّ إلَيَّ أن يَجتَمِعَ عَلَيهِ الأُمَّةُ بَعدَ قَتلِ عُثمانَ مِنكَ. ثُمَّ ذَكَرتُ خَذلَكَ إيّاهُ وطَعنَكَ عَلى أنصارِهِ فَتَغَيَّرتُ لَكَ، وقَد هَوَّنَ ذلِكَ عَلَيَّ خِلافُكَ عَلى عَلِيٍّ، ومَحا عَنكَ بَعضَ ما كانَ مِنكَ، فَأَعِنّا ـ رَحِمَكَ اللّهُ ـ عَلى حَقِّ هذَا الخَليفَةِ المَظلوم، فَإنّي لَستُ أُريدُ الإمارَةَ عَلَيكَ، ولكِنّي أُريدُها لَكَ، فَإن أبَيتَ كانَت شورى بينَ المُسلِمينَ.

ز ـ إعلانُ الحَربِ

396. **وقعة صفّين عن محمّد وصالح بن صدقة:** كَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام إلى جَرير [رَسولِهِ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ] بَعدَ ذلِكَ:

أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإذا أتاكَ كِتابي هذا، فَاحمِل مُعاوِيَةَ عَلَى الفَصلِ، وخُذهُ بِالأَمرِ الجَزمِ، ثُمَّ خَيِّرهُ بَينَ حَربٍ مُجلِيَة، أو سِلمٍ مُحظِيَة، فَإنِ اختارَ الحَربَ فَانبِذ لَهُ، وإنِ اختارَ السِّلمَ فَخُذ بَيعَتَهُ.

فَلَمّا انتَهَى الكِتابُ إلى جَرير أتى مُعاوِيَةَ فَأَقرَأَهُ الكِتابَ، فَقالَ لَهُ: يا مُعاوِيَةُ، إنَّهُ لا يُطبَعُ عَلى قَلبٍ إلّا بِذَنب، ولا يُشرَحُ صَدرٌ إلّا بِتَوبَة، ولا أظُنُّ قَلبَكَ إلّا مَطبوعاً. أراكَ قَد وَقَفتَ بَينَ الحَقِّ وَالباطِلِ كَأَنَّكَ تَنتَظِرُ شَيئاً في يَدَي غَيرِكَ. فَقالَ مُعاوِيَةُ: ألقاكَ بِالفَيصَلِ أوَّلَ مَجلِس إن شاءَ اللّهُ. فَلَمّا بايَعَ مُعاوِيَةَ أهلُ الشّامِ وذاقَهُم قالَ: يا جَريرُ! الحَق بِصاحِبِكَ. وكَتَبَ إلَيهِ

I see the people of Syria dislike the kingdom of Iraq
And the people of Iraq in return dislike it
Each one hating the other
Seeing it a debt against them.[1156]

2.6.

Imām ʿAlī's Advance towards Ṣiffīn

Imām ʿAlī's consultation on the journey to Ṣiffīn

397. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, who said: "When ʿAlī appointed ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās as his vicegerent over Baṣra, he marched from there to Kūfah and prepared himself for [the battle of] Ṣiffīn. He consulted the people about that, so some advised him to send the troops and remain [in Kūfah], while others advised him to march with them, but he refused and preferred to be directly involved; he thus prepared the people. When the news reached Muʿāwiyah, he summoned ʿAmr ibn al-Āṣ and consulted him, so he said: If you heard that he was advancing, then you should advance as well and do not withdraw him out of your opinion and your plots. He said: If that is the case, O Abū ʿAbdullah, prepare the people. ʿAmr came and incited the people and discredited ʿAlī and his companions. He said: The people of Iraq have split their unity, weakened their might and diluted their strength. In addition, the people of Baṣra oppose ʿAlī, since he has offended and killed them. He has sacrificed their valiant men and those of the people of Kūfah at the battle of the Camel. Indeed they have become a small group; amongst them is the one who killed your Caliph. Therefore [remember] God, [remember] God, lest that you should forego your rights and nullify the spilling of your blood."[1157]

The Sermon of Imām ʿAlī

398. **Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl,** relates that ʿAlī (a.s.) decided to march to

بِالحَربِ، وكَتَبَ في أسفَلِ كِتابِهِ بِقَولِ كَعبِ بنِ جُعَيل:

أرَى الشّامَ تكرَهُ مُلكَ العِراقِ وأهلُ العِراقِ لَها كارِهونا

وكُـلٌّ لِـصاحِبِـهِ مُبـغِـضٌ يَرى كُلَّ ما كانَ مِن ذاكَ دينا

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مَسيرُ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلى صِفّينَ

أ ـ اِستِشارَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام في المَسيرِ إلى صِفّينَ

397. **تاريخ الطبري عن أبي بكر الهذلي:** إنَّ عَلِيّاً لَمّا استَخلَفَ عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ عَبّاسٍ عَلَى البَصرَةِ سارَ مِنها إلَى الكوفَةِ فَتَهَيَّأَ فيها إلى صِفّينَ، فَاستَشارَ النّاسَ في ذلِكَ فَأَشارَ عَلَيهِ قَومٌ أن يَبعَثَ الجُنودَ ويُقيمَ وأشارَ آخَرونَ بِالمَسيرِ، فَأَبى إلّا المُباشَرَةَ فَجَهَّزَ النّاسَ. فَبَلَغَ ذلِكَ مُعاوِيَةَ فَدَعا عَمرَو بنَ العاصِ فَاستَشارَهُ فَقالَ: أمّا إذ بَلَغَكَ أنَّهُ يَسيرُ فَسِرْ بِنَفسِكَ ولا تَغِب عَنهُ بِرَأيِكَ ومَكيدَتِكَ. قالَ: أمّا إذاً يا أبا عَبدِ اللّهِ فَجَهِّزِ النّاسَ. فَجاءَ عَمرٌو فَحَضَّضَ النّاسَ وضَعَّفَ عَلِيّاً وأصحابَهُ وقالَ: إنَّ أهلَ العِراقِ قَد فَرَّقوا جَمعَهُم وأوهَنوا شَوكَتَهُم وفَلّوا حَدَّهُم، ثُمَّ إنَّ أهلَ البَصرَةِ مُخالِفونَ لِعَلِيٍّ قَد وَتَرَهُم وقَتَلَهُم، وقَد تَفانَت صَناديدُهُم وصَناديدُ أهلِ الكوفَةِ يَومَ الجَمَلِ، وإنَّما سارَ في شِرذِمَة قَليلَة، ومِنهُم مَن قَد قَتَلَ خَليفَتَكُم، فَاللهَ اللّهَ في حَقِّكُم أن تُضَيِّعوهُ وفي دَمِكُم أن تُبطِلوهُ.

ب ـ خُطبَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام قَبلَ الشُّخوصِ

398. **الأخبار الطوال:** لَمّا أجمَعَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام عَلَى المَسيرِ إلى أهلِ الشّامِ، وحَضَرَتِ الجُمُعَةُ،

the people of Syria. On Friday prayer, he ascended the pulpit, praised God and lauded Him and sent blessings to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and then said: "O people, advance towards the enemies of the [Prophetic] Traditions and the Qur'ān. Advance towards the killers of the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār. Advance towards the scum and the mob, those who embraced Islam out of fear and by force. Advance towards the reconciled hearts that they may avert their harm from the Muslims."[1158]

Imām ʿAlī's Cry at Karbalā'

399. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, reporting from al-Ḥasan ibn Kathīr, from his father who said: "'Alī came to Karbalā' and stood there. It was said to him: O Commander of the believers, this is Karbalā'. He said: Possessor of grief and affliction. He then pointed with his hand to a place and said: Here is their stopping place and the station of their animals. He pointed with his hand to another place and said: Here is where their blood will be spilt."[1159]

Al-Ashtar Leading the Army of Imām ʿAlī

400. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī**, reporting from Khālid ibn Quṭn al-Ḥārithī, who said: "When ʿAlī crossed the Euphrates, he summoned Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr and Shurayḥ ibn Hānī and sent both ahead of him to Muʿāwiyah. He said: When they were sent from Kūfah, they went along the coasts of the Euphrates which follow Kūfah until they reached ʿĀnāt[1160]. They were informed that ʿAlī had taken the route of al-Jazīrah (a road parallel to the Euphrates) and that Muʿāwiyah had set forth from Damascus with the Syrian troops to confront ʿAlī. They said: Nay, by God, it is not appropriate for us to proceed, and this sea is between us and the Muslims and the Commander of the Faithful. It is not convenient for us to meet the troops of the people of Syria despite the paucity of our number, far from the rest of the army and supplies. They thus went to cross from ʿĀnāt, but the people of ʿĀnāt prevented them and denied them ships. They returned and then crossed from Hīt, so they joined ʿAlī at a village before Qarqīsiyā[1161]. They intended

صَعِدَ المِنبَرَ، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنى عَلَيهِ، وصَلّى عَلَى النَّبِيِّ ﷺ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

أيُّهَا النّاسُ! سيروا إلى أعداءِ السُّنَنِ وَالقُرآنِ، سيروا إلى قَتَلَةِ المُهاجِرينَ وَالأَنصارِ، سيروا إلَى الجُفاةِ الطَّغامِ الَّذينَ كانَ إسلامُهُم خَوفاً وكَرهاً، سيروا إلَى المُؤَلَّفَةِ قُلوبُهُم لِيَكُفّوا عَنِ المُسلِمينَ بَأسَهُم.

ج ـ بُكاءُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لَمّا وَصَلَ إلى كَربَلاءِ

399. **وقعة صفّين عن الحسن بن كثير عن أبيه:** إنَّ عَلِيّاً أتى كَربَلاءَ فَوَقَفَ بِها، فَقيلَ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، هذِهِ كَربَلاءُ.

قالَ: ذاتُ كَرب وبَلاء.

ثُمَّ أومَأَ بِيَدِهِ إلى مَكان فَقالَ: هاهُنا مَوضِعُ رِحالِهِم، ومُناخُ رِكابِهِم.

وأومَأَ بِيَدِهِ إلى مَوضِع آخَرَ فَقالَ: هاهُنا مُهَراقُ دِمائِهِم.

د ـ الأَشتَرُ عَلى مُقَدِّمَةِ جَيشِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

400. **تاريخ الطبري عن خالد بن قطن الحارثي:** إنَّ عَلِيّاً لَمّا قَطَعَ الفُراتَ دَعا زِيادَ بنَ النَّضرِ وشُرَيحَ بنَ هانِئ فَسَرَّحَهُما أمامَهُ نَحوَ مُعاوِيَةَ عَلى حالِهِمَا الَّتي كانا خَرَجا عَلَيها مِنَ الكُوفَةِ. قالَ: وقَد كانا حَيثُ سَرَّحَهُما مِنَ الكوفَةِ أخَذا عَلى شاطِئِ الفُراتِ مِن قِبَلِ البَرِّ مِمّا يَلِي الكوفَةَ حَتّى بَلَغا عانات، فَبَلَغَهُما أخذُ عَلِيٍّ عَلى طَريقِ الجَزيرَةِ، وبَلَغَهُما أنَّ مُعاوِيَةَ قَد أقبَلَ مِن دِمَشقَ في جُنودِ أهلِ الشّامِ لِاستِقبالِ عَلِيٍّ فَقالا: لا وَاللّهِ، ما هذا لَنا بِرَأيٍ أن نَسيرَ وبَينَنا وبَينَ المُسلِمينَ وأميرِ المُؤمِنينَ هذَا البَحرُ! وما لَنا خَيرٌ في أن نَلقى جُنودَ أهلِ الشّامِ بِقِلَّةٍ مَن مَعَنا مُنقَطِعينَ مِنَ العَدَدِ وَالمَدَدِ. فَذَهَبوا لِيَعبُروا مِن عانات،

to go after the people of ʿĀnāt who had either fortified themselves or fled. When the vanguard [of the army] joined ʿAlī, he said: My vanguard comes to me from behind.

Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr and Shurayḥ ibn Hānī came to him and informed him about that which they had thought when they received the information [about the advance of Muʿāwiyah], so he said: You were right. Thereafter ʿAlī proceeded; when he crossed the Euphrates, he put them both in front of him in the direction of Muʿāwiyah. When they reached the (fortified) wall of Byzantium, they were encountered by Abū al-Aʿawar al-Sulamī ʿAmr ibn Sufyān with [a battalion of] troops from the people of Syria; they sent for ʿAlī: Indeed we have met Abū al-Aʿawar al-Sulamī with troops from the people of Syria; we had invited them [to surrender], but nobody answered; so give us your command. ʿAlī sent for al-Ashtar and said: O Mālik, indeed Ziyād and Shurayḥ have informed me that they met Abū al-Aʿawar al-Sulamī with a group [of troops] from the people of Syria. The emissary has informed me that he left them standing, facing one another. Thus deliver your companions and rescue them. When you reach them, then you will be the commander. Take care not to start the war with the people, unless they start, so that you meet and invite them and hear what they will say. Do not let your hatred for them lead you to fight them before inviting them and making clear the matter to them [with proof].

Place Ziyād on your right wing and Shurayḥ on your left wing and stand in the middle of your companions. Do not go too close to them as if you wish to engage in battle, nor distance yourself from them as if you fear the attack. I am advancing towards you soon by the will of God.

He said: The emissary was al-Ḥārith ibn Jumhān al-Jʿufī. ʿAlī wrote to Ziyād and Shurayḥ: Indeed I have appointed Mālik over the two of you, so listen to him and obey him, for indeed he is the one whose fault or mistakes is not expected, who would not sluggish

فَمَنَعَهُم أهلُ عانات وحَبَسوا عَنهُمُ السُّفُنَ، فَأقبَلوا راجِعينَ حَتّى عَبَروا مِن هِيتَ، ثُمَّ لَحِقوا عَلِيّاً بِقَريَة دونَ قَرقِيسِياءَ وقَد أرادوا أهلَ عانات فَتَحَصَّنوا وفَرّوا، ولَمّا لَحِقَتِ المُقَدِّمَةُ عَلِيّاً قالَ: مُقَدِّمَتي تَأتيني مِن وَراني !

فَتَقَدَّمَ إلَيهِ زِيادُ بنُ النَّضرِ الحارِثِيُّ وشُرَيحُ بنُ هانِئ فَأخبَراهُ بِالَّذي رَأيا حينَ بَلَغَهُما مِنَ الأَمرِ ما بَلَغَهُما. فَقالَ: سَدَدتُما. ثُمَّ مَضى عَلِيٌّ فَلَمّا عَبَرَ الفُراتَ قَدَّمَهُما أمامَهُ نَحوَ مُعاوِيَةَ، فَلَمّا انتَهَيا إلى سورِ الرّومِ لَقِيَهُما أبُوالأَعوَرِ السُّلَمِيُّ عَمرُو بنُ سُفيانَ في جُند مِن أهلِ الشّامِ، فَأرسَلا إلى عَلِيٍّ: إنّا قَد لَقِينا ابَا الأَعوَرِ السُّلَمِيَّ في جُند مِن أهلِ الشّامِ وقَد دَعَوناهُم فَلَم يُجِبنا مِنهُم أحَدٌ فَمُرنا بِأَمرِكَ. فَأرسَلَ عَلِيٌّ إلَى الأَشتَرِ فَقالَ:

يا مالِكُ، إنَّ زِياداً وشُرَيحاً أرسَلا إلَيَّ يُعلِماني أنَّهُما لَقِيا ابَا الأَعوَرِ السُّلَمِيَّ في جَمعٍ مِن أهلِ الشّامِ، وأنبَأَني الرَّسولُ أنَّهُ تَرَكَهُم مُتَواقِفينَ، فَالنَّجاءَ إلى أصحابِكَ النَّجاءَ، فَإذا قَدِمتَ عَلَيهِم فَأنتَ عَلَيهِم وإيّاكَ أن تَبدَأَ القَومَ بِقِتال إلّا أن يَبدَؤوكَ حَتّى تَلقاهُم فَتَدعُوَهُم وتَسمَعَ، ولا يَجرِمَنَّكَ شَنَآنُهُم عَلى قِتالِهِم قَبلَ دُعائِهِم وَالإعذارِ إلَيهِم مَرَّةً بَعدَ مَرَّة، وَاجعَل عَلى مَيمَنَتِكَ زِياداً وعَلى مَيسَرَتِكَ شُرَيحاً وقِف مِن أصحابِكَ وَسَطاً، ولا تَدنُ مِنهُم دُنوَّ مَن يُريدُ أن يُنشِبَ الحَربَ، ولا تَباعَد مِنهُم بُعدَ مَن يَهابُ البَأسَ حَتّى أقدَمَ عَلَيكَ، فَإنّي حَثيثُ السَّيرِ في أثَرِكَ إن شاءَ اللّهُ.

قالَ: وكانَ الرَّسولُ الحارِثَ بنَ جُمهانَ الجُعفِيَّ فَكَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ إلى زِياد وشُرَيح:

أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنّي قَد أمَّرتُ عَلَيكُما مالِكاً فَاسمَعا لَهُ وأطيعا، فَإنَّهُ مِمَّن لا يُخافُ رَهَقُهُ ولا

when swiftness is more appropriate. Similarly [you would not find] swiftness in him when delaying is more suitable. I have commanded him with what I had commanded both of you, that you should not start [the battle] with them until you have met them, invited them to surrender and made the matter clear to them [with proof]."[1162]

Confrontation of the Vanguards of the Two Armies

401. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from Khālid ibn Qutn al-Ḥārithī, who said: "Al-Ashtar left until he came to a people and followed what ʿAlī had commanded him, desisting from fighting; they remained standing, until when the night set in, Abū al-Aʿawar al-Sulamī attacked them; they resisted him and fought for an hour, then the people of Syria left. The next morning Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah al-Zuhrī came forth with horsemen and troops in good number and with preparation. Abū al-Aʿwar came forth to him and they fought, and horses were attacking one another and men were attacking one another as well. The people had a respite and then they left. Al-Ashtar attacked them, and ʿAbdullah ibn al-Mundhir al-Tanūkhī was slain that day by Ẓabyān ibn ʿAmmār al-Tamīmī who was a youth, while al-Tanūkhī cavalier of the Syrians.

Al-Ashtar began to say: Woe unto you! Show me Abū al-Aʿawar. Thereafter Abū al-Aʿawar called the people, and they returned towards him; he stood behind Al-Ashtar came in order to put his companions in line in the place where Abū al-Aʿawar was. He said to Sinān ibn Mālik al-Nakhaʿī: Proceed to Abū al-Aʿawar and challenge him to a duel. He said: To a duel with me or with you? Al-Ashtar said: If I command you to duel with him, would you do it? He said: Yes, by God. If you command me to confront their side with my sword, I would not return until I hit my sword in their lines; al-Ashtar said to him: O my nephew,may God prolong your life! By God, You have increased my admiration for you,I have not asked you to duel with him, or rather that you should invite him to a duel with me. He will not duel, because he will only confront those who are of his age, ability and status and you are

سِقاطُهُ ولا بُطؤُهُ عَمَّا الإسراعُ إلَيهِ أحزَمُ، ولاَ الإسراعُ إلَى مَا الإبطاءُ عَنهُ أمثَلُ، وقَد أمَرتُهُ بِمِثلِ الَّذي كُنتُ أمَرتُكُما بِهِ ألّا يَبدَأ القَومَ حَتّى يَلقاهُم فَيَدعُوَهُم ويُعذِرَ إلَيهِم.

هـ ـ مُواجَهَةُ مُقَدِّمَةِ الجَيشَينِ

401. **تاريخ الطبري عن خالد بن قطن الحارثي:** خَرَجَ الأَشتَرُ حَتّى قَدِمَ عَلَى القَومِ، فَاتَّبَعَ ما أمَرَهُ عَلِيٌّ وكَفَّ عَنِ القِتالِ، فَلَم يَزالوا مُتَواقِفينَ حَتّى إذا كانَ عِندَ المَساءِ حَمَلَ عَلَيهِم أبُوالأَعوَرِ السُّلَمِيُّ، فَثَبَتوا لَهُ وَاضطَرَبوا ساعَةً، ثُمَّ إنَّ أهلَ الشّامِ انصَرَفوا.

ثُمَّ خَرَجَ إلَيهِم مِنَ الغَدِ هاشِمُ بنُ عُتبَةَ الزُّهرِيُّ في خَيلٍ ورِجالٍ حَسَنٍ عَدَدُها وعُدَّتُها، وخَرَجَ إلَيهِ أبُوالأَعوَرِ فَاقتَتَلوا يَومَهُم ذلِكَ، تَحمِلُ الخَيلُ عَلَى الخَيلِ وَالرِّجالُ عَلَى الرِّجالِ، وصَبَرَ القَومُ بَعضُهُم لِبَعضٍ ثُمَّ انصَرَفوا، وحَمَلَ عَلَيهِمُ الأَشتَرُ فَقُتِلَ عَبدُ اللّه بنُ المُنذِرِ التَّنوخِيُّ قَتَلَهُ يَومَئِذٍ ظَبيانُ بنُ عَمّارٍ التَّميمِيُّ وما هُوَ إلّا فَتىً حَدَثٌ وإن كانَ التَّنوخِيُّ لَفارِسَ أهلِ الشّامِ، وأخَذَ الأَشتَرُ يَقولُ: وَيحَكُم! أروني أبَا الأَعوَرِ. ثُمَّ إنَّ أبَا الأَعوَرِ دَعَا النّاسَ فَرَجَعوا نَحوَهُ، فَوَقَفَ مِن وَراءِ المَكانِ الَّذي كانَ فيهِ أوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ، وجاءَ الأَشتَرُ حَتّى صَفَّ أصحابَهُ فِي المَكانِ الَّذي كانَ فيهِ أبُوالأَعوَرِ، فَقالَ الأَشتَرُ لِسِنانِ بنِ مالِكٍ النَّخَعِيِّ: إنطَلِق إلى أبِي الأَعوَرِ فَادعُهُ إلَى المُبارَزَةِ، فَقالَ: إلى مُبارَزَتي أو مُبارَزَتِكَ؟ فَقالَ لَهُ الأَشتَرُ: لَو أمَرتُكَ بِمُبارَزَتِهِ فَعَلتَ؟ قالَ: نَعَم وَاللهِ، لَو أمَرتَني أن أعتَرِضَ صَفَّهُم بِسَيفي ما رَجَعتُ أبَداً حَتّى أضرِبَ بِسَيفي في صَفِّهِم، قالَ لَهُ الأَشتَرُ: يَابنَ أخي، أطالَ اللّه بَقاءَكَ! قَد وَاللّهِ، ازدَدتُ رَغبَةً فيكَ لا أمَرتُكَ بِمُبارَزَتِهِ إنّما أمَرتُكَ أن تَدعُوَهُ إلى مُبارَزَتي، إنَّهُ لا يَبرُزُ إن كانَ ذلِكَ مِن شَأنِهِ إلّا لِذَوِي الأَسنانِ وَالكَفاءَةِ وَالشَّرَفِ، وأنتَ لِرَبِّكَ الحَمدُ مِن أهلِ الكَفاءَةِ والشَّرَفِ غَيرَ أنَّكَ فَتىً حَدَثُ السِّنِ، فَلَيسَ بِمُبارِزِ الأَحداثِ ولكِنِ ادعُهُ

– Praise be to God – of those who have the ability and the status, except that you are young and he will not duel with the young , so invite him to duel with me. He thus came to him and called [out]: Grant me protection, for indeed I am an emissary, he was [granted the] protection. He came until he reached Abū al-Aʿawar.

Abū Mikhnaf said: Al-Naḍr ibn Ṣāliḥ Abū Zuhayr al-ʿAbsī reported to me, he said: Sinān reported to me, he said: I came close to him and said: Indeed al-Ashtar invites to duel with him. He remained quiet for long and then said: Indeed the bad opinion of al-Ashtar is what made him oust the governors of Ibn ʿAffān from Iraq, and spoil his good characteristics. Of his imprudence and bad opinion is that he proceeded to Ibn ʿAffān in his house and residence until he, amongst others killed him.Verily there is no need for me to duel with him. He said: I said: Indeed you have spoken, thus listen so that I may answer you; he said: No, there is no need for me to listen to you. Go away from me! His companions shouted at me, so I left him; if he listened to me, I would have informed him of the proof of my companion and his excuse. I returned to al-Ashtar and informed him that he refused to duel, so he said: He is scared.

We stood before them until the night separated us, and we spent the night on guard. When we awoke in the morning, we saw that the people [of Syria] had departed during the night. In the morning ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib reached us. Then al-Ashtar advanced with those who were with him on the frontline, until they reached Muʿāwiyah and stood in his path. ʿAlī came on his trail and quickly joined al-Ashtar; he [also] stood, and they stood for a long time [in his path]."[1163]

2.7.

The Confrontation of the Two Armies

The Imām proceeded from Kūfah in the direction of Syria in the

إلى مُبارَزَتي. فَأَتاهُ فَنادى: آمِنوني فَإِنّي رَسولٌ فَأُومِنَ، فَجاءَ حَتّى انتَهى إلى أَبِي الأَعوَرِ. قالَ أبومِخنَف: فَحَدَّثَنِي النَّضرُ بنُ صالِح أبو زُهَير العَبسِيُّ قالَ: حَدَّثَني سِنانٌ قالَ: فَدَنَوتُ مِنهُ فَقُلتُ: إنَّ الأَشتَرَ يَدعوكَ إلى مُبارَزَتِهِ. قالَ: فَسَكَتَ عَنّي طَويلا ثُمَّ قالَ: إنَّ خِفَّةَ الأَشتَرِ وسوءَ رَأيِهِ هُوَ حَمَلَهُ عَلى إجلاءِ عُمّالِ ابنِ عَفّانَ مِنَ العِراقِ، وَانتِزاوُهُ عَلَيهِ يُقَبِّحُ مَحاسِنَهُ، ومِن خِفَّةِ الأَشتَرِ وسوءِ رَأيِهِ أن سارَ إلَى ابنِ عَفّانَ في دارِهِ وقَرارِهِ حَتّى قَتَلَهُ، فيمَن قَتَلَهُ فَأَصبَحَ مُتَّبَعاً بِدَمِهِ، ألا لا حاجَةَ لي في مُبارَزَتِهِ. قالَ: قُلتُ: إنَّكَ قَد تَكَلَّمتَ فَاسمَع حَتّى أُجيبَكَ، فَقالَ: لا، لا حاجَةَ لي فِي الإستِماعِ مِنكَ ولا في جَوابِكَ، اذهَب عَنّي. فَصاحَ بي أصحابُهُ فَانصَرَفتُ عَنهُ، ولَو سَمِعَ إلَيَّ لَاَخبَرتُهُ بِعُذرِ صاحِبي وحُجَّتِهِ. فَرَجَعتُ إلَى الأَشتَرِ فَأَخبَرتُهُ أنَّهُ قَد أبَى المُبارَزَةَ، فَقالَ: لِنَفسِهِ نَظَرٌ.

فَواقَفناهُم حَتّى حَجَزَ اللَّيلُ بَينَنا وبَينَهم وَبِتنا مُتَحارِسينَ، فَلَمّا أصبَحنا نَظَرنا فَإِذَا القَومُ قَدِ انصَرَفوا مِن تَحتِ لَيلَتِهِم، ويُصَبِّحُنا عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب غُدوَةً. فَقَدِمَ الأَشتَرُ فيمَن كانَ مَعَهُ في تِلكَ المُقَدِّمَةِ حَتّى انتَهى إلى مُعاوِيَةَ فَواقَفَهُ، وجاءَ عَلِيٌّ في أثَرِهِ فَلَحِقَ بِالأَشتَرِ سَريعاً فَوَقَفَ وتَواقَفوا طَويلا.

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مُواجَهَةُ الجَيشَينِ

توجّه الإمام عليه السلام من الكوفة باتّجاه الشام في شهر شوّال من عام ٣٦ هـ ولمّا كان الطريق المستقيم بينهما يمرّ عبر صحراء جرداء لا عشب فيها ولا ماء ولم تكن للإمام عليه السلام المعدّات الكافية لدعم جيشه الذي قوامه مِئة ألف، اختار الطريق المحاذي للفرات (أي مسير الجزيرة).

month of Shawwāl in 36 AH. As the straight road passed through barren desert, with no plantation or water, and the Imām (a.s.) did not have the sufficient equipment to support his army, a hundred thousand strong, he chose the road parallel to the Euphrates (called the route of al-Jazīrah) . He passed Karbalā, Hīt, etc. until he arrived at al-Riqqah near Ṣiffīn. The vanguard of the Imām's army under the leadership of Mālik al-Ashtar met with the vanguard of Muʿāwiyah's army and compelled them to flee. This was the first confrontation between the two armies at Ṣiffīn which was started by the army of Muʿāwiyah.

Towards the end of Dhī al-Qʿada the army of the Imām arrived at Ṣiffīn after the arrival of Muʿāwiyah's army, due to its proximity to Syria and the occupation of the sensitive areas of that region.

Muʿāwiyah had arranged his army in a manner that the army of the Imām would not be able to reach the water; so the Imām (a.s.) advised them and sent a messenger to them, but it was of no avail.

Then al-Ashtar and al-Ashʿath attacked the army of Muʿāwiyah and seized control of the water. The Imām, however, commanded that the army be arranged in a manner that both armies would have access to the water. Thereby the Imām (a.s.) attained spiritual victory which history recorded with the ink of gold. The Imām refused to resort to inhumane means in confronting the enemy to achieve victory. Thereafter the Imām sent his representative to Muʿāwiyah to urge him to surrender and prevent from the spilling of blood. When they came to Muʿāwiyah, he expelled them with anger.

In the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah different confrontations took place, since the Imām tried to settle the matter without going to war.

In the month of Muḥarram these sporadic confrontations stopped, and negotiations for reconciliation began more earnestly, but it did not bear fruit.

When all avenues were closed, the Imām (a.s.) prepared himself for war. The war began on Wednesday, the first of the month of Ṣafar, 37 AH. The war in the first week was as explained below:

فمرّ على كربلاء وهيت و... حتى وصل إلى الرقّة قرب صفّين.

فالتقت مقدّمة جيش الإمام بقيادة مالك الأشتر مع مقدّمة جيش معاوية واضطرّتهم للفرار، وهي أوّل مواجهة بين الجيشين في صفّين، والذي شرع بهذه المواجهة جيش معاوية.

وفي أواخر ذي القعدة وصل جيش الإمام إلى صفّين، بعد وصول جيش معاوية إليها لقربها من الشام، واحتلال المناطق الحسّاسة من المنطقة.

وقد نظّم معاويةُ جيشَه بنحو بحيث لا يتمكّن جيش الإمام من الوصول للماء. فنصحهم الإمامعليه السلام، وأرسل اليهم رسولاً في ذلك، لكن دون جدوى.

فهجم الأشتر والأشعث على جيش معاوية بعد موافقة الإمام على ذلك واستولوا على الماء. فأمر الإمامعليه السلام بتنظيم الجيش بنحو يتمكّن معه الجيشان من الماء. وبهذا انتصر الإمامعليه السلام نصراً معنويّاً سجّله التاريخ في صفحاته بماء الذهب بأنّ الإمام يمنع التوسّل بالسبل غير الإنسانيّة في مواجهة العدوّ لتحصيل النصر.

ثمّ أرسل الإمامعليه السلام ممثّليه إلى معاوية كي يدفعوا به إلى الاستسلام، ويحولون دون وقوع الحرب وإراقة الدماء. فلمّا أقبلوا على معاوية طردهم بغضب.

وفي شهر ذي الحجّة حصلت مناوشات ومواجهات متفرّقة بين الجيشين؛ إذ كان الإمام في صدد إنهاء ذلك بالصلح دون الحرب، ولذا لم تكن المواجهة بين تمام الجيشين.

ثمّ انقطعت هذه المواجهات المتفرّقة في شهر محرّم من عام ٣٧ هـ وصارت محادثات الصلح بصورة أكثر جدّية، لكنّها لم تثمر شيئاً كسابقاتها.

فلمّا تقطّعت جميع السبل تهيّأ الإمامعليه السلام للحرب، فبدأت الحرب يوم الأربعاء أوّل شهر صفر عام ٣٧ هـ وكانت الحرب في الأُسبوع الأوّل بهذه الكيفيّة:

Every morning one of the heroic leaders of Imām's army would go out and fight the enemy until the night, then the fighting would cease till the next day without victory by any side over the other.

The leaders of the army on those days were as follows: Mālik al-Ashtar, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās, Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah and Qais ibn Sʿad.

The war intensified on Wednesday, the 8th of Ṣafar, and took another shape since both armies took part in entirety. The Imām (a.s.) was at peace in his heart and assumed control of the army by himself. Many senior members of the army were martyred on this day and on Thursday.

When the intention of the Imām was to settle the issue, the fighting did not stop at sunset on Thursday, but continued into the night of Friday. It was the most intense night throughout the war, thus it was named the night of "al-Harīr".

The Imām himself was present on the battlefield on Thursday and the night of Friday; he killed 523 of the enemy combatants with his own hand; most of them were courageous fighters of the people of Syria.

Due to the intensity of the war the companions of the Imām (a.s.) prayed on the battlefield by gesturing.

On the morning of Friday the sun rose and shined on the victory of the Imām's army and the destruction and defeat of the people of Syria. Mālik al-Ashtar and the battalion drew near the tent of Muʿāwiyah - whence he led his army - such that Muʿāwiyah had decided to surrender and request safety, but the pen of fate demanded something else. The ignorance of the Khārijites had been mixed with the deception of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and so they produced the deliverance of Muʿāwiyah!

Rewarding the Offence with Kindness

402. **Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha,** relates concerning the fighting over the water and its seizure by the companions of the Imām: His companions and supporters said to him: "Deny them access to the water as they denied you. Do not give them a drop to drink. Kill

يخرج صباح كلّ يوم أحد القادة الأبطال لجيش الإمام ويحارب العدوّ حتى المساء، ثم تنقطع الحرب إلى اليوم التالي دون حصول نصر لأحد الطرفين على الآخر خلال هذه المدّة.

وكان قادة الجيش في هذه الأيّام: مالك الأشتر، وعمّار بن ياسر، ومحمّد ابن الحنفيّة، وعبد اللّه بن عبّاس، وهاشم بن عتبة، وقيس بن سعد.

لكن الحرب اشتدّت في يوم الأربعاء الثامن من صفر واتّخذت شكلاً آخر؛ حيث اشترك فيها تمام الجيشين. وقد استقرّ الإمام عليه السلام في القلب، وتولّى قيادة الجيش بنفسه. واستُشهد عدد كثير من كبار الجيش في هذا اليوم ويوم الخميس.

ولمّا كان قصد الإمام حسم الأمر لم تتوقّف الحرب عند غروب الخميس بل استمرّت ليلة الجمعة أيضاً، وكانت أشدّ ليلة طوال الحرب، ولهذا سُمّيت «ليلة الهرير».

وكان الإمام عليه السلام حاضراً بنفسه في أرض المعركة يوم الخميس وليلة الجمعة، وقتل بيده ٥٢٣ شخصاً أكثرهم من شجعان أهل الشام.

ولشدّة الحرب صلّى أصحاب الإمام عليه السلام في ميدان القتال إيماءً.

وفي صباح الجمعة أشرقت الشمس وأطلّت على ظفر جيش الإمام وانكسار وهزيمة أهل الشام. وأشرف مالك الأشتر والسريّة التي يقودها على خيمة معاوية ـ التي يقود الجيش منها ـ بحيث صمّم معاوية على الاستسلام وطلب الأمان، لكن جرى قلم القدر على شيء آخر؛ فتلاقح جهل الخوارج مع حيلة عمرو بن العاص فأنتجا نجاة معاوية!

أ ـ مُكافَأةُ الإساءَةِ بِالإحسانِ

402. **شرح نهج البلاغة** ـ في ذِكرِ القِتالِ عَلَى الماءِ وَاستيلاءِ أصحابِ الإمامِ عَلَيهِ ـ : فَقالَ لَهُ أصحابُهُ وشيعَتُهُ: اِمنَعهُمُ الماءَ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ! كَما مَنَعوكَ، ولا تَسقِهِم مِنهُ قَطرَةً،

them with thirsty swords and take them by the grasp of the hand, so there will be no need for the war. He said: Nay, by God, I will not act as they acted. Open to them the way to the water; the sword will suffice them."[1164]

The Beginning of the Fighting

403. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abū Ḥurra al-Ḥanafī, who said concerning the beginning of the battle in the month of Dhī al-Ḥijjah: ʿAlī began to command men of honour to march forth with him in groups. A man from the companions of Muʿāwiyah would also come forth in a group, so they would fight with their horsemen and foot-troops, and then they would disperse. They disliked meeting the people of Syria with a group of the people of Iraq, for they feared that such would result in their annihilation and destruction. ʿAlī sent forth al-Ashtar, Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī, Shabath ibn Ribʿī, Khālid ibn al-Muʿammar, Ziyād ibn Naḍr al-Ḥārithī, Ziyād ibn Khaṣfah al-Taymī, Saʿīd ibn Qays, Mʿaqil ibn Qays al-Riyāḥī and Qays ibn Sʿad, one after another. Al-Ashtar would go forth to them [i.e. the enemy] the most.

Muʿāwiyah sent forth ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid al-Makhzūmī and Abū al-Aʿawar al-Sulamī, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah al-Fihrī, Ibn Dhi al-Kalāʿ al-Ḥimyarī, ʿUbaidullah ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Shuraḥbīl ibn al-Simṭ al-Kindī and Ḥamza ibn Mālik al-Hamdānī. one after another. They fought the whole month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah, and sometimes they fought on one day twice, at the beginning of the day and at the end of it.

Abū Mikhnaf said: ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀṣim al-Fā'ishī related to me, he said: "A man from my people related to me that al-Ashtar one day came forth to fight at Ṣiffīn with a group of the reciters and a group of Arab horsemen. Their fighting was intense; then a man came forth to us; by God I never saw a man taller or bigger than him. He called for a duel, but nobody came forth to him except al-Ashtar. They exchanged two blows, and then al-Ashtar struck him and killed him. By God, we were worried about al-Ashtar and asked him not to go forth to him; but when he killed him, one of his companions cried out:

وَاقتُلهُم بِسُيوفِ العَطَشِ، وخُذهُم قَبضاً بِالأَيدي فَلا حاجَةَ لَكَ إلَى الحَربِ.

فَقالَ: لا وَاللّهِ، لا أُكافِئُهُم بِمِثلِ فِعلِهِم، افسَحوا لَهم عَن بَعضِ الشَّريعَةِ، فَفي حَدِّ السَّيفِ ما يُغني عَن ذلِكَ.

ب ـ بِدايَةُ القِتالِ

403. **تاريخ الطبري عن عبد الملك بن أبي حرّة الحنفي** ـ في بَيانِ ابتِداءِ الحَربِ في ذِي الحِجَّةِ ـ: أخَذَ عَلِيٌّ يَأمُرُ الرَّجُلَ ذَا الشَّرَفِ فَيَخرُجُ مَعَهُ جَماعَةٌ، ويَخرُجُ إلَيهِ مِن أصحابِ مُعاوِيَةَ آخَرُ مَعَهُ جَماعَةٌ، فَيَقتَتِلانِ في خَيلِهِما ورِجالِهِما ثُمَّ يَنصَرِفانِ، وأخَذوا يَكرَهونَ أن يَلقَوا بِجَمعِ أهلِ العِراقِ أهلَ الشّامِ لِما يَتَخَوَّفونَ أن يَكونَ في ذلِكَ مِن الاِستِئصالِ وَالهَلاكِ، فَكانَ عَلِيٌّ يُخرِجُ مَرَّةً الأَشتَرَ، ومَرَّةً حُجرَ بنَ عَدِيٍّ الكِندِيَّ، ومَرَّةً شَبَثَ بنَ رِبعِيٍّ، ومَرَّةً خالِدَ بنَ المُعَمَّرِ، ومَرَّةً زِيادَ بنَ النَّضرِ الحارِثِيَّ، ومَرَّةً زِيادَ بنَ خَصَفَةَ التَّيمِيّ، ومَرَّةً سَعيدَ بنَ قَيسٍ، ومَرَّةً مَعقِلَ بنَ قَيسٍ الرِّياحِيَّ، ومَرَّةً قَيسَ بنَ سَعدٍ، وكانَ أكثَرَ القَومِ خُروجاً إلَيهِمُ الأَشتَرُ، وكانَ مُعاوِيَةُ يُخرِجُ إلَيهِم عَبدَ الرَّحمٰنِ بنَ خالِدٍ المَخزومِيَّ وأبَا الأَعوَرِ السُّلَمِيَّ، ومَرَّةً حَبيبَ بنَ مَسلَمَةَ الفِهرِيَّ، ومَرَّةً ابنَ ذِي الكَلاعِ الحِميَرِيَّ، ومَرَّةً عُبيدَ اللّهِ بنَ عُمَرَ بنِ الخَطّابِ، ومَرَّةً شُرَحبيلَ بنَ السِّمطِ الكِندِيَّ، ومَرَّةً حَمزَةَ بنَ مالِكٍ الهَمدانِيَّ، فَاقتَتَلوا مِن ذِي الحِجَّةِ كُلِّها ورُبَّمَا اقتَتَلوا فِي اليَومِ الواحِدِ مَرَّتَينِ أوَّلَهُ وآخِرَهُ.

قالَ أبومِخنَف: حَدَّثَني عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عاصِمٍ الفانِشِيُّ قالَ: حَدَّثَني رَجُلٌ مِن قَومي أنَّ الأَشتَرَ خَرَجَ يَوماً يُقاتِلُ بِصِفّينَ في رِجالٍ مِنَ القُرّاءِ ورِجالٍ مِن فُرسانِ العَرَبِ، فَاشتَدَّ قِتالُهُم فَخَرَجَ عَلَينا رَجُلٌ وَاللّهِ لَقَلَّما رَأَيتُ رَجُلاً قَطُّ هُوَ أطوَلُ ولا أعظَمُ مِنهُ، فَدَعا إلَى المُبارَزَةِ فَلَم يَخرُج إلَيهِ أحَدٌ إلّا الأَشتَرُ، فَاختَلَفا ضَربَتَينِ فَضَرَبَهُ الأَشتَرُ فَقَتَلَهُ، وايمُ اللّهِ، لَقَد كُنّا أشفَقنا عَلَيهِ، وسَأَلناهُ ألّا يَخرُجَ إلَيهِ، فَلَمّا قَتَلَهُ الأَشتَرُ نادى مُنادٍ مِن أصحابِهِ:

O arrow of the arrows of Abū al-ʿAyzār
O the best of those who we know from [the tribe of] Zār

Zāra is a place in al-Azd. He said: I swear by God that I will kill your killer or he kills me. He came forth and attacked al-Ashtar. Al-Ashtar turned to him and struck him and thus he lay in front of his horse. His companions rushed towards him and saved him albeit injured." Abū Rufayqa al-Fahmī said: He was fire, but he clashed with a hurricane. The people fought the whole month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah; when Dhu'l-Ḥijjah finished, people insisted that they desist in the month of Muḥarram, hoping that God may reconcile or unite them, and so they ceased fighting."[1165]

A Truce in Hope of Peace

404. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** relates, - concerning events of the year 37 AH. - : "In the first month [of that year], al-Muḥarram, there was a ceasefire between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah; they agreed to stop the war until the end of this month with the desire for reconciliation."[1166]

In Hope of Guidance

405. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** in his sermon when his companions saw his delay in giving them the permission to fight at Ṣiffīn: "As regards your saying: 'Is all that for fear of death?', by God, I do not care whether I proceed towards death or death advances towards me. As regards your saying: 'It may be due to my doubt about the people of Syria,' by God, I did not put off war even for a day , but that I hope that a group may join me, be guided through me and are directed towards my light. This is dearer to me than I should kill them upon their misguidance, even though they would bear their own sins."[1167]

2.8.

The Fighting

The Supplication of Imām ʿAlī before the Battle

406. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** on the day of Ṣiffīn: "O God! Unto You

يا سَهمَ سهم بنَ أبِي العَيزارِ يا خَيرَ مَن نَعلَمُهُ من زارِ

وزارَةُ: حَيٌّ مِنَ الأَزدِ. وقالَ: أُقسِمُ بِاللّهِ لأَقتُلَنَّ قاتِلَكَ أو لَيَقتُلَنّي. فَخَرَجَ فَحَمَلَ عَلَى الأَشتَرِ وعَطَفَ عَلَيهِ الأَشتَرُ فَضَرَبَهُ، فَإذا هُوَ بَينَ يَدَي فَرَسِهِ، وحَمَلَ عَلَيهِ أصحابُهُ فَاستَنقَذوهُ جَريحاً. فَقالَ أبو رُفَيقَةَ الفَهمِيُّ: هذا كانَ ناراً فَصادَفَ إعصاراً. وَاقتَتَلَ النّاسُ ذَا الحِجَّةِ كُلَّهُ، فَلَمَّا انقَضى ذُو الحِجَّةِ تَداعَى النّاسُ إلى أن يَكُفَّ بَعضُهُم عَن بَعض المُحَرَّمَ، لَعَلَّ اللّهَ أن يُجرِيَ صُلحاً أوِ اجتِماعاً، فَكَفَّ بَعضُهُم عَن بَعض.

ج ـ الهُدنَةُ رَجاءَ الصُّلحِ

404. **تاريخ الطبري** ـ في أخبارِ سَنَةِ ٣٧ هجريّة ـ: كانَ في أوّلِ شَهر مِنها وهُوَ المُحَرَّمُ مُوادَعَةُ الحَربِ بَينَ عَلِيٍّ ومُعاوِيَةَ، قَد تَوادَعا عَلى تَركِ الحَربِ فيهِ إلَى انقِضائِهِ طَمَعاً فِي الصُّلحِ.

د ـ الاِستِثناءُ رَجاءَ الاِهتِداءِ

405. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام مِن كَلام لَهُعليه السلام وقَدِ استَبطَأَ أصحابُهُ إذنَهُ لَهُم فِي القِتالِ بِصِفّينَ ـ: أمّا قَولُكُم: أكُلَّ ذلِكَ كَراهِيَةَ المَوتِ؟ فَوَاللّهِ ما أُبالي، دَخَلتُ إلَى المَوتِ أو خَرَجَ المَوتُ إلَيَّ.

وأمّا قَولُكُم: شَكّاً في أهلِ الشّامِ، فَوَاللّهِ ما دَفَعتُ الحَربَ يَوماً إلّا وأنا أطمَعُ أن تَلحَقَ بي طائِفَةٌ فَتَهتَدِيَ بي، وتَعشُوَ إلى ضَوئي، وذلِكَ أحَبُّ إلَيَّ مِن أن أقتُلَها عَلى ضَلالِها، وإن كانَت تَبوءُ بِآثامِها.

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القِتالُ

أ ـ دُعاءُ الإمامِعليه السلام قَبلَ القِتالِ

406. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام يَومَ صِفّينَ ـ: اللّهمَّ إلَيكَ رُفِعَتِ الأَبصارُ، وبُسِطَتِ الأَيدي، ونُقِلَتِ

the eyes have been raised, the hands have been spread, the feet have been moved, the tongues have called and hearts have been led. Judgement is up to You, so judge justly between us and them in truth, for you are the best of judges. O God! We complain to you about the absence of our Prophet the paucity of our number, the multiplicity of our enemies, divergence of our desires, the vicissitudes of time and the appearance of confusion. Help us overcome them with a hastened breakthrough and a victory by which You honour and manifest the authority of Truth."[1168]

The Command to Fight

407. Al-**Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl**, relates: "When the month of Muḥarram came to an end, ʿAlī dispatched a caller; he went to the camp of Muʿāwiyah at sunset and called out: Indeed we desisted so that the sacred months may pass and they have passed. Thus we will attack you from all sides, for indeed God does not love the betrayers."[1169]

Imām ʿAlī Urges His Companions to Fight

408. **Tārīkh Dimashq**, reporting from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said: "Women fail to give birth to the like of the Commander of the believers ʿAli ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). By God, I have never seen nor heard of any leader to be compared with him. I saw him at the Battle of Ṣiffīn wearing a turban with the folds on both sides let down. His two eyes looked [glazing] like two fiery lights. He was standing before a small group, inciting them to fight until he reached me, when I was standing amid the people. Then he said: "O Muslims! Infuse your heart with fear [of God], lower the voices, put on tranquility, wield your spears, and before drawing your sword give it a good shake. Wave your swords to the left and right and strike them with their sharp edges. Coordinate your swords with your steps and your arrows with your spears. Certainly you are in the sight of God and in the company of the Prophet's cousin.

Launch your attack and be ashamed of fleeing, for it is a great shame that will remain in the generations and be settled into fire on the Day of Judgment. Keep yourselves lively and delighted. Step

الأَقدامُ، ودَعَتِ الأَلسُنُ، وأفضَتِ القُلوبُ، وتُحوكِمَ إلَيكَ فِي الأَعمالِ، فَاحكُم بَينَنا وبَينَهُم بِالحَقِّ وأنتَ خَيرُ الفاتِحينَ. اللّهمَّ إنّا نَشكو إلَيكَ غَيبَةَ نَبِيِّنا وقِلَّةَ عَدَدِنا وكَثرَةَ عَدُوِّنا وتَشَتُّتَ أهوائِنا وشِدَّةَ الزَّمانِ وظُهورَ الفِتَنِ. أعِنّا عَلَيهِم بِفَتحٍ تُعَجِّلُهُ، ونَصرٍ تُعِزُّ بِهِ سُلطانَ الحَقِّ وتُظهِرُهُ.

ب ـ الأَمرُ بِالقِتالِ

407. **الأخبار الطوال:** لَمَّا انسَلَخَ المُحَرَّمُ بَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ مُنادِياً، فَنادى في عَسكَرِ مُعاوِيَةَ عِندَ غُروبِ الشَّمسِ: إنّا أمسَكنا لِتَنصَرِمَ الأَشهُرُ الحُرُمُ، وقَد تَصَرَّمَت، وَإنّا نَنبِذُ إلَيكُم عَلى سَواء، إنَّ اللّهَ لا يُحِبُّ الخائِنينَ.

ج ـ تَحريضُ الإمامِ عليه السلام أصحابَهُ عَلَى القِتالِ

408. **تاريخ دمشق عن ابن عبّاس:** عَقِمَ النِّساءُ أن يَأتينَ بِمِثلِ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيِّ ابنِ أبي طالِب، وَاللّهِ ما رَأَيتُ ولا سَمِعتُ رَئيساً يوزَنُ بِهِ، لَرَأَيتُهُ ـ يَومَ صِفّينَ ـ وعَلى رَأسِهِ عِمامَةٌ قَد أرخى طَرَفَيها كَأَنَّ عَينَيهِ سِراجاً سَليطٍ وهُوَ يَقِفُ عَلى شِرذِمَةٍ يَحُضُّهُم حَتّى انتَهى إلَيَّ وأنَا في كَنَف مِنَ النّاسِ فَقالَ:

مَعاشِرَ المُسلِمينَ! استَشعِرُوا الخَشيَةَ، وغُضُّوا الأَصواتَ، وتَجَلبَبُوا السَّكينَةَ، وَاعمَلُوا الأَسِنَّةَ، وأقلِقُوا السُّيوفَ قَبلَ السَّلَّةِ، وَاطعُنُوا الزّخرِ، ونافِحوا بِالظُّبا، وصِلُوا السُّيوفَ بِالخُطا، وَالنِّبالَ بِالرِّماحِ، فَإنَّكُم بِعَينِ اللّهِ ومَعَ ابنِ عَمِّ نَبِيِّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله .

عاوِدُوا الكَرَّ، وَاستَحيوا مِنَ الفَرِّ؛ فَإنَّهُ عارٌ باق فِي الأَعقابِ وَالأَعناقِ، ونارٌ يَومَ الحِسابِ، وطيبوا عَن أنفُسِكُم أنفُساً، وَامشوا إلَى المَوتِ أسحُحاً، وعَلَيكُم بِهذَا السَّوادِ الأَعظَمِ، وَالرِّواقِ المُطَنَّبِ، فَاضرِبوا ثَبَجَهُ؛ فَإنَّ الشَّيطانَ راكِبٌ صَعبَهُ، ومُفرِشٌ ذِراعَيهِ، قَد قَدَّمَ لِلوَثبَةِ يَداً، وأخَّرَ

towards death readily and lightheartedly. Aim at the bulk of the [enemy's] troop and the tent whose ropes are stretched around [i.e. Muʿawiyah's tent] and aim at their hearts, for Satan has mounted the unruly camel [of it] and has extended his arms, holding one hand forward to attack and a foot backward to run away. So stay firm and be patient, so that the pillars of the religion will manifest itself to you: "*...and when you have the upper hand and God is with you, and He will not stint [the reward of] your works*[1170]."[1171]

The First Day of the Battle

409. **Murūj al-Dhahab, relates:** "ʿAlī awoke in the morning of Wednesday, the first of the month of Ṣafar and mobilised the army. Al-Ashtar went out in front of the people, and Muʿāwiyah sent forth Ḥabīb ibn Maslama al-Fihrī to [confront] him. There was a fierce fighting between them for the rest of day, and it resulted in losses on both sides, and then they turned away."[1172]

The Second Day of the Battle

410. **Murūj al-Dhahab, relates:** "On Thursday, the second day, ʿAlī sent forth Hāshim ibn ʿUtbah ibn Abū Waqqās al-Zuhrī al-Mirqāl, the nephew of Sʿad ibn Abū Waqqās; he was called al-Mirqāl [lit. quick] because he was quick on the battlefield. He was one-eyed, because he lost an eye at the battle of al-Yarmūk. He was of the supporters of ʿAlī. ... Muʿāwiyah sent forth Abū al-Aʿawar al-Sulamī, Sufyān ibn ʿAwf, a supporter of Muʿāwiyah and one who deviated from ʿAlī. There was, fierce fighting between them, until they turned away at the end of the day with many losses."[1173]

The Third Day of the Battle

411. **Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, relates:** "The next day, ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir came forth on horseback from the [side of the] people of Iraq. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ came forth to confront him with a black cloth on a spear.
The people said: This is the standard that the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) tied for him. ʿAlī (a.s.) said: I will inform you about the story of this standard: This is a standard the Messenger of

لِلنُّكوصِ رِجلاً، فَصَمداً صَمداً حَتّى يتَجَلّى لَكُم عَمودُ الدّينِ ﴿وَأَنتُمُ الأعْلَوْنَ وَ اللّه مَعَكُمْ وَ لَن يَتِرَكُمْ أَعْمَـالَكُمْ﴾.

د ـ اليَومُ الأوَّلُ مِنَ القِتالِ

409. **مروج الذهب:** وأصبَحَ عَلِيٌّ يَومَ الأربَعاءِ وكانَ أوّلُ يَوم مِن صَفَرَ ـ فَعَبَّأَ الجَيشَ، وأخرَجَ الأشتَرَ أمامَ النّاسِ، وأخرَجَ إلَيهِ مُعاوِيَةُ ـ وقَد تَصافَّ أهلُ الشّامِ وأهلُ العِراقِ ـ حَبيبَ بنَ مَسلَمَةَ الفِهرِيَّ، وكانَ بَينَهُم قِتالٌ شَديدٌ سائِرَ يَومِهِم، وأسفَرَت عَن قَتلى مِنَ الفَريقَينِ جَميعاً، وَانصَرَفوا.

هـ ـ اليَومُ الثّاني مِنَ القِتالِ

410. **مروج الذهب:** فَلَمّا كانَ يَومُ الخَميسِ وهُوَ اليَومُ الثّاني أخرَجَ عَلِيٌّ هاشِمَ بنَ عُتبَةَ بنِ أبي وَقّاص الزُّهرِيَّ المِرقالَ وهُوَ ابنُ أخي سَعدِ بنِ أبي وَقّاص، وإنَّما سُمِّيَ المِرقالَ؛ لِأَنَّهُ كانَ يُرقِلُ فِي الحَربِ، وكانَ أعوَرَ ذَهَبَت عَينُهُ يَومَ اليَرموكِ وكانَ مِن شيعَةِ عَلِيٍّ... فَأَخرَجَ إلَيهِ مُعاوِيَةُ أبَا الأعوَرِ السُّلَمِيَّ وهُوَ سُفيانُ بنُ عَوف وكانَ مِن شيعَةِ مُعاوِيَةَ وَالمُنحَرِفينَ عَن عَلِيٍّ، فَكانَت بَينَهُمُ الحَربُ سِجالاً، وَانصَرَفوا في آخِرِ يَومِهِم عَن قَتلى كَثير.

و ـ اليَومُ الثّالِثُ مِنَ القِتالِ

411. **الأخبار الطوال:** خَرَجَ يَوماً آخَرَ عَمّارُ بنُ ياسِر في خَيلٍ مِن أهلِ العِراقِ، فَخَرَجَ إلَيهِ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ في ذلِكَ، ومَعَهُ شُقَّةٌ سَوداءُ عَلى قَناةٍ.

فَقالَ النّاسُ: هذا لِواءٌ عَقَدَهُ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ(رضي اللّهُ عنه): أنَا مُخبِرُكُم بِقِصَّةِ هذَا اللِّواءِ: هذا لِواءٌ عَقَدَهُ رَسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ، وقالَ: مَن يَأخُذُهُ بِحَقِّهِ؟

فَقالَ عَمرٌو: وما حَقُّهُ يا رَسولَ اللّهِ؟

God (ṣ.a.w.) tied and said: Who will take it with its rights? ʿAmr said: What is its right, O Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.)? He said: Do not flee with it from a disbeliever and do not fight a Muslim with it." But he fled with it from the disbelievers in the life of Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.). and he is fighting the Muslims with it today. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAmmār fought one another for the rest of the day."[1174]

The Fourth Day of the Battle

412. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, reporting from ʿUmar ibn Sʿad, who said: "Indeed ʿUbaidullah ibn ʿUmar advanced on the forth day, leaving no horseman [behind], after he gathered all that he could. Muʿāwiyah said to him: You will meet the asps of the people of Iraq, so be calm and proceed consciously. Al-Ashtar met him in front of the horsemen while he foamed with rage. Typically whenever al-Ashtar intended to fight, he foamed with rage. He was intense on the horsemen, so he repelled them. ʿUbaidullah was ashamed, and so he advanced in front of the horsemen, and he was a brave cavalier, ... but al-Ashtar attacked him and stabbed him; the fighting intensified, but they retreated, and the merit was al-Ashtar's due, which distressed Muʿāwiyah."[1175]

The Fifth Day of the Battle

413. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, relates:** "On the fifth day ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās came forth with Walīd ibn ʿUqbah; they fought [each other] fiercely. Ibn Abbās drew close to Walīd ibn ʿUqbah, so the latter began to revile the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib saying: O Ibn Abbās! You have severed your [family] relation and killed your leader. How do you find God's punishment for of you? You were not given what you wished, nor did you attain what you hoped; by God, if He wills, we will destroy you and be victorious over you.

Ibn Abbās sent for him, saying: 'Come forth to me'. But he refused. That day Ibn Abbās fought fiercely, and he [even] attacked the enemy alone."[1176]

فَقالَ: لا تَفِرُّ بِهِ مِن كافِرٍ، ولا تُقاتِلُ بِهِ مُسلِماً.

فَقَد فَرَّ بِهِ مِنَ الكافِرينَ في حَياةِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ، وقَد قاتَلَ بِهِ المُسلِمينَ اليَومَ.

فَاقتَتَلَ عَمرٌو وعَمّارٌ ذلِكَ اليَومَ كُلَّهُ.

ز ـ اليَومُ الرّابِعُ مِنَ القِتالِ

412. **وقعة صفّين عن عمر بن سعد:** إنَّ عُبيدَ الله بنَ عُمَرَ تَقَدَّمَ فِي اليَومِ الرّابِعِ، ولَم يَترُك فارِساً مَذكوراً، وجَمَعَ مَنِ استَطاعَ.

فَقالَ لَهُ مُعاوِيَةُ: إنَّكَ تَلقى أفاعِيَ أهلِ العِراقِ فَارفُق وَاتَّئِد.

فَلَقِيَهُ الأَشتَرُ أمامَ الخَيلِ مُزبِداً ـ وكانَ الأَشتَرُ إذا أرادَ القِتالَ أزبَدَ ـ ... وشَدَّ عَلَى الخَيلِ خَيلِ الشّامِ فَرَدَّها، فَاستَحيا عُبَيدُ اللّهِ فَبَرَزَ أمامَ الخَيلِ ـ وكانَ فارِساً شُجاعاً ـ ... فَحَمَلَ عَلَيهِ الأَشتَرُ فَطَعَنَهُ، وَاشتَدَّ الأَمرُ، وَانصَرَفَ القَومُ ولِلأَشتَرِ الفَضلُ، فَغَمَّ ذلِكَ مُعاوِيَةَ.

ح ـ اليَومُ الخامِسُ مِنَ القِتالِ

413. **تاريخ الطبري:** فَلَمّا كانَ اليَومُ الخامِسُ خَرَجَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عَبّاس وَالوَليدُ بنُ عُقبَةَ فَاقتَتَلوا قِتالاً شَديداً، ودَنا ابنُ عَبّاسٍ مِنَ الوَليدِ بنِ عُقبَةَ، فَأَخَذَ الوَليدُ يَسُبُّ بَني عَبدِ المُطَّلِبِ، وأَخَذَ يَقولُ: يَابنَ عَبّاسَ! قَطَّعتُم أرحامَكُم، وقَتَلتُم إمامَكُم، فَكَيفَ رَأَيتُم صُنعَ اللّهِ بِكُم ؟! لَم تُعطَوا ما طَلَبتُم، ولَم تُدرِكوا ما أمَّلتُم، وَاللّهُ إن شاءَ مُهلِكُكُم وناصِرٌ عَلَيكُم.

فَأَرسَلَ إلَيهِ ابنُ عبّاسٍ: أنِ ابرُز لي، فَأَبى. وقاتَلَ ابنُ عَبّاسٍ يَومَئِذٍ قِتالاً شَديداً، وغَشِيَ النّاسَ بِنَفسِهِ.

The Sixth Day of the Battle

414. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, relates:** "Qays ibn Sʿad al-Anṣārī came forth to confront the son of Dhī al-Kalāʿ al-Ḥimyarī; they fought [each other] fiercely and then retreated; that was on the sixth day."[1177]

The Seventh Day of the Battle

415. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, relates,** concerning the events of the seventh day of the battle: "Al-Ashtar came forth when, Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah returned to [fight] him on the seventh day, and they fought [each other] fiercely and then retreated at noon. Neither of them was victorious; that was on Tuesday."[1178]

2.9.

The Intensification of the Battle

Group Fighting

416. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reports from Zayd ibn Wahab: ʿAlī said: "Until when will we not altogether confront those people? He stood up amongst the people on Tuesday evening, the night of Wednesday, and said:

"Praise be to God, He Who when breaks (something), nobody would (re)establish it and when establishes (something), no breaker would break it. If he wills, two [members] of His creation would not have differed, neither the community would have disputed in any of its affairs, nor would [those that have been] preferred [over] denied the merits of the preferred.

Fate has led us and tied us up with those people in this place; we are in the presence of our Lord; if He wills He would have hastened the retribution, in order that God may refute the oppressors and the position of truth will be known, but He appointed this world to be a place for actions and the Hereafter with Him the abode of

ط ـ اليَومُ السّادِسُ مِنَ القِتالِ

414. **تاريخ الطبري:** خَرَجَ قَيسُ بنُ سَعد الأَنصارِيُّ، وَابنُ ذِي الكَلاعِ الحِميَرِيُّ فَاقتَتَلوا قِتالاً شَديداً، ثُمَّ انصَرَفا. وذلِكَ فِي اليَومِ السّادِسِ.

ي ـ اليَومُ السّابِعُ مِنَ القِتالِ

415. **تاريخ الطبري** ـ في ذِكرِ أحداثِ اليَومِ السّابِعِ مِنَ الحَربِ ـ: خَرَجَ الأَشتَرُ، وعادَ إلَيهِ حَبيبُ بنُ مَسلَمَةَ اليَومَ السّابِعَ، فَاقتَتَلا قِتالاً شَديداً، ثُمَّ انصَرَفا عِندَ الظُّهرِ، وكُلٌّ غَيرُ غالِب. وذلِكَ يَومُ الثُّلاثاءِ.

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إشتِدادُ القِتالِ

أ ـ القِتالُ الجِماعِيُّ

416. **تاريخ الطبري عن زيد بن وهب:** أنَّ عَلِيّاً قالَ: حَتّى مَتى لا نُناهِضُ هؤُلاءِ القَومَ بِأَجمَعِنا! فَقامَ فِي النّاسِ عَشِيَّةَ الثُّلاثاءِ لَيلَةَ الأَربِعاءِ بَعدَ العَصرِ، فَقالَ:

الحَمدُ للّهِ الَّذي لايُبرَمُ ما نَقَضَ، وما أبرَمَ لا يَنقُضُهُ النّاقِضونَ، لَو شاءَ مَا اختَلَفَ اثنانِ مِن خَلقِهِ، ولا تَنازَعَتِ الأُمَّةُ في شَيءٍ مِن أمرِهِ، ولا جَحَدَ المَفضولُ ذَا الفَضلِ فَضلَهُ. وقَد ساقَتنا وهؤُلاءِ القَومَ الأَقدارُ، فَلَفَّت بَينَنا في هذَا المَكانِ، فَنَحنُ مِن رَبِّنا بِمَرأىً ومَسمَعٍ، فَلَو شاءَ عَجَّلَ النَّقِمَةَ، وكانَ مِنهُ التَّغييرُ، حَتّى يُكَذِّبَ اللّهُ الظّالِمَ، ويُعلَمَ الحَقُّ أينَ مَصيرُهُ، ولكِنَّهُ جَعَلَ الدُّنيا دارَ الأَعمالِ، وجَعَلَ الآخِرَةَ عِندَهُ هِيَ دارُ القَرارِ؛ ﴿لِيَجْزِيَ

settlemant: "*that He may requite those who do evil for what they have done, and reward those who do good with the best [of rewards].*[1179] [1180]

Tomorrow you will meet the people, so prolong your standing in prayer tonight, recite the Qur'ān frequently. Seek from God victory and patience. Meet them with sincerity and determination and be truthful." When he then left, people rushed their swords, spears and arrows to fix them. Kʿab ibn Juʿail al-Taghlibī passed them saying:

The community is in a strange situation
The kingdom will tomorrow be for those who overcome
I speak the truth, not lying
Indeed tomorrow the notables of the Arabs will perish."[1181]

The Martyrdom of Uways ibn ʿĀmir al-Qaranī

417. **Tārīkh Dimashq,** reporting from Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib, who said concerning Uways al-Qaranī - : "He returned in the days of ʿAlī and fought in defence of him. He was martyred in front of him in Ṣiffīn. When they looked at him, they found more than forty wounds ranging from stabs, hits and shots by arrows."[1182]

The Martyrdom of Hāshim ibn ʿUtba

418. **Murūj al-Dhahab, relates**: Indeed when Hāshim al-Mirqāl fell to the ground, he was giving up the ghost, so he raised his head and found ʿUbaidullah ibn ʿUmar thrown near him and injured. He crawled until he came close to him and began biting him on his chest, because he had no weapon and strength, until he planted his teeth in him."[1183]

The Martyrdom of ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir

ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir was a companion, a supporter of the truth and of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.). He had a refined nature, pure spirit, praiseworthy soul, and a sound heart abounding with the love of God.

Indeed ʿAmmār, along with the hardships he bore and the efforts he exerted in the path of the religion and the Islamic community is a

الَّذِينَ أَسَـــئُوا بِمَا عَمِلُوا وَ يَجْزِيَ الَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا بِالْحُسْنَى﴾.

ألا إنَّكُم لاقُو القَومِ غَداً، فَأَطيلُوا اللَّيلَةَ القِيامَ، وأكثِروا تِلاوَةَ القُرآنِ، وسَلُوا اللّهَ عَزَّ وجَلَّ النَّصرَ وَالصَّبرَ، وَالقَوهُم بِالجِدِّ وَالحَزمِ، وكونوا صادِقينَ.

ثُمَّ انصَرَفَ، ووَثَبَ النّاسُ إلى سُيوفِهِم ورِماحِهِم ونِبالِهِم يُصلِحونَها، ومَرَّ بِهِم كَعبُ بنُ جُعَيلٍ التَّغلِبِيُّ وهُوَ يَقولُ:

أصبَحَتِ الأُمَّةُ في أمرٍ عَجَبْ وَالمُلكُ مَجموعٌ غَداً لِمَن غَلَبْ

فَقُلتُ قَولاً صادِقاً غَيرَ كَذِبْ إنَّ غَداً تَهلِكُ أعلامُ العَرَبْ

ب ـ اِستِشهادُ أُوَيسِ بنِ عامِرٍ القَرَنِيِّ

417. **تاريخ دمشق عن سعيد بن المسيب** ـ في ذِكرِ أُوَيس القَرَنِيِّ ـ: عادَ في أيّامِ عَلِيٍّ فَقاتَلَ بَينَ يَدَيهِ، فَاستُشهِدَ في صِفّينَ أمامَهُ، فَنَظَروا فَإذا عَلَيهِ نَيِّفٌ وأربَعونَ جِراحَةً، مِن طَعنَة، وضَربَة، ورَميَة.

ج ـ اِستِشهادُ هاشِمِ بنِ عُتبَةَ

418. **مروج الذهب**: إنَّ هاشِماً المِرقالَ لَمّا وَقَعَ إلَى الأَرضِ وهُوَ يَجودُ بِنَفسِهِ رَفَعَ رَأسَهُ، فَإذا عُبيدُ اللّهِ بنُ عُمَرَ مَطروحاً إلى قُربِهِ جَريحاً، فَحَبا حَتّى دَنا مِنهُ، فَلَم يَزَل يَعَضُّ عَلى ثَديَيهِ حَتّى ثَبَتَت فيهِ أسنانُهُ لِعَدمِ السِّلاحِ وَالقُوَّةِ.

د ـ اِستِشهادُ عَمّارِ بنِ ياسِر

كان عمّار بن ياسر صحابيّاً، حليف الحقّ، مؤازراً لرسول الله ﷺ. وكان مهذّب النفس، طاهر النقيبة، محمود السريرة، سليم القلب، مفعماً بحبّ الله تعالى.

إنّ عمّاراً وما تحمّله من مشاقّ وجهود في سبيل الدين وإرساء دعائم المجتمع الإسلامي

shining page glowing in Islamic history. He had a penetrating vision, insightful opinion and a firm position. He would see polytheism in its true shape between a heap of deception and perfidy, camouflaged by Islam and the doctrine of Unity. He stood against the standard of the people of Syria and said:

"By Him in whose hand is my soul, I have fought with this standard in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) three times, and this is the fourth. By Him in whose hand is my soul, if they beat us until we reached the peaks of the desert, I would indeed know that our reformer is on truth and they are on falsehood."[1184]

The presence of ʿAmmār in Ṣiffīn was a source of pride for a group, or of fear in the hearts of a second group or of contemplation for others.

When al-Zubayr knew of his presence at the battle of the camel, his position began to weaken[1185]. His presence at the battle of Ṣiffīn filled many companions of Muʿāwiyah with suspicion, because the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) had said to him: "The oppressive will kill you"[1186],' the people of Syria will meet the people of Iraq [in battle], and ʿAmmār will be with the people of truth and the oppressive group will kill him"[1187],' It is not for ʿAmmār to depart from truth, and the fire will not devour anything of him"[1188], and "When the people dispute, the son of Sumayya will be with the truth . . .".[1189]

Many people tried to see ʿAmmār and listen to his speech in order that they may increase their knowledge of the righteousness of the Commander of the believers (a.s.), to listen to the speech of this grand man who was young at heart . . . whose words emanate from the depths of his heart in order to consolidate the positions they adopt.

When this devoted man, of slender height, fell to the ground, smeared with blood and drank the goblet of death . . . it was too great for both armies. So, the conspirators and propagators of war saw with their own eyes what the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) had informed them about. Thus when the stigma of the "oppressive group" was unbearable

الفتيّ صفحة مشرقة تتألّق في التأريخ الإسلامي؛ فكان ذا بصيرة ثاقبة، ورؤية نافذة، وخطوات وطيدة، فقد كان يرى الشرك على حقيقته من بين ركام المكر والخديعة والظواهر المموّهة بالإسلام والتوحيد. وكان يقف وقفة مهيبة أمام راية أهل الشام ويقول:

وَالَّذي نَفسي بِيَدِهِ لَقَد قاتَلتُ بِهذِهِ الرّايَةِ مَعَ رَسولِ اللهِ ﷺ ثَلاثَ مَرّات، وهذِهِ الرّابِعَةُ. وَالّذي نَفسي بِيَدِهِ لَو ضَرَبونا حَتّى يَبلُغوا بِنا شَعَفاتِ هَجَرَ لَعَرَفتُ أنَّ مُصلِحينا عَلَى الحَقِّ، وأنَّهُم عَلَى الضَّلالَةِ.

وهكذا كان وجود عمّار في صفّين باعثاً على زهو البعض، ومولّداً الذعر في نفوس البعض الآخر، ومثيراً للتأمّل عند آخرين.

ولمّا علم الزبير بحضوره في معركة الجمل، طفق يتضعضع. وأرابَ وجودُه في صفّين كثيراً من أصحاب معاوية، وذلك أنّ رسول اللهﷺ كان قد قال له: «تَقتُلُكَ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ»، وقال: «يَلتَقي أهلُ الشّامِ وأهلُ العِراقِ، وعَمّارٌ في أهلِ الحَقِّ تَقتُلُهُ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ»، وقال: «لَيسَ يَنبَغي لِعَمّار أن يُفارِقَ الحَقَّ، ولَن تَأكُلَ النّارُ مِنهُ شَيئاً»، وقال: «إذَا اختَلَفَ النّاسُ كانَ ابنُ سُمَيَّةَ مَعَ الحَقِّ...».

وحاول الكثيرون أن يروا عمّاراً، ويسمعوا كلامه؛ كي يستزيدوا من التعرّف على حقّانيّة أمير المؤمنينعليه السلام من خلال كلام هذا الشيخ الجليل الفتيّ القلب... الذي ينبع حديثه من أعماق قلبه، من أجل أن يتثبّتوا من مواضع أقدامهم.

ولمّا تجندل ذلك الشيخ المتفاني ذو القدّ الممشوق، وتضمّخ بدمه، وشرب كأس المنون... كبر ذلك على كلا الجيشين. ورأى مثيرو الفتنة ومسعّرو الحرب ما أخبر به رسول اللهﷺ بأمّ أعينهم، وإذ شقّ عليهم وصمة «الفئة الباغية» فلابدّ أن يحتالوا بتنميق فتنة أُخرى

for them, it became necessary for them to play another trick in order that they may prevent the weakening [of the morale] of their troops.[1190]

Our great Imam - may God's blessings be upon him - lost there his most sincere companion; his strong arm was cut off and his sacred soul was engulfed in sorrow and his chest was tightened. He said: May God have mercy on ʿAmmār the day he submitted to Islam, may God have mercy on ʿAmmār the day he was killed, and may God have mercy on ʿAmmār the day he will be raised to life.[1191]

Confusion in the Army of Muʿāwiyah

419. Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, relates: "When ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir was killed, the people of Syria were confused because of the report by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ to the effect that: "the oppressive group will kill him", so Muʿāwiya said: Indeed the one sent him forth in battle and exposed him to death is the one who killed him. The Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) said: So the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) is the killer of Ḥamza!"[1192]

The Martyrdom of Khuzayma ibn Thābit

420. **Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā**, reporting from ʿImāra ibn Khuzayma ibn Thābit, who said: "Khuzayma ibn Thābit witnessed the battle of the Camel, but he did not unsheathe his sword. He witnessed Ṣiffīn and said: I would not unsheathe [my sword] until ʿAmmār is killed, so I look at who would kill him, for indeed I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: "The oppressive group will kill him". When ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir was killed, Khuzayma said: The error has become clear to me. He thus came forth and fought until he was killed."[1193]

The Fighting of al-Asthar

The difficult incidents, the hardships of life and the vicissitudes of time play an important role in refining people and in the crystallisation of their dignity. Indeed these incidents manifest the greatness of the human soul in a clear manner, even as they leave their deep effect on

وخديعة ثانية؛ ليحولوا دون تضعضع جندهم، وهذا ما فعله معاوية.

فقد إمامنا العظيم صلوات الله عليه أخلص أصحابه وأفضلهم، وقُطع عضده المقتدر، واغتمّت نفسه المقدّسة وضاق صدره، فقال: رَحِمَ الله عَمّاراً يَومَ أسلَمَ، ورَحِمَ الله عَمّاراً يَومَ قُتِلَ، ورَحِمَ الله عَمّاراً يَومَ يُبعَثُ حَيّاً.

هـ ـ اِضطِرابُ جَيشِ مُعاوِيَةَ

419. **شرح نهج البلاغة:** قالَ مُعاوِيَةُ لَمّا قُتِلَ عَمّارٌ ـ وَاضطَرَبَ أهلُ الشّامِ لِروايَةِ عَمرِو بنِ العاصِ كانَت لَهُم: «تَقتُلُهُ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ» ـ: إنَّما قَتَلَهُ مَن أخرَجَهُ إلَى الحَربِ وعَرَّضَهُ لِلقَتلِ!

فَقالَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام: فَرَسولُ اللهِ صلى الله عليه وآله إذَن قاتِلُ حَمزَةَ!

و ـ اِستِشهادُ خُزَيمَةَ بنِ ثابِت ذِي الشَّهادَتَينِ

420. **الطبقات الكبرى عن عمارة بن خزيمة بن ثابت:** شَهِدَ خُزَيمَةُ بنُ ثابِت الجَمَلَ وهُوَ لا يَسُلُّ سَيفاً، وشَهِدَ صِفّينَ وقالَ: أنَا لا أصل أبَداً حَتّى يُقتَلَ عَمّارٌ، فَأنظُرَ مَن يَقتُلُهُ؛ فَإنّي سَمِعتُ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ: تَقتُلُهُ الفِئَةُ الباغِيَةُ. فَلَمّا قُتِلَ عَمّارُ بنُ ياسِر قالَ خُزَيمَةُ: قَد بانَت لِيَ الضَّلالَةُ، وَاقتَرَبَ فَقاتَلَ حَتّى قُتِلَ.

ز ـ قِتالُ الأَشتَرِ

تؤدّي الحوادث العصيبة ومشقّات الحياة وصروف الدهر دوراً مهمّاً في صقل الناس، وتبلور رفعتهم وعزّتهم.

إنّ هذا النوع من الحوادث كما يُجلّي عظمة الروح الإنسانيّة بنحو بيّن، فإنّه يترك أثره العميق في إيجاد الأرضيّة التي تتبلور فيها شخصيّة الإنسان في بعض الأحيان، وبها تتجلّى بواطن

preparation of the grounds for crystallisation of human personality. For through the vicissitudes of time and its incidents is the essence of the human being identified. The commander of the Faithful (a.s.) says: "In the changing of the conditions is knowledge of the essences of men"[1194].

So is the case with the Battle of Ṣiffīn; it was a mirror in which the brilliant personality of Mālik manifested itself in the history of Shīʿism. Indeed he was the outstanding face and the courageous hero in the war.

1. The role of Mālik in motivating the Kūfans to go forth for the battle was clear.

2. He had a key role in organising the army.

3. He was at the vanguard of the army; his supreme command and his heroic confrontations with the vanguard of Muʿāwiyah's army, which was led by Abū al-Aʿawar al-Salamī, had forced them to flee from the battlefield.

4. The people of al-Raqqah were supporters of ʿUthmān; they destroyed the bridge erected on the Euphrates river in order to create obstacles in front of the army of ʿAlī which was made up of a hundred thousand fighters. The Imām (a.s.) decided to return and search for another crossing, for indeed he did not want to employ its military power and force the people to perform difficult tasks. Here Mālik introduced himself to the people of al-Riqqah and threatened them, so they were forced to erect a bridge for crossing, and the army crossed.

5. The army of Muʿāwiyah prevented the army of Imāmʿalī (a.s.) from reaching the water. He and al-Ashʿath ibn Qays defied death until the army was able to have access to water.

6. He assumed the command of the cavalry at the outbreak of the war.

7. He had the biggest role in the attacks of Dhī 'l-Ḥijjah; when the war began in the month of Ṣafar and lasted for eight days, Mālik was its general commander for two days.

الناس؛ فإنّه في صروف الدهر وحدثانه تُعرف حقيقة الإنسان، وقول الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: «في تَقَلُّبِ الأَحوالِ عِلمُ جَواهِرِ الرِّجالِ» خير آية على هذه الحقيقة العميقة.

وهكذا كانت معركة صفّين مرآةً تجلّت فيها شخصيّة مالك المتألّقة في تاريخ التشيّع؛ فقد كان الوجه البارز، والبطل الشجاع الباسل في هذه الحرب.

1. كان دور مالك واضحاً في تحفيز الكوفيّين الذين كانوا يسمعون كلامه، وفي إرسالهم إلى المعركة.
2. كان له دور أساسي في تنظيم الجيش.
3. كان مالك على مقدّمة الجيش، وكانت هيمنته العظيمة ومواجهته البطوليّة لمقدّمة جيش معاوية التي كان عليها أبو الأعور السلمي قد أرغمتا هؤلاء على الفرار من الميدان.
4. كان أهل الرقّة من أنصار عثمان، فدمّروا الجسور المنصوبة على نهر الفرات لخلق العقبات أمام الجيش العلوي الذي كان قوامه مِئة ألف مقاتل. فعزم الإمام عليه السلام على الرجوع والبحث عن معبر آخر؛ لأنّه لم يُرد أن يستخدم القوّة العسكريّة ويقسر الناس على القيام بعمل شاقّ، وهنا عرّف مالك نفسه لأهل الرقّة وهدّدهم، فاضطرّوا إلى نصب جسر للعبور، وعبر الجيش بالفعل.
5. حال جيش معاوية دون وصول جيش الإمام عليه السلام إلى الماء، فاستبسل ومعه الأشعث بن قيس حتى تمكّن الجيش من الحصول على الماء.
6. تولّى مالك قيادة الخيّالة عند نشوب الحرب.
7. كان له الدور الأكبر في صولات ذي الحجّة. وحين بدأت الحرب في شهر صفر ودامت ثمانية أيّام، كان مالك في يومين منها قائداً عامّاً لها على الإطلاق.

8. He was a fighter unequalled in single combats and he never retreated when fighting.

9. During the last days of the battle, he settled many difficult problems. Wherever there was a problem, he would attend to it by the command of his Master and proceed to solve it.

10. He radiated brilliantly at the battle of Thursday and the night of al-Harīr.

11. He led with his companions a frightening and awesome round in the stages of the battle of Ṣiffīn. He advanced until he reached the tent of Muʿāwiyah at dawn on Friday, such that nothing was left between him and final victory but a step; however, al-Ashʿath and the Khārijites conspired and forced the Imām to recall him, so he moved away from the tent of Muʿāwiyah with a heart full of sorrow in order that no harm may reach his Master.

What distinguishes Mālik is his profound knowledge of the Imām (a.s.) and his humility in his presence, which emanates from his unique awareness and immense knowledge.

Imām ʿAlī's Fighting

421. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, reporting from Jābir ibn ʿUmair al-Anṣārī concering the braveness of ʿAlī (a.s.) at the battle of Ṣiffīn, who said: "Nay, by God who has sent Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.) as a Prophet, we have not heard about a leader of a people, since God had created the heavens and the earth, who struck in one day what he struck; he killed more than five hundred notable Arabs. He would go forth with his curved sword and say: Apologies to God and to you for this [curved sword]. I decided to polish it, but was prevented when I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: "There is no sword but Dhū al-Fiqār and there is no youth but ʿAlī", while I was fighting in his presence.

He said: We would take the sword and straighten it. Then he would take it from our hands and penetrate the enemy lines with it. By God, there is no lion more intense in crushing his enemy

8. كان مقاتلاً لا نظير له في المواجهات الفرديّة، ولم ينكص قطّ عند مواجهة أحد.

9. في الأيّام الأخيرة من المعركة، كان حلّالاً للمشاكل العويصة فيها، وكان يحضر بأمر مولاه حيثما ظهرت مشكلة فيبادر إلى حلّها.

10. تألّق مالك تألّقاً عظيماً في وقعة الخميس وليلة الهرير.

11. قاد مع أصحابه جولة مرعبة مهيبة من جولات صفّين، فتقدّم حتى وصل خيمة معاوية فجرَ يومِ جمعة، ولم يكن بينه وبين الانتصار الأخير وإخماد نار الفتنة الأُمويّة إلّا خطوة واحدة، فتآمر الأشعث والخوارج وأجبروا الإمام عليه السلام على إرجاعه، فابتعد عن خيمة معاوية بقلب ملؤه الأسى؛ كي لا يصل إلى مولاه أذى. فيا عجباً لكلّ هذا الإيثار مع ذلك التحجّر، واسوداد ضمائر المناوئين للإمام عليه السلام، وقبح سرائرهم! !

إنّ أعظم ما تميّز به مالك هو معرفته العميقة للإمام عليه السلام وتواضعه أمام مولاه، ذلك التواضع النابع من وعيه الفذّ، ومعرفته العظيمة.

ح ـ قِتالُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِنَفسِهِ

421. **وقعة صفّين عن جابر بن عمير الأنصاري** ـ في بَيانِ شَجاعَةِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام في حَربِ صِفّينَ ـ : لا وَاللّهِ الَّذي بَعَثَ مُحَمَّداً صلى الله عليه وآله بِالحَقِّ نَبِيّاً، ما سَمِعنا بِرَئيسِ قَومٍ مُنذُ خَلَقَ اللهُ السَّماواتِ وَالأَرضَ أصابَ بِيَدِهِ في يَومٍ واحِدٍ ما أصابَ؛ إنَّهُ قَتَلَ فيما ذَكَرَ العادّونَ زِيادَةً عَلى خَمسِمِئَةٍ مِن أعلامِ العَرَبِ، يَخرُجُ بِسَيفِهِ مُنحَنِياً فَيقولُ: مَعذِرَةً إلَى اللّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ وإلَيكُم مِن هذا، لَقَد هَمَمتُ أن أصقُلَهُ ولكِن حَجَزَني عَنهُ أنّي سَمِعتُ رَسولَ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ كَثيراً: «لا سَيفَ إلّا ذو الفَقارِ، ولا فَتى إلّا عَلِيٌّ» وأنا أُقاتِلُ بِهِ دونَهُ.

قالَ: فَكُنّا نَأخُذُهُ فَنُقَوِّمُهُ، ثُمَّ يَتَناوَلُهُ مِن أيدينا فَيَتَقَحَّمُ بِهِ في عُرضِ الصَّفِّ، فَلا وَاللّهِ ما لَيثٌ

than he was. May God have mercy upon him."[1195]

The Tranquillity of Imām ʿAlī at the Battleground

422. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, reporting from Abū Isḥāq, who said: "At the battle of Ṣiffīn, ʿAlī went forth with a stick in his hand. He passed by Saʿīd ibn Qays al-Hamdānī, who said to him: Do you not fear, O Commander of the believers, that somebody may assassinate you when you draw near your enemy? ʿAlī said: There is no person but that he has from God protectors that protect him from falling into a well, or that a wall should fall on him, or that he may be afflicted with a disease. When the decree comes, they leave him (to his fatal decree) ."[1196]

The Scandal of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

423. **ʿUyūn al-Akhbār by Ibn Qutaiba**, reporting from al-Madā'inī, who said: "One day ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ saw Muʿāwiyah laughing, so he said to him: Why are you laughing, O commander of the believers, may God make you happy? He said: I am laughing at your sharp wittedness when you exposed your private parts in the presence of the son of Abī Ṭālib. By God, you have encountered his generosity and kindness; if he had willed, he would have killed you.

ʿAmr said: O commander of the Faithful, by God, I was on your right [hand side] when he challenged you to a contest, so your eyes squinted, your breathe increased and it appeared from you that which I dislike to mention to you. You should laugh at yourself or leave it entirely."[1197]

Imām ʿAlī's Attack.

424. Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl, relates: "ʿAlī (a.s.) attacked a group that included Muʿāwiyah. He was accompained by a group of the people of Ḥijāz, including men of Quraysh, the Anṣār and others. They were about twelve thousand horsemen, and ʿAlī was in front of them. They shouted 'God is Great' such that the earth shook,

بِأَشَدَّ نِكايَةً في عَدُوِّهِ مِنهُ، رَحمَةُ اللهِ عَلَيهِ رَحمَةً واسِعَةً.

ط ـ طُمَأنينَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام في ساحَةِ القِتالِ

422. **وقعة صفّين عن أبي إسحاق:** خَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ يَومَ صِفّينَ وفي يَدِهِ عَنَزَةٌ، فَمَرَّ عَلى سَعيدِ بنِ قَيسٍ الهَمدانِيِّ، فَقالَ لَهُ سَعيدٌ: أ ما تَخشى يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ أن يَغتالَكَ أحَدٌ وأنتَ قُربَ عَدُوِّكَ؟ فَقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: إنَّهُ لَيسَ مِن أحَد إلّا عَلَيهِ مِنَ اللهِ حَفَظَةٌ يَحفَظونَهُ مِن أن يَتَرَدّى في قَليب، أو يَخِرَّ عَلَيهِ حائِطٌ، أو تُصيبَهُ آفَةٌ، فَإذا جاءَ القَدَرُ خَلّوا بَينَهُ وبَينَهُ.

ي ـ فَضيحَةُ عَمرِو بنِ العاصِ

423. **عيون الأخبار عن المدائني:** رَأى عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ مُعاوِيَةَ يَوماً يَضحَكُ، فَقالَ لَهُ: مِمَّ تَضحَكُ يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، أضحَكَ اللهُ سِنَّكَ؟ قالَ: أضحَكُ مِن حُضورِ ذِهنِكَ عِندَ إبدائِكَ سَوءَتَكَ يَومَ ابنِ أبي طالِب! أما وَاللّهِ لَقَد وافَقتَهُ مَنّاناً كَريماً، ولَو شاءَ أن يَقتُلَكَ لَقَتَلَكَ.

قالَ عَمرٌو: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، أما وَاللّهِ إنّي لَعَن يَمينِكَ حينَ دَعاكَ إلَى البِرازِ فَاحوَلَّت عَيناكَ، ورَبا سَحرُكَ، وبَدا مِنكَ ما أكرَهُ ذِكرَهُ لَكَ، فَمِن نَفسِكَ فَاضحَك أو دَع!!.

ك ـ هُجومُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَلَى المَجموعَةِ الَّتي فيها مُعاوِيَةُ

424. **الأخبار الطوال:** حَمَلَ عَلِيٌّ(رضي اللّهُ عنه) عَلَى الجَمعِ الَّذي كانَ فيهِ مُعاوِيَةُ في أهلِ الحِجازِ مِن قُرَيش وَالأَنصارِ وغَيرِهِم، وكانوا زُهاءَ اثنَي عَشَرَ ألفَ فارِس، وعَلِيٌّ أمامَهُم، وكَبَّروا وكَبَّرَ النّاسُ تَكبيرَةً ارتَجَّت لَهَا الأَرضُ، فَانتَقَضَت صُفوفُ أهلِ الشّامِ، وَاختَلَفَت راياتُهُم، وَانتَهَوا إلى مُعاوِيَةَ وهُوَ جالِسٌ عَلى مِنبَرِهِ مَعَهُ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ يَنظُرانِ إلَى النّاسِ، فَدَعا بِفَرَس لِيَركَبَهُ.

so the army lines of the Syrians collapsed and their standard retreated, until they reached Muʿāwiyah who was seated on his pulpit with ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ looking at the people; he called for a horse to mount. Thereafter the people of Syria called upon one another, assembled and returned towards the people of Iraq. They took a rest until the night separated them."[1198]

The Trickery of Muʿāwiyah

425. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, relates, concerning what Muʿāwiyah said to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, when the poetry of al-Ashtar reached him: "I have decided to write to ʿAlī a letter requesting [the governance of] Syria, which he denied me, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ laughed and said: O Muʿāwiyah you are far from deceiving ʿAlī. He said: Are we not the sons of ʿAbd Manāf? He said: Yes, but they enjoy prophethood, to the exception of you; if you want to write, then write. Muʿāwiyah wrote to ʿAlī and sent it with a man from al-Sakāsik called ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUqbah; he was a resident in Iraq. He thus wrote:

"Indeed I assume that if you knew what will be the consequences of the war, we would not have attacked one another. Even though we have been defeated intellectually, however, a part of it has remained that regrets the past and [so let's] make peace to spare what remains. Indeed I ask you for [the governance of] Syria on condition that I would not be obliged to obey or pledge allegiance to you, but you refused that to me. God has given to me what you have refused. Today I request from you what I requested yesterday, for indeed I do not desire to remain [alive] except what you desire, neither do I fear death except [to the extent] that you fear. By God, the troops have become exhausted and men have departed; we are the sons of ʿAbd Manāf; there is no preference of some of us over the other."[1199]

Imām ʿAlī's Reply

426. Waqʿat Ṣiffīn, relates: "When Muʿāwiyah's letter reached ʿAlī, he

ثُمَّ إنَّ أهلَ الشّامِ تَداعَوا بَعدَ جَولَتِهِم، وثابوا، ورَجَعوا عَلى أهلِ العِراقِ، وصَبَرَ القومُ بَعضُهُم لِبَعض إلى أن حَجَزَ بَينَهُمُ اللَّيلُ.

ل ـ حيلَةُ مُعاوِيَةَ

425. **وقعة صفّين** ـ في بَيانِ ما قالَهُ مُعاوِيَةُ لِعَمرِو بنِ العاصِ حينَ بَلَغَهُ شِعرُ الأَشتَرِ ـ: قَد رَأَيتُ أن أَكتُبَ إلى عَلِيٍّ كِتاباً أسأَلُهُ الشّامَ وهُوَ الشَّيءُ الأوَّلُ الَّذي رَدَّني عَنهُ وأُلقِيَ في نَفسِهِ الشَّكَّ وَالرَّيبَةَ. فَضَحِكَ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: أينَ أنتَ يا مُعاوِيَةُ مِن خُدعَةِ عَلِيٍّ؟! فَقالَ: أ لَسنا بَني عَبدِ مَناف؟ قالَ: بَلى، ولكِن لَهُمُ النُّبُوَّةُ دونَكَ، وإن شِئتَ أن تَكتُبَ فَاكتُب. فَكَتَبَ مُعاوِيَةُ إلى عَلِيٍّ مَعَ رَجُل مِنَ السَّكاسِكِ، يُقالُ لَهُ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عُقبَةَ، وكانَ مِن ناقِلَةِ أهلِ العِراقِ، فَكَتَبَ:

أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنّي أظُنُّكَ أن لَو عَلِمتَ أنَّ الحَربَ تَبلُغُ بِنا وبِكَ ما بَلَغَت وعَلِمنا، لَم يَجِنها بَعضُنا عَلى بَعض، وإنّا وإن كُنّا قَد غُلِبنا عَلى عُقولِنا فَقَد بَقِيَ لَنا مِنها ما نَندَمُ بِهِ عَلى ما مَضى، ونُصلِحُ بِهِ ما بَقِيَ. وقَد كُنتُ سَأَلتُكَ الشّامَ عَلى ألّا يَلزَمَني لَكَ طاعَةٌ ولا بَيعَةٌ، فَأَبَيتَ ذلِكَ عَلَيَّ، فَأَعطانِيَ اللّهُ ما مَنَعتَ، وأنا أدعوكَ اليَومَ إلى ما دَعَوتُكَ إلَيهِ أمسِ، فَإنّي لا أرجو مِنَ البَقاءِ إلّا ما تَرجو، ولا أخافُ مِنَ المَوتِ إلّا ما تَخافُ. وقَد وَاللّهِ رَقَّتِ الأَجنادُ، وذَهَبَتِ الرِّجالُ، ونَحنُ بَنو عَبدِ مَنافٍ لَيسَ لِبَعضِنا عَلى بَعض فَضلٌ إلّا فَضلٌ لا يُستَذَلُّ بِهِ عَزيزٌ، ولا يُستَرَقُّ حُرٌّ بِهِ. وَالسَّلامُ.

م ـ جَوابُ الإمامِ عليه السلام

426. **وقعة صفّين:** فَلَمّا انتَهى كِتابُ مِعاوِيَةَ إلى عَلِيٍّ قَرَأَهُ، ثُمَّ قالَ: العَجَبُ لِمُعاوِيَةَ وكِتابِهِ! ثُمَّ دَعا عَلِيٌّ عَبيدَ اللّهِ بنَ أبي رافِع كاتِبَهُ، فَقالَ: اُكتُب إلى مُعاوِيَةَ:

read it and then said: How amazing is Muʿāwiyah and his letter! ʿAlī then summoned ʿUbaydullāh ibn Abū Rāfʿī, his scribe, and said to him: Write to Muʿāwiyah:

"Your letter has reached me; you mention that if you and I knew what will be the consequences of the war on us, we would not have attacked one another. You and I have goals [from the war] that we have not attained. Indeed if I were to be killed in the cause of God and brought back to life and then be killed and then brought back to life seventy times, I would not retreat in the path of God and strive against the enemies of God. As for your saying 'our minds have not fallen short such, that we regret the past', [know] my intellect has not fallen short, nor have I regretted my actions. Concerning your request of Syria, however, I would not grant you something today that I denied you yesterday. Concerning your claim that we are equal in fear and hope, [know] you are in doubt but I am on the path of certainty. The people of Syria are covetous of this world, even as the people of Iraq are desireous for the hereafter. Concerning your saying that 'we are the sons of ʿAbd Manāf and there is no preference of some of us over the other', by my life, we are the sons of one father; however, Umayyah is not like Hāshim, neither is Ḥarb like ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, nor is Abū Sufyān like Abu Ṭālib. The emigrant [from Mecca to Madinah] is not like the Meccan Freedmen, neither is the seeker of truth like the seeker of falsehood. The nobility of Prophethood is in our hands, through which we have humiliated the mighty [disbelievers] and elevated the deprived. And that's all."[1200]

2.10.

The Most Intense Days

The Battle of Thursday

Thursday was the most intense and horrific day of the battle at Ṣiffīn. The Imām (a.s.), in addition to his leadership of the army, was fighting fiercely in the midst of the battle.

أمّا بَعد؛ فَقَد جاءَني كِتابُكَ، تَذكُرُ أنَّكَ لَو عَلِمتَ وعَلِمنا أنَّ الحَربَ تَبلُغُ بِنا وبِكَ ما بَلَغَت لَم يَجنِها بَعضُنا عَلى بَعض، فَإنّا وإيّاكَ مِنها في غايَة لَم تَبلُغها، وإنّي لَو قُتِلتُ في ذاتِ الله وحَييتُ، ثُمَّ قُتِلتُ ثُمَّ حَييتَ سَبعينَ مَرَّةً، لَم أرجِع عَنِ الشِّدَّةِ في ذاتِ الله، وَالجِهادِ لِأعداءِ الله. وأمّا قَولُكَ: إنَّهُ قَد بَقِيَ مِن عُقولِنا ما نَندَمُ بِهِ عَلى ما مَضى، فَإنّي ما نَقَصتُ عَقلي، ولا نَدِمتُ عَلى فِعلي. فَأمّا طَلَبُكَ الشّامَ، فَإنّي لَم أكُن لِأُعطِيَكَ اليَومَ ما مَنَعتُكَ مِنها أمسِ. وأمّا استِواؤُنا فِي الخَوفِ وَالرَّجاءِ؛ فَإنَّكَ لَستَ أمضى عَلَى الشَّكِّ مِنّي عَلَى اليَقينِ، ولَيسَ أهلُ الشّامِ بِأحرَصَ عَلَى الدُّنيا مِن أهلِ العِراقِ عَلَى الآخِرَةِ. وأمّا قَولُكَ: إنّا بَنو عَبدِ مَناف لَيس لِبَعضِنا عَلى بَعض فَضلٌ؛ فَلَعَمري إنّا بَنو أب واحِد، ولكِن لَيسَ أُمَيَّةُ كَهاشِمٍ، ولا حَربٌ كَعبدِ المُطَّلِبِ، ولا أبو سُفيانَ كَأبي طالِبٍ، ولاَ المُهاجِرُ كَالطَّليقِ، ولاَ المُحِقُّ كَالمُبطِلِ. وفي أيدينا بَعدُ فَضلُ النُّبُوَّةِ الَّتي أذلَلنا بِهَا العَزيزَ، وأعزَزنا بِهَا الذَّليلَ. وَالسَّلامُ.

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أَشَدُّ الأَيّامِ

أ ـ وَقعَةُ الخَميسِ

كان يوم الخميس أشدّ أيّام الحرب في صفّين وأكثرها فزعاً؛ فقد كان الإمام عليه السلام يقاتل قتالاً شديداً في خضمّ تلك المعركة مضافاً إلى قيادته للجيش.

وكان يُهيج الجيش للقتال بما صنعه من ملاحم عظيمة مثيرة تشجّع على خوض الحرب. ولم يهدأ القتال يومئذ لحظةً واحدةً، حتى صلّى الجند وهم يقاتلون.

The great heroic actions he accomplished arouse the army to fight and engage in battle. On that day the fighting did not stop for a moment, such that the troops prayed while they were fighting.

The dead had increased, such that they appeared like a mount. A countless number were injured from the army. On that day the Imām (a.s.) killed 523 of his peers and courageous Arab fighters. Whenever he killed, he would exclaim "God is Greater". It was from these exclamations that they knew the number of those killed from the enemy. That day was called "the Battle of Thursday" or "the Day of al-Harīr".

427. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn**, reporting from Jundub al-Azdī, who said: "When it was the morning of Thursday, the seventh day of [the month of] Ṣafar 37AH, ʿAlī prayed the morning prayer at the twilight after the daybreak. I had never seen ʿAlī praying (the morning prayer) at the twilight to this extent (of delay).

Thereafter he advanced with the army towards the people of Syria. He was the one who set on in advance before his companions and would march towards them. When they (i.e. the syrians) saw him advancing, they confronted him with their advancement."[1201]

The Night of al-Harīr[1202]

428. **Murūj al-Dhahab, relates**: It was the Friday Eve or the night of al-Harīr ʿAlī killed five hundred and twenty three men with his hand in one day and night. Most of them were killed during the day. That is because when he killed someone, he would exclaim "God is Greater;" he would not strike except that he killed. This was mentioned by those who followed him in battle and did not leave him from amongst his children and others."[1203]

429. **Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm**, reporting from ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, who said: "The day of al-Harīr! What a generous man is the son of Abī Ṭālib! I would hear his voice at the beginning of the army, even as I heard it at the end, and I would hear it in the right wing, even as I heard it in the left."[1204]

وكثر القتلى حتى صاروا كالتلّ، وجُرح مالا يُحصى من الجيش، وقتل الإمام عليه السلام آنذاك في يوم واحد (٥٢٣) من مُنازلي الأقران، ومن شجعان العرب. وكان كلّما قتل يكبّر، ومن تكبيرات الإمام عليه السلام كانوا يعرفون عدد من يُصرع من العدوّ.

وقد سُمّي ذلك اليوم «وَقعَةَ الخَميسِ» أو «يَومَ الهَريرِ».

427. **وقعة صفّين عن جندب الأزدي:** لَمّا كانَ غَداةُ الخَميسِ لِسَبع خَلَونَ مِن صَفَر مِن سَنَةِ سَبع وثَلاثينَ، صَلّى عَلِيٌّ، فَغَلَّسَ بِالغَداةِ، ما رَأَيتُ عَلِيّاً غَلَّسَ بِالغَداةِ أشَدَّ مِن تَغليسِهِ يَومَئِذ.

ثُمَّ خَرَجَ بِالنّاسِ إلى أهلِ الشّامِ فَزَحَفَ إلَيهِم، وكانَ هُوَ يَبدَؤُهُم فَيَسيرُ إلَيهِم، فَإذا رَأَوهُ وقَد زَحَفَ استَقبَلوهُ بِزُحوفِهِم.

ب ـ لَيلَةُ الهَريرِ

428. **مروج الذهب:** كانَت لَيلَةُ الجُمُعَةِ ـ وهِيَ لَيلَةُ الهَريرِ ـ فكانَ جُملَةُ مَن قَتَلَ عَلِيٌّ بِكَفِّهِ في يَومِهِ ولَيلَتِهِ خَمسَمِئَةٍ وثَلاثَةً وعِشرينَ رَجُلاً، أكثَرُهُم فِي اليَومِ، وذلِكَ أنَّهُ كانَ إذا قَتَلَ رَجُلاً كَبَّرَ إذا ضَرَبَ، ولَم يَكُن يَضرِبُ إلّا قَتَلَ. ذَكَرَ ذلِكَ عَنهُ مَن كانَ يَليهِ في حَربِهِ ولا يُفارِقُهُ مِن وُلدِهِ وغَيرِهِم.

429. **الصراط المستقيم عن عمرو بن العاص ـ** يَومَ الهَريرِ ـ: للهِ دَرُّ ابنِ أبي طالِبٍ! ما كانَ أكثَرَهُ عِندَ الحُروبِ! ما آنَستُ أن أسمَعَ صَوتَهُ في أوّلِ النّاسِ إلّا وسَمِعتُهُ في آخِرِهِم، ولا فِي المَيمَنَةِ إلّا وسَمِعتُهُ فِي المَيسَرَةِ.

2.11.

The Cessation of the Battle

The Deception of the Night

430. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn**, reporting from ʿAmmār ibn Rabīʿa, who said: ʿAlī stood up to deliver a sermon, so he praised God and lauded Him and then said: O people! The affair has reached you and your enemy as you have seen; all that remains of them is the last breath. When the affairs come forward, the end is gauged by the beginning. Those people resisted you not on the basis of religion, and we have reached to such a situation with them. Tomorrow, early in the morning, I will go to them and judge them by God. When the news reached Muʿāwiyah, he summoned ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and said: O ʿAmr! Indeed this is the [last] night when ʿAlī will come to us, so what is your opinion?

He said: Indeed your men cannot withstand his men, neither are you like him. He is fighting over an issue and you are fighting him over something else. You desire to remain [alive] but he desires to annihilate himself [in the path of God]. The people of Iraq fear you if you are victorious over them, whereas the people of Syria do not fear ʿAlī if he is victorious over them. So propose to them something which if they accept it, they will differ, and if they reject, they will differ as well. Invite them to the Book of God as arbitration between you and them, for indeed you will attain what you desire from them. I never ceased to delay this issue until you are in need of it. Muʿāwiyah understood and said: You have spoken the truth."[1205]

Raising the Qur'ān

431. **Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī**, relates: "The companions of ʿAlī advanced and overwhelmed the companions of Muʿāwiyah, until when they were close to him, he called for his horse in order that he may flee. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ said: Where to?

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تَوَقُّفُ الحَرْبِ

أ ـ مَكرُ اللَّيلِ

430. **وقعة صفّين عن عمّار بن ربيعة:** إنّ عَلِيّاً قامَ خَطيباً، فَحَمِدَ اللّه وأثنى عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: أيُّهَا النّاسُ! قَدَ بَلَغَ بِكُمُ الأَمرُ وبِعَدُوِّكُم ما قَد رَأَيتُم، ولَم يَبقَ مِنهُم إلّا آخِرُ نفَسٍ، وإنَّ الاُمورَ إذا أقبَلَتِ اعتُبِرَ آخِرُها بِأَوَّلِها، وقَد صَبَرَ لَكُمُ القَومُ عَلى غَيرِ دينٍ حَتّى بَلَغنا مِنهُم ما بَلَغنا، وأنَا غاد عَلَيهِم بِالغَداةِ اُحاكِمُهُم إلَى اللهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ.

فَبَلَغَ ذلِكَ مُعاوِيَةَ، فَدَعا عَمرَو بنَ العاصِ، فَقالَ: يا عَمرُو! إنَّما هِيَ اللَّيلَةُ حَتّى يَغدُوَ عَلِيٌّ عَلَينا بِالفَيصَلِ، فَما تَرى؟

قالَ: إنَّ رِجالَكَ لا يَقومونَ لِرِجالِهِ، ولَستَ مِثلَهُ، هُوَ يُقاتِلُكَ عَلى أمر، وأنتَ تُقاتِلُهُ عَلى غَيرِهِ. أنتَ تُريدُ البَقاءَ وهُوَ يُريدُ الفَناءَ، وأهلُ العِراقِ يُخافونَ مِنكَ إن ظَفِرتَ بِهِم، وأهلُ الشّامِ لا يَخافونَ عَلِيّاً إن ظَفِرَ بِهِم.

ولكِن ألقِ إلَيهِم أمراً إن قَبِلوهُ اختَلَفوا، وإن رَدّوهُ اختَلَفوا؛ اُدعُهُم إلى كِتابِ اللهِ حَكَماً فيما بَينَكَ وبَينَهُم؛ فَإِنَّكَ بالِغٌ بِهِ حاجَتَكَ فِي القَومِ؛ فَإِنّي لَم أزَل اُؤَخِّرُ هذَا الأَمرَ لِوَقتِ حاجَتِكَ إلَيهِ.

فَعَرَفَ ذلِكَ مُعاوِيَةُ، فَقالَ: صَدَقتَ.

ب ـ رَفعُ المَصاحِفِ

431. **تاريخ اليعقوبي:** زَحَفَ أصحابُ عَلِيٍّ وظَهَروا عَلى أصحابِ مُعاوِيَةَ ظُهوراً شَديداً، حَتّى لَصِقوا بِهِ، فَدَعا مُعاوِيَةُ بِفَرَسِهِ لِيَنجُوَ عَلَيهِ.

فَقالَ لَهُ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ: إلى أينَ؟

He said: You see what has happened, so what do you say? He said: There is only one trick left, that we raise the Qur'āns and invite them to what is in it, which will break their resolve and weaken their support. Muʿāwiyah said: Do as you please! He thus raised the Qur'āns and invited them to arbitration according to what is in it. They said: We invite you to [judge by] the Book of God. ʿAlī said: This is a conspiracy, they are not of the people of the Qur'ān.

However al-Ashʿath ibn Qays al-Kindī objected - Muʿāwiyah had already attracted him, wrote to him and invited him to come to him - and said: They have invited us to the truth.

ʿAlī said: They have conspired against you and desired to keep you away from them. Al-Ashʿath said: By God, if you do not answer them [favourably], I would distance myself from you. When the Yemenites had inclined towards al-Ashʿath, he said: By God, You will answer them to what they have invited you, or I will surrender you to them."[1206]

Imām ʿAlī's Critical Position

432. **Murūj al-Dhahab**, relates, after mentioning the raising of the Qur'āns: "When most of the people of Iraq saw that, they said: We will respond to the [ruling of the] Book of God and resort to it. The people liked reconciliation. It was said to ʿAlī: Muʿāwiyah has indeed presented to you the truth; he has invited you to the Book of God, so accept it from him. Al-Ashʿath ibn Qays was the most stubborn. ʿAlī said: O people! I never ceased to enjoy your affairs until the war exhausted you. By God, it has engrossed you and left [its effects on you]. Yesterday I was the Commander, but today I have become commanded. You prefer to remain [alive]."[1207]

قالَ: قَد نَزَلَ ما تَرى، فَما عِندَكَ ؟

قالَ: لَم يَبقَ إلّا حيلَةٌ واحِدَةٌ؛ أن تَرفَعَ المَصاحِفَ، فَتَدعُوَهُم إلى ما فيها، فَتَستَكِفَّهُم، وتُكَسِّرَ مِن حَدِّهِم، وتَفُتَّ في أعضادِهِم.

قالَ مُعاوِيَةُ: فَشَأنَكَ! فَرَفَعُوا المَصاحِفَ، ودَعَوهُم إلَى التَّحَكُّمِ بِما فيها، وقالوا: نَدعوكُم إلى كِتابِ اللّه.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: إنَّها مَكيدَةٌ، ولَيسوا بِأَصحابِ قُرآن.

فَاعتَرَضَ الأَشعَثُ بنُ قَيس الكِندِيُّ وقَد كانَ مُعاوِيَةُ استَمالَهُ، وكَتَبَ إلَيهِ ودَعاهُ إلى نَفسِهِ فَقالَ: قَد دَعَا القَومُ إلَى الحَقِّ!

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام: إنَّهُم إنَّما كادوكُم، وأرادوا صَرفَكُم عَنهُم.

فَقالَ الأَشعَثُ: وَاللّهِ، لَئِن لَم تُجِبهُمُ انصَرَفتُ عَنكَ.

ومالَتِ اليَمانِيَّةُ مَعَ الأَشعَثِ، فَقالَ الأَشعَثُ: وَاللهِ، لَتُجيبَنَّهُم إلى ما دَعَوا إلَيهِ، أو لَنَدفَعَنَّكَ إلَيهِم بِرُمَّتِكَ.

ج ـ الإمامُ عليه السلام في حِصارِ أصحابِ الجِباهِ السُّودِ

432. **مروج الذهب** ـ بَعدَ ذِكرِ رَفعِ المَصاحِفِ ـ : فَلَمّا رَأى كَثيرٌ مِن أهلِ العِراقِ ذلِكَ، قالوا: نُجيبُ إلى كِتابِ اللّه ونُنيبُ إلَيهِ، وأحَبَّ القَومُ المُوادَعَةَ وقيلَ لِعَلِيٍّ: قَد أعطاكَ مُعاوِيَةُ الحَقَّ، ودَعاكَ إلى كِتابِ اللّهِ، فَاقبَل مِنهُ، وكانَ أشَدَّهُم في ذلِكَ اليَومِ الأَشعَثُ بنُ قَيس، فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ:

أيُّهَا النّاسُ! إنَّهُ لَم يَزَل مِن أمرِكُم ما أُحِبُّ حَتّى قَرَحَتكُمُ الحَربُ، وقَد وَاللّهِ أخَذَت مِنكُم وتَرَكَت، وإنّي كُنتُ بِالأَمسِ أميراً، فَأَصبَحتُ اليَومَ مَأموراً، وقَد أحبَبتُمُ البَقاءَ.

Al-Ashtar's Return from the Battle

433. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn,** reporting from Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar, who said concering what happened after the raising of the Qur'āns; Al-Ashtar said: "O Commander of the Faithful! Engage one row with another row, until they collapse [to the ground]. They began to shout to one another: 'Indeed ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, has accepted the arbitration and is pleased with the ruling of the Qur'ān'. Al-Ashtar said: If the Commander of the Faithful is pleased with the ruling of the Qur'ān, I am pleased with what the Commander of the Faithful is pleased with. People began to say: 'The Commander of the Faithful is pleased. Indeed the Commander of the Faithful has accepted [the ruling of the Qur'ān]'. Howerver he remained silent, not uttering a word, with his head to the ground [hung in sorrow]."[1208]

The Delight of Muʿāwiyah

434. **Al-Futūh, relates**: Muʿāwiyah, after the war ended, would say: "By God, al-Ashtar retreated from me the day the Qur'āns was raised when I wanted to ask of him security and safety from ʿAlī. On that day I decided to flee, but I remembered the word of ʿAmr ibn al-Iṭnābah when he says:

My chastity and trial prevented me,
As my merit of praise for a profitable price."[1209]

The Letter of Muʿāwiyah to Imām ʿAlī

435. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn,** reporting from Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar, who said: "Muʿāwiyah sent Abū al-Aʿawar al-Salamī on a white horse. He rode between the two armies, the people of Iraq and the people of Syria, with the Qur'ān on his head, saying: 'The Book of God is between us and you. Muʿāwiyah then sent [a message] to ʿAlī: Indeed this affair has kept on between you and us. Each one of us sees that he is right concering what he demands from his companion, and none of us will obey the other. Indeed many people have been killed amongst us. I fear that what remains will be worst than what has passed, and we will be questioned

د ـ رُجوعُ الأَشتَرِ مِنَ المَعرَكَةِ

433. **وقعة صفّين عن إبراهيم بن الأشتر** ـ في بَيانِ ماجَرى بَعدَ رَفعِ المَصاحِفِ ـ : قالَ الأَشترُ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ! احمِلِ الصَّفَّ عَلَى الصَّفِّ يُصرَعِ القَومُ. فَتَصايَحوا: إنَّ عَلِيّاً أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ قَد قَبِلَ الحُكومَةَ، ورَضِيَ بِحُكمِ القُرآنِ، ولَم يَسَعهُ إلّا ذلِكَ.

قالَ الأَشتَرُ: إن كانَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ قَد قَبِلَ ورَضِيَ بحِكمِ القُرآنِ، فَقَد رَضيتُ بِما رَضِيَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ.

فَأَقبَلَ النّاسُ يَقولونَ: قَد رَضِيَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ، قَد قَبِلَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ، وهُوَ ساكِتٌ، لا يَبضُّ بِكَلِمَة، مُطرِقٌ إلَى الأَرضِ.

هـ ـ فَرَحُ مُعاوِيَةَ

434. **الفتوح:** كانَ مُعاوِيَةُ بَعدَ ذلِكَ [أي بَعدَ خِتامِ الحَربِ] يَقولُ: وَاللّهِ، لَقَد رَجَعَ عَنّي الأَشتَرُ يَومَ رَفعِ المَصاحِفِ، وأنَا أُريدُ أن أسأَلَهُ أن يَأخُذَ لِيَ الأَمانَ مِن عَلِيٍّ. وقَد هَمَمتُ ذلِكَ اليَومَ بِالهَرَبِ، ولكِن ذَكَرتُ قَولَ عَمرِو بنِ الإطنابَةِ حَيثُ يَقولُ:

أبَـت لـي عِفَّتي وأبى بَلاني وأخذِي الحَمدِ بِالثَّمنِ الرَّبيحِ

و ـ رِسالَةُ مُعاوِيَةَ إلَى الإمامِ عليه السلام

435. **وقعة صفّين عن إبراهيم بن الأشتر:** بَعَثَ مُعاوِيَةُ أبَا الأَعوَرِ السَّلَمِيَّ عَلى بِرذَون أبيَضَ، فَسارَ بَينَ الصَّفَّينِ؛ صَفِّ أهلِ العِراقِ وصَفِّ أهلِ الشّامِ، وَالمُصحَفُ عَلى رَأسِهِ وهُوَ يَقولُ: كِتابُ اللهِ بَينَنا وبَينَكُم. فَأَرسَلَ مُعاوِيَةُ إلى عَلِيٍّ: إنَّ الأَمرَ قَد طالَ بَينَنا وبينَكَ، وكُلُّ واحِد مِنّا يَرى أنَّهُ عَلَى الحَقِّ فيما يَطلُبُ مِن صاحِبِهِ، ولَن يُعطِيَ واحِدٌ مِنَّا الطّاعَةَ لِلآخَرِ، وقَد قُتِلَ فيما بَينَنا بَشَرٌ كَثيرٌ، وأنَا أتَخَوَّفُ أن يَكونَ ما بَقِيَ أشَدَّ مِمّا مَضى، وإنّا سَوفَ نُسأَلُ

about this. Nobody will be accountable for this except you and me. Are you in favour of that wherein there is life, excuse, innocence, well-being for the Community, prevention of blood shedding, harmony between the [followers of the] religion and of removal of hatred and turmoil? Let two arbitrators arbitrate between us and you, one of them of my companions and the other of your companions. They would rule according to what is in the Book of God between us. Indeed it is better for you and me and most decisive in dealing with these trials. Be wary of God concerning what I have invited you to. Be pleased with the ruling of the Qur'ān if you are of its folk. That's all.' "[1210]

The Answer of Imām ʿAlī in Aggreement with Arbitration

436. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn**, reporting from Ibrāhīm al-Ashtar, who said after mentioning the letter of Muʿāwiyah to the Imām: "'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib wrote to him: 'From the servant of God, ʿAlī, the Commander of the Faithful, to Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān.

Indeed the best thing a person may occupy himself with is to follow that performance of which is to his advantage, that which brings him honour and is saved from its fault. Indeed transgression and falsehood degrade a person in his religion and his world and expose his faults. Beware of this world, for there is no delight in which that you have achieved through it [the world]. Indeed you know that you will not attain that which is bound to pass [you]. A people desired something through falsehood and attributed it to God, so God denied them and provided for them for a while, and then He drove them toward a harsh punishment. Beware of a day wherein one would be delighted if the outcome of his actions were praiseworthy and one would regret if he permitted Satan to direct him, so this world deceived him and he was content with it.

Moreover you invited me to judge by the Qur'ān, when I know that you are not of the folk of the Qur'ān, nor do you want its judgement. God is the Helper. Indeed we have accepted the judgement of the Qur'ān and have not accepted your invitation. Whoever is not pleased with the judgement of the Qur'ān has indeed gone far astray."[1211]

عَن ذلِكَ المَوطِنِ، ولا يُحاسَبُ بِهِ غَيري وغَيرُكَ، فَهَل لَكَ في أمر لَنا ولَكَ فيهِ حَياةٌ وعُذرٌ وبَراءَةٌ، وصَلاحٌ لِلأُمَّةِ، وحَقنٌ لِلدِّماءِ، وأُلفَةٌ لِلدّينِ، وذَهابٌ لِلضَّغائِنِ وَالفِتَنِ؛ أن يُحَكَّمَ بَينَنا وبَينَكَ حَكَمانِ رَضِيّانِ؛ أحدُهُما مِن أصحابي، وَالآخَرُ مِن أصحابِكَ؛ فَيَحكُمانِ بِما في كِتابِ اللّهِ بَينَنا؛ فَإِنَّهُ خَيرٌ لي ولَكَ، وأقطَعُ لِهذِهِ الفِتَنِ. فَاتَّقِ اللّهَ فيما دُعيتَ لَهُ، وَارضَ بِحُكمِ القُرآنِ إن كُنتَ مِن أهلِهِ. وَالسَّلامُ.

ز ـ جَوابُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَنهُ وقَبولُهُ التَّحكيمَ

436. **وقعة صفّين عن إبراهيم بن الأشتر** ـ بَعدَ ذِكرِ كِتابِ مُعاوِيَةَ لِلإمامِ عليه السلام ـ : فَكَتَبَ إلَيهِ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب:

مِن عَبدِ اللهِ عَلِيٍّ أميرِ المُؤمِنينَ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ بنِ أبي سُفيانَ.

أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإِنَّ أفضَلَ ما شَغَلَ بِهِ المَرءُ نَفسَهُ اتِّباعُ ما يَحسُنُ بِهِ فِعلُهُ، ويُستَوجَبُ فضلُهُ، ويَسلَمُ مِن عَيبِهِ. وإنَّ البَغيَ وَالزّورَ يُزرِيانِ بِالمَرءِ في دينِهِ ودُنياهُ، ويُبدِيانِ مِن خَلَلِهِ عِندَ مَن يُغنيهِ مَا استَرعاهُ اللّهُ ما لا يُغني عَنهُ تَدبيرُهُ.

فَاحذَرِ الدُّنيا؛ فَإِنَّهُ لا فَرَحَ في شَيءٍ وَصَلتَ إلَيهِ مِنها. ولَقَد عَلِمتَ أنَّكَ غَيرُ مُدرِكٍ ما قُضِيَ فَواتُهُ. وقَد رامَ قَومٌ أمراً بِغَيرِ الحَقِّ؛ فَتَأَوَّلوا عَلَى اللّهِ تَعالى، فَأَكذَبَهُم ومَتَّعَهُم قَليلاً، ثُمَّ اضطَرَّهُم إلى عَذابٍ غَليظٍ. فَاحذَر يَوماً يَغتَبِطُ فيهِ مَن أحمَدَ عاقِبَةَ عَمَلِهِ، ويَندَمُ فيهِ مَن أمكَنَ الشَّيطانَ مِن قِيادِهِ ولَم يُحادَّهُ، فَغَرَّتهُ الدُّنيا وَاطمَأَنَّ إلَيها. ثُمَّ إنَّكَ قَد دَعَوتَني إلى حُكمِ القُرآنِ؛ ولَقَد عَلِمتُ أنَّكَ لَستَ مِن أهلِ القُرآنِ، ولَستَ حُكمَهُ تُريدُ، وَاللّهُ المُستَعانُ. وقَد أجَبنَا القُرآنَ إلى حُكمِهِ، ولَسنا إيّاكَ أجَبنا. ومَن لَم يَرضَ بِحُكمِ [القُرآنِ] فَقَد ضَلَّ ضَلالاً بَعيداً.

Imām ʿAlī's Reproach to His Companions

437. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** when his companions retreated from fighting at the battle of Ṣiffīn after Muʿāwiyah had deceived them by raising the Qur'āns: "You have committed an action which has pulled down the power of Islam, reduced its strength and bequeathed [it] weakness and humiliation. When you were successful, and your enemy was afraid of being destroyed, and they felt the pain of wounds, they raised the copies of the Qur'ān and called you to [accept] what is in it, in order to control your anger and calm you, so that they might turn you away from themselves and bring to an end the battle between you and them and that they might cause the suspicion of death to lie in wait for you out of deception and trickery. What have you done? You have agreed to what they desired and have given it to men of arrogance. I swear by God that you would never resort to guidance or reach any determination."[1212]

2.12.

Appointing the Arbitrators

Imām ʿAlī's Opposition

438. Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said, when the people requested from ʿAlī to appoint the arbitrators, he said to them:

"Indeed Muʿāwiyah will not appoint for this issue one who is most trustworthy in his opinion and view than ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ. Nobody is appropriate for a Qurayshite but his equal, so make use of ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās (to defeat ʿAmr). For ʿAmr would not tie a knot but that ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās is able to untie it, nor would he untie a knot but that ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās is able to tie it. He would not conclude something but that he refuts it, nor would he refute something but that he concludes it.

Al-Ashʿath said: Nay, by God. Two members of [the tribe

ح ـ كَلامُ الإمامِ عليه السلام في ذَمِّ أصحابِهِ

437. **الإمام علي عليه السلام** ـ مِن كَلامِهِ عليه السلام حينَ رَجَعَ أصحابُهُ عَنِ القِتالِ بِصِفّينَ، لَمّا اغتَرَّهُم مُعاوِيَةُ بِرَفعِ المَصاحِفِ ـ: لَقَد فَعَلتُم فَعلَةً ضَعضَعَت مِنَ الإسلامِ قُواهُ، وأسقَطَت مُنَّتَهُ، وأورَثَت وَهناً وذِلَّةً. لَمّا كُنتُم الأَعلَينَ، وخافَ عَدُوُّكُمُ الاِجتِياحَ، وَاستَحَرَّ بِهِمُ القَتلُ، ووَجَدوا أَلَمَ الجِراحِ؛ رَفَعُوا المَصاحِفَ ودَعَوكُم إلى ما فيها لِيَفتَؤوكُم عَنهُم، ويَقطَعُوا الحَربَ فيما بَينَكُم وبَينَهُم، ويَتَرَبَّصوا بِكُم رَيبَ المَنونِ خَديعَةً ومَكيدَةً. فَما أنتُم إن جامَعتُموهُم عَلى ما أحَبّوا، وأعطَيتُموهُمُ الَّذي سَأَلوا إلّا مَغرورونَ. وَايمُ اللّهِ، ما أظُنُّكُم بَعدَها مُوافِقي رُشدٍ، ولا مُصيبي حَزمٍ.

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تَعيينُ الحَكَمِ

أ ـ مُخالَفَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام في تَعيينِ الحَكَمِ

438. **الإمام الباقر عليه السلام**: لَمّا أرادَ النّاسُ عَلِيّاً عَلى أن يَضَعَ حَكَمَينِ قالَ لَهُم عَلِيٌّ:

إنَّ مُعاوِيَةَ لَم يَكُن لِيَضَعَ لِهذَا الأَمرِ أحَداً هُوَ أوثَقُ بِرَأيِهِ ونَظَرِهِ مِن عَمرِو بنِ العاصِ، وإنَّهُ لا يَصلُحُ لِلقُرَشِيِّ إلّا مِثلُهُ، فَعَلَيكُم بِعَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ عَبّاسٍ فارموهُ بِهِ؛ فَإنَّ عَمراً لا يَعقِدُ عُقدَةً إلّا حَلَّها عَبدُ اللّهِ، ولا يَحُلُّ عُقدَةً إلّا عَقَدَها، ولا يُبرِمُ أمراً إلّا نَقَضَهُ، ولا يَنقُضُ أمراً إلّا أبرَمَهُ.

فَقالَ الأَشعَثُ: لا وَاللّهِ، لا يَحكُمُ فيها مُضَرِيّانِ حَتّى تَقومَ السّاعَةُ، ولكِنِ اجعَلهُ رَجُلاً مِن أهلِ اليَمنِ إذ جَعَلوا رَجُلاً مِن مُضَرَ.

of] Muḍar shall not judge in it until the Last Hour you should, appoint (instead) a man from the people of Yemen, as they have appointed a man from Muḍar.

ʿAlī said: Indeed I fear that your Yemenite will be deceived, for indeed ʿAmr does not fear God at all, when he has a desire for something. Al-Ashʿath said: By God, if they [both of them] pass judgement with that which we dislike when one of them is of the people of Yemen, it will be dearer than they should pass judgement that which we like when and they are both from Muḍar."[1213]

The Document of the Arbitration

439. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from Fuḍayl ibn Khadīj al-Kandī, who said concerning the arbitration document: "It was written in the month of Ṣafar. The term specified for the arbitrators to meet would be the month of Ramaḍān, that is after eight months. Therafter the people buried their dead, and ʿAlī commanded al-Aʿawar to call the people for departure."[1214]

Al-Ashtar's dissatisfaction of the Contents of the Document

440. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, reporting from ʿUmārah ibn Rabīʿa al-Jurmī, who said: When the document was written, al-Ashtar was called, and he said: 'May my right [hand] not accompany me, nor my left [hand] benefit me thereafter, if my name is mentioned in this document for reconciliation or peace. Do I not have clear evidence from my Lord [concerning the truthfulness of my position] and the falsehood of my enemy? Did you not witness the victory unless you agreed on transgression?' Al-Ashʿath ibn Qais said to him: 'Indeed, by God, you have neither seen victory nor transgression; join us [in the reconciliation], for you do not dislike us.'

He said: 'Nay, by God. I do dislike you in this world for this world and in the hereafter for the hereafter. Indeed God has, with this sword of mine, spilled the blood of men, and you are not in my sight better than them nor is your blood more sacred.' 'Umāra said: I looked at that man, and it was as if lava were poured on his nose."[1215]

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: إنّي أخافُ أن يُخدَعَ يَمَنِيُّكُم؛ فَإنَّ عَمراً لَيسَ مِنَ اللّهِ في شَيء إذا كانَ لَهُ في أمر هوىً.

فَقالَ الأَشعَثُ: وَاللّهِ، لأَن يَحكُما بِبَعضِ مانكرَهُ، وأحَدُهُما مِن أهلِ اليَمنِ، أحَبُّ إلَينا مِن أن يَكونَ بَعضُ ما نُحِبُّ في حُكمِهِما وهُما مُضَرِيّانِ.

ب ـ وَثيقَةُ التَّحكيمِ

439. **تاريخ الطبري عن فضيل بن خديج الكندي** ـ في وَثيقَةِ التَّحكيمِ ـ : كانَ الكِتابُ في صَفَر والأَجَلُ رَمَضانُ إلى ثَمانِيَةِ أشهُر، إلى أن يَلتَقِيَ الحَكَمانِ.

ثُمَّ إنَّ النّاسَ دَفَنوا قَتلاهُم، وأمَرَ عَلِيٌّ الأَعوَرَ فَنادى فِي النّاسِ بِالرَّحيلِ.

ج ـ عَدَمُ رِضاءِ الأَشتَرِ بِما فِي الوَثيقَةِ

440. **تاريخ الطبري عن عُمارة بن ربيعة الجرمي**: لَمّا كُتِبَتِ الصَّحيفَةُ دُعِيَ لَهَا الأَشتَرُ فَقالَ: لا صَحِبَتني يَميني ولا نَفَعَتني بَعدَها شِمالي إن خُطَّ لي في هذِهِ الصَّحيفَةِ اسمٌ عَلى صُلحٍ ولا مُوادَعَةٍ، أ وَلَستُ عَلى بَيِّنَة مِن رَبّي ومِن ضَلالِ عَدُوّي؟ أ ولَستُم قَد رَأَيتُمُ الظَّفَرَ لَو لَم تُجمِعوا عَلَى الجَورِ ؟

فَقالَ لَهُ الأَشعَثُ بنُ قَيس: إنَّكَ وَاللّهِ، ما رَأَيتَ ظَفَراً ولا جَوراً، هَلُمَّ إلَينا فَإنَّهُلا رَغبَةَ بِكَ عَنّا.

فَقالَ: بَلى وَاللهِ، لَرَغبَةٌ بي عَنكَ فِي الدُّنيا لِلدُّنيا وَالآخِرَةِ لِلآخِرَةِ ،ولَقَد سَفَكَ اللّه عَزَّ وجَلَّ بِسَيفي هذا دِماءَ رِجالٍ ما أنتَ عِندي خَيرٌ مِنهُم ولا أحرَمُ دَماً.

قالَ عُمارَةُ: فَنَظَرتُ إلى ذلِكَ الرَّجُلِ وكَأَنَّما قُصِعَ عَلى أنفِهِ الحُمَمُ ـ يَعنِي الأَشعَثَ ـ .

Difference in Opinion among the Imam's Companions

441. **Murūj al-Dhahab**, relates: "When the arbitration concluded, all the people were averse. Some of them began to disassociate themselves from the others, a brother disassociating himself from his brother and a son disassociating himself from his father. ʿAlī commanded men to depart, because he knew of the difference in opinions and the confusion in affairs. The arbitration increased the differences within the army of the people of Iraq. They would hit one another with whips and the sheaths of swords, curse one another, every group blaming the other for its opinion.

ʿAlī left in the direction of Kūfah and Muʿāwiyah returned to Damascus in Syria after he disbanded his army, so every soldier returned to his city."[1216]

2.13.

Leaving Ṣiffīn

The Outbreak of Objections

442. Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said, when one of his companions said to him: "You prevented us from arbitration and then commanded us to commit to it, so we did not know which one of it was more upright:

"This is the requital of one who breaks the pledge. By God, if I commanded you, I would lead you to that in which God will place it good. If you had been steadfast, I would have guided you; if you had been bent, I would have straightened you, and if you had refused I would have rectified you.But with whom and to whom? I desire to treat myself through you when you are my disease, like the extractor of the thorn, with the thorn when he knows that the thorn bends towards itself. O God, the physicians have despaired of this fatal ailment and water-drawers have become tired with the rope of this well.

د ـ اِختِلافُ الكَلِمَةِ في أصحابِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

441. **مروج الذهب:** لَمّا وَقَعَ التَّحكيمُ تَباغَضَ القَومُ جَميعاً، وأقبَلَ بَعضُهُم يَتَبَرَّأُ مِن بَعض: يَتَبَرَّأُ الأَخُ مِن أخيهِ، وَالاِبنُ مِن أبيهِ، وأمَرَ عَلِيٌّ بِالرَّحيلِ، لِعِلمِهِ بِاختِلافِ الكَلِمَةِ، وتَفاوُتِ الرَّأيِ، وعَدمِ النِّظامِ لِأُمورِهِم، وما لَحِقَهُ مِنَ الخِلافِ مِنهُم، وكَثُرَ التَّحكيمُ في جَيشِ أهلِ العِراقِ، وتَضارَبَ القَومُ بِالمَقارِعِ ونِعالِ السُّيوفِ، وتَسابّوا، ولامَ كُلُّ فَريق مِنهُمُ الآخَرَ في رَأيِهِ.

وسارَ عَلِيٌّ يَؤُمَّ الكوفَةَ، ولَحِقَ مُعاوِيَةُ بِدِمَشقَ مِن أرضِ الشّامِ وفَرَّقَ عَساكِرَهُ، فَلَحِقَ كُلُّ جُند مِنهُم بِبَلَدِهِ.

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الاِنصِرافُ مِن صِفّينَ

أ ـ بَدءُ تَدَفُّقِ الاِعتِراضِ

442. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ لَمّا قالَ لَهُ رَجُلٌ مِن أصحابِهِ: نَهَيتَنا عَنِ الحُكومَةِ، ثُمَّ أمَرتَنا بِها، فَلَم نَدرِ أيُّ الأَمرَينِ أرشَدُ؟ ـ: هذا جَزاءُ مَن تَرَكَ العُقدَةَ! أما وَاللهِ لَو أنّي حينَ أمَرتُكُم بِهِ حَمَلتُكُم عَلَى المَكروهِ الَّذي يَجعَلُ اللّهُ فيهِ خَيراً، فَإِنِ استَقَمتُم هَدَيتُكُم، وإنِ اعوَجَجتُم قَوَّمتُكُم، وإن أبَيتُم تَدارَكتُكُم لَكانَتِ الوُثقى.

ولكِن بِمَن، وإلى مَن؟ أُريدُ أن أُداوِيَ بِكُم وأنتُم دائي؛ كَناقِشِ الشَّوكَةِ بِالشَّوكَةِ وهُوَ يَعلَمُ أنَّ ضَلعَها مَعَها! اللّهمَّ قَد مَلَلتُ أطِبّاءُ هذَا الدّاءِ الدَّوِيِّ، وكَلَّتِ النَّزَعَةُ بِأشطانِ الرَّكِيِّ! أينَ القَومُ الَّذينَ دُعوا إلَى الإسلامِ فَقَبِلوهُ، وقَرَؤُوا القُرآنَ فَأَحكَموهُ، وهِيجوا إلَى

Where are those who were invited to Islam and accepted it? They read the Qur'ān and acted according to it. They were exhorted to fight, and they leapt [towards it] as the she-camels leap towards their young. They took their swords out of the sheaths and went forth in groups and rows. Some of them perished and some survived. They do not rejoice with [the news of] survival, nor do they get condoled about the dead. Their eyes have turned white with weeping. Their bellies are emaciated because of fasting. Their lips are dry because of [constant] praying. Their colour is pale because of wakefulness. Their faces bear the dust of God-fearing. These are my comrades who have departed. We should be justified if we feel eager for them and bite our hands in their separation.

Indeed, Satan has made his ways easy for you and desires to unravel the knots of religion one by one and to cause division among you in place of unity and, through division, create confusion. Keep away from his evil whisperings and enchantments and accept good advice of one who offers it to you and comprehend it in your minds."[1217]

Entering Kūfah And Commencement of Another Sedition

443. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from ʿUmāra ibn Rabīʿa al-Jurmī, who said, concerning the qualities of the companions of the Imām (a.s.): "They set forth with ʿAlī to Ṣiffīn when they were friends and loving to one another, but they returned hating one another as enemies. They were still in their camps at Ṣiffīn, when the affair of the arbitration had spread amongst them. So they began to fight one another through revile and lashing. The Khārijites were saying: 'O enemies of God! You were compromising concerning the affair of God and you agreed on the arbitration!' Others said: 'You have deviated from our Imām and divided our group.'

When ʿAlī entered Kūfah, they did not enter with him, until they arrived at Ḥarūrā'.[1218] They arrived at it with twelve thousand men. Their caller declared: Indeed the leader of fighting is Shabath ibn Ribʿī al-Tamīmī, and the leader of prayer is ʿAbdullah ibn al-Kawwā' al-Yashkurī. [Our] affair will be determined by consultation; the allegiance is to God; we shall enjoin good and forbid evil.

الجِهادِ فَوَلِهوا وَلَهَ اللِّقاحِ إلى أولادِها، وسَلَبُوا السُّيوفَ أغمادَها، وأخَذوا بِأَطرافِ الأَرضِ زَحفاً زَحفاً، وصَفّاً صَفّاً. بَعضٌ هَلَكَ، وبَعضٌ نَجا. لا يُبَشَّرونَ بِالأَحياءِ، ولا يُعَزَّونَ عَنِ المَوتى. مُرْهُ العُيونِ مِنَ البُكاءِ، خُمصُ البُطونِ مِنَ الصِّيامِ، ذُبلُ الشِّفاهِ مِنَ الدُّعاءِ، صُفرُ الأَلوانِ مِنَ السَّهَرِ، عَلى وُجوهِهِم غَبَرَةُ الخاشِعينَ.

أُولئِكَ إخوانِيَ الذّاهِبونَ. فَحَقٌّ لَنا أن نَظمَأَ إلَيهِم، ونَعَضَّ الأَيدِيَ عَلى فِراقِهِم. إنَّ الشَّيطانَ يُسَنِّي لَكُم طُرُقَهُ، ويُريدُ أن يَحُلَّ دينَكُم عُقدَةً عُقدَةً، ويُعطِيَكُم بِالجَماعَةِ الفُرقَةَ، وبِالفُرقَةِ الفِتنَةَ، فَاصدِفوا عَن نَزَغاتِهِ ونَفثاتِهِ، وَاقبَلُوا النَّصيحَةَ مِمَّن أهداها إلَيهِم، وَاعقِلوها عَلى أنفُسِكُم.

ب ـ دُخولُ الكُوفَةِ وبَدءُ فِتنَةٍ أُخرى

443. **تاريخ الطبري عن عمارة بن ربيعة** ـ في صِفَةِ أصحابِ الإمامِ عليه السلام ـ : خَرَجوا مَعَ عَلِيٍّ إلى صِفّينَ وهُم مُتَوادّونَ أحِبّاءُ، فَرَجَعوا مُتَباغِضينَ أعداءَ، ما بَرِحوا مِن عَسكَرِهِم بِصِفّينَ حَتّى فَشا فيهِمُ التَّحكيمُ، ولَقَد أقبَلوا يَتَدافَعونَ الطَّريقَ كُلَّهُ ويَتَشاتَمونَ ويَضطَرِبونَ بِالسِّياطِ. يَقولُ الخَوارِجُ: يا أعداءَ اللّهِ! أدهَنتُم في أمرِ اللّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ وحَكَّمتُم! وقالَ الآخِرونَ: فارَقتُم إمامَنا، وفَرَّقتُم جَماعَتَنا.

فَلَمّا دَخَلَ عَلِيٌّ الكوفَةَ لَم يَدخُلوا مَعَهُ حَتّى أتَوا حَرَوراءَ، فَنَزَلَ بِها مِنهُمُ اثنا عَشَرَ ألفاً، ونادى مُناديهِم: إنَّ أميرَ القِتالِ شَبَثُ بنُ رِبعِيٍّ التَّميمِيُّ، وأميرَ الصَّلاةِ عبدُ اللّهِ بنُ الكَوّاءِ اليَشكُرِيُّ، وَالأَمرُ شورى بَعدَ الفَتحِ، وَالبَيعَةُ للّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ، وَالأَمرُ بِالمَعروفِ وَالنَّهيُ عَنِ

When Alī entered Kūfah, and the Khārijites dispersed from him, the Shīʿah remained loyal and said: On our necks is a second allegiance; we befriend those who you befriend and show enmity to those to whom you show enmity.

The Khārijites said: You and the people of Syria have raced to disbelief like a racehorse. The people of Syria pledged allegiance to Muʿāwiyah over what they like and dislike; you pledged allegiance to ʿAlī on the [basis] that you befriend him whom he befriends and show enemty to him to whom he shows enmity. Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr said to them: By God, ʿAlī did not stretch his hand [for allegiance] and we did not pledge allegiance except on the basis of the Book of God and the Prophetic traditions; but when you opposed him, then his Shīʿah came to him and said: We befriend those whom you befriend and show enmity to those whom you show enmity to. He is on truth and guidance. Whoever opposes him is misguided and misguiding."[1219]

2.14.

The Tent of the Arbitration

The Assessment of the Two Arbitrators

444. **Al-Ṭarā'if**, reporting from Abī Rāfiʿ, who said: "When the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) summoned me, he had already sent for Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and said to him: 'Judge according to the Book of God, and do not transgress it.' When he turned away, he [ʿAlī] said: 'It looks to me as if he would be deceived.' I said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, why do you send him when you know that he will be deceived?' He said: 'O my son, if God had acted with His creation on the basis of His knowledge, He would not have argued against them with the Messengers."[1220]

'Abbās' Advice to Abū Mūsā

445. **Murūj al-Dhahab**, relates: "In the year 38 AH the two arbitrators met at Dawmat al-Jandal, and it is said elsewhere, as we have already

المُنكَرِ... ولَمّا قَدِمَ عَلِيٌّ الكوفَةَ وفارَقَتهُ الخَوارِجُ وثَبَتَ إلَيهِ الشّيعَةُ فَقالوا: في أعناقِنا بَيعَةٌ ثانِيَةٌ؛ نَحنُ أولياءُ مَن والَيتَ، وأعداءُ مَن عادَيتَ. فَقالَتِ الخَوارِجُ: اِستَبَقتُم أنتُم وأهلُ الشّامِ إلَى الكُفرِ كفرَسَي رِهان؛ بايَعَ أهلُ الشّامِ مُعاوِيَةَ عَلى ما أحَبّوا وكَرِهوا، وبايَعتُم أنتُم عَلِيّاً عَلى أنَّكُم أولياءُ مَن والى وأعداءُ مَن عادى! فَقالَ لَهُم زِيادُ بنُ النَّضرِ: وَاللّهِ ما بَسَطَ عَلِيٌّ يَدَهُ فَبايَعناهُ قَطُّ إلّا عَلى كِتابِ اللّهِ عَزَّوجَلَّ وسُنَّةِ نَبِيِّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله ولكِنَّكُم لَمّا خالَفتُموهُ جاءَتهُ شيعَتُهُ فَقالوا: نَحنُ أولياءُ مَن والَيتَ، وأعداءُ مَن عادَيتَ، ونَحنُ كَذلِكَ وهُوَ عَلَى الحَقِّ وَالهُدى، ومَن خالَفَهُ ضالٌّ مُضِلٌّ.

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خيمة التحكيم

أ ـ تَقييمُ الحَكَمَينِ

444. **الطرائف عن أبي رافع:** لَمّا أحضَرَني أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عليه السلام وقَد وَجَّهَ أبا موسَى الأشعَرِيَّ فَقالَ لَهُ: أحكُم بِكِتابِ اللّهِ ولا تُجاوِزهُ، فَلَمّا أدبَرَ قالَ: كَأنّي بِهِ وقَد خُدِعَ. قُلتُ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ! فَلِمَ تُوَجِّهُهُ وأنتَ تَعلَمُ أنَّهُ مَخدوعٌ؟ فَقالَ: يا بُنَيَّ، لَو عَمِلَ اللّهُ في خَلقِهِ بِعِلمِهِ ما احتَجَّ عَلَيهِم بِالرُّسُلِ.

ب ـ وَصِيَّةُ ابنِ عَبّاس لِأَبي موسى

445. **مروج الذهب:** وفي سَنَةِ ثَمان وثَلاثينَ كانَ التِقاءُ الحَكَمَينِ بِدومَةِ الجَندَلِ وقيلَ بِغَيرِها، عَلى ما قَدَّمنا مِن وَصفِ التَّنازُعِ في ذلِكَ، وبَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ بِعَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ العَبّاسِ، وشُرَيحِ ابنِ

stated the difference of opinion thereabout. ʿAlī sent ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās and Shurayḥ ibn Hānī al-Hamdānī with four hundred men, including Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī. Muʿāwiyah sent ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ with Shuraḥbīl ibn al-Simṭ and four hundred men. When both parties came close to the place of meeting, Ibn ʿAbbās said to Abū Mūsā: Indeed ʿAlī was not well pleased with you as an arbitrator out of your virtue. Those who preceded you were many, but the people refused anyone other than you. I think that is because of an evil hidden to them, since the cunning Arab has been placed beside you. If you have forgotten, then recall that ʿAlī had been pledged allegiance to by those that pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. He does not have a quality that distances him from the Caliphate; however Muʿāwiyah does not have any quality that brings him closer to the Caliphate."[1221]

Muʿāwiya's Advice to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

446. **Al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn**, relates: "Muʿāwiyah said to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ: O ʿAmr! Indeed the people of Iraq have forced ʿAlī to approve of Abū Mūsā, but the people of Syria and I are pleased with you. A man has been placed with you, who has a long tongue and a limited opinion; so find the loop hole, strike at the joint, and do not reveal all your views to him."[1222]

Imām ʿAlī's Advice to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ

447. **Waqʿat Ṣiffīn**, reporting from Shaqīq ibn Salama who said: "'Alī wrote to ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ advising and guiding him: Indeed the world occupies [one] from other things. Its companion will not attain anything from it but that it opens for him a desire [simultaneously] increasing his craving for it. Its companion will never suffice with what he has attained from it for that which he has not attained. Thereafter one will have to part from that which he has amassed. The Feliciteous [person] is one who is admonished by others. Do not fail, Abū ʿAbdullah, your reward, and do not

هانئ الهَمدانِيِّ في أربَعِمِئَةِ رَجُل فيهِم أبو موسَى الأَشعَرِيُّ، وبَعَثَ مُعاوِيَةُ بِعَمرِو ابنِ العاصِ ومَعَهُ شُرَحبيلُ بنُ السِّمطِ في أربَعِمِئَة، فَلَمّا تَدانَى القَومُ مِنَ المَوضِعِ الَّذي كانَ فيهِ الإجتِماعُ قالَ ابنُ عَبّاسٍ لِأَبي موسى:

إنَّ عَلِيّاً لَم يَرضَ بِكَ حَكَماً لِفَضلٍ عِندَكَ، وَالمُتَقَدِّمونَ عَلَيكَ كَثيرٌ، وإنَّ النّاسَ أبَوا غَيرَكَ، وإنّي لاَظُنَّ ذلِكَ لِشَرٍّ يُرادُ بِهِم، وقَد ضُمَّ داهِيَةُ العَرَبِ مَعَكَ.

إن نَسيتَ فَلا تَنسَ أنَّ عَلِيّاً بايَعَهُ الَّذينَ بايَعوا أبا بَكر وعُمَرَ وعُثمانَ، ولَيسَ فيهِ خَصلَةٌ تُباعِدُهُ مِنَ الخِلافَةِ، ولَيسَ في مُعاوِيَةَ خَصلَةٌ تُقَرِّبُهُ مِنَ الخِلافَةِ.

ج ـ وَصِيَّةُ مُعاوِيَةَ لِعَمرِو بنِ العاصِ

446. **البيان والتبيين:** قالَ مُعاوِيَةُ لِعَمرِو بنِ العاصِ: يا عَمرُو! إنَّ أهلَ العِراقِ قَد أكرَهوا عَلِيّاً عَلى أبي موسى، وأنَا وأهلُ الشّامِ راضونَ بِكَ.

وقَد ضُمَّ إلَيكَ رَجُلٌ طَويلُ اللِّسانِ، قَصيرُ الرَّأيِ؛ فَأَجِدِ الحَزَّ، وطَبِّقِ المَفصِلَ، ولا تَلقِهِ بِرَأيِكَ كُلِّهِ.

د ـ نَصيحَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لِعَمرِو بنِ العاصِ

447. **وقعة صفّين عن شقيق بن سلمة:** كَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ إلى عَمرِو بنِ العاصِ يَعِظُهُ ويُرشِدُهُ: أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنَّ الدُّنيا مَشغَلَةٌ عَن غَيرِها، ولَم يُصِب صاحِبُها مِنها شَيئاً إلّا فَتَحَت لَهُ حِرصاً يَزيدُهُ فيها رَغبَةً، ولَن يَستَغنِيَ صاحِبُها بِما نالَ عَمّا لَم يَبلُغهُ، ومِن وَراءِ ذلِكَ فِراقُ ما جَمَعَ. وَالسَّعيدُ مَن وُعِظَ بِغَيرِهِ؛ فَلا تُحبِط ـ أبا عَبدِ الله ـ أجرَكَ، ولا تُجارِ مُعاوِيَةَ في باطِلِهِ.

join Muʿāwiyah in his falsehood.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ answered him: Now, our well-being and harmony lies in our return to the truth; we have made the Qur'ān a judge between us, so respond to it. Each one of us has been patient with himself over what the Qur'ān judges, and so men will accept his apologies.

ʿAlī wrote to him: Indeed that which wonders you from this world and to which your soul is attracted will soon turn away from you and will depart from you. Thus do not be content with the world, for indeed it is deceiving. If you took heed by that which has passed, you would protect that which remains and you would benefit from that which you have been advised.

ʿAmr replied: Now, he has acted justly who makes the Qur'ān a leader and invites people to its injunctions. O Abū Ḥasan, be patient, for I will not rule except that which the Qur'ān has ruled on you."[1223]

The Negotiations of the Two Arbitrators

448. **Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd**, reporting from Abū al-Ḥasan, who said, concering the meeting of the two arbitrators: "A place was set aside for them [i.e. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and Abū Mūsā] to meet. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ granted him a respite of three days and thereafter came to him with a variety of foods to arouse his desire; when Abū Mūsā had eaten his full, ʿAmr confided in him and said to him: O Abū Mūsā! Indeed you are a senior companion of Muḥammad (ṣ.a.w.), a possessor of merits and precedence, and you have seen what occurred to this Community by way of blind confusion. Will you be the blessing of this Community through whom God spares its blood for indeed He says concering a single soul: "*and whoever saves a life is as though he had saved all mankind.*"[1224]

So what about the one who revives the souls of this creation altogether!

Abū Mūsā said to him: How? He said: You remove ʿAlī ibn

فَأَجابَهُ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ: أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنَّ ما فيهِ صَلاحُنا وأُلفَتُنا الإنابَةُ إلَى الحَقِّ، وقَد جَعَلنَا القُرآنَ حَكَماً بَينَنا، فَأَجِبنا إلَيهِ. وصَبرَ الرَّجُلُ مِنّا نَفسَهُ عَلى ما حَكَمَ عَلَيهِ القُرآنُ، وعَذَرَهُ النّاسُ بَعدَ المُحاجَزَةِ. وَالسَّلامُ.

فَكَتَبَ إلَيهِ عَلِيٌّ: أمّا بَعدُ فَإنَّ الَّذي أعجَبَكَ مِنَ الدُّنيا مِمّا نازَعتَكَ إلَيهِ نَفسُكَ ووَثِقتَ بِهِ مِنها لَمُنقَلِبٌ عَنكَ، ومُفارِقٌ لَكَ؛ فَلا تَطمَئِنَّ إلَى الدُّنيا؛ فَإنَّها غَرّارَةٌ. ولَو اعتَبَرتَ بِما مَضى لَحَفِظتَ ما بَقِيَ، وَانتَفَعتَ بِما وُعِظتَ بِهِ. وَالسَّلامُ.

فَأَجابَهُ عَمرٌو: أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَقَد أنصَفَ مَن جَعَلَ القُرآنَ إماماً، ودَعَا النّاسَ إلى أحكامِهِ. فَاصبِر أبا حَسن، وأنَا غَيرُ مُنيلِكَ إلّا ما أنالَكَ القُرآنُ.

هـ ـ مُفاوَضاتُ الحَكَمَينِ

448. **العقد الفريد عن أبي الحسن** ـ في ذِكرِ اجتِماعِ الحَكَمَينِ ـ: أُخلِيَ لَهُما [عَمرِو بنِ العاصِ وأبي موسى] مَكانٌ يَجتَمِعانِ فيهِ، فَأَمهَلَهُ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ ثَلاثَةَ أيّام، ثُمَّ أقبَلَ إلَيهِ بِأَنواعٍ مِنَ الطَّعامِ يُشَهّيهِ بِها، حَتّى إذَا استَبطَنَ أبو موسى ناجاهُ عَمرٌو، فَقالَ لَهُ: يا أبا موسى! إنَّكَ شَيخُ أصحابِ مُحَمَّدٍ ﷺ، وذو فَضلِها، وذو سابِقَتِها، وقَد تَرى ما وَقَعَت فيهِ هذِهِ الأُمَّةُ مِنَ الفِتنَةِ العَمياءِ الَّتي لا بَقاءَ مَعَها، فَهَل لَكَ أن تَكونَ مَيمونَ هذِهِ الأُمَّةِ؛ فَيَحقُنُ اللّهُ بِكَ دِماءَها؛ فَإنَّهُ يَقولُ في نَفسٍ واحِدَةٍ: ﴿وَمَنْ أَحْيَاهَا فَكَأَنَّمَا أَحْيَا النَّاسَ جَمِيعاً﴾، فَكَيفَ بِمَن أحيا أنفُسَ هذَا الخَلقِ كُلِّهِ!

قالَ لَهُ: وكَيفَ ذلِكَ؟ قالَ: تَخلَعُ أنتَ عَلِيَّ بنَ أبي طالِب، وأخلَعُ أنَا مُعاوِيَةَ بنَ أبي سُفيانَ،

Abī Ṭālib and I remove Muʿāwiyah ibn Abū Sufyān, and then we will choose a person who was not present in this riot nor did he submerge his hand into it.

Abū Mūsā said: Who will be that [person]? - ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ had already known Abū Mūsā's inclination to ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar. He thus said to him: ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar. He said: Indeed he is as you have mentioned; but how should I trust you? ʿAmr said to him: O Abū Mūsā, "*Look! The hearts find rest in God's remembrance*"[1225]. Take of the vows and covenants until you are pleased.

Thereafter ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ did left no vow or covenant or oath but that he swore by it, to the extent that the old man was astonished, so he said to him: Verily I am pleased."[1226]

The Verdict of the Two Arbitrators

449. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, reports from Abū Janāb al-Kalbī: "When ʿAmr and Abū Mūsā met at Dawmat al-Jandal, ʿAmr desired to precede Abū Mūsā in speech, saying: Indeed you are the companion of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) and you are older than me so speak, and I will speak [after you]. ʿAmr made Abū Mūsā would precedence in everything, in order that he might remove ʿAlī. He said: They looked into their affair and that which they had agreed upon. ʿAmr wanted him to accept Muʿāwiyah, but he refused, and he suggested his son, but he rejected. Abū Mūsā wanted ʿAmr to accept ʿAbdullah ibn ʿUmar, but he refused. So ʿAmr said to him: Tell me what is your opinion? He said: My opinion is that we remove both of these men and leave the affair to be determined by consultation between the Muslims, so the Muslims will choose for themselves whoever they like. ʿAmr said to him: Indeed the [best] opinion is what you have proposed.

Thereafter they came to the people. He said: O Abū Mūsā, inform them that we have agreed on our view. Thus Abū Mūsā spoke: He said: Indeed my view and the view of ʿAmr have agreed on that

ونَختارُ لِهذِهِ الأُمَّةِ رَجُلاً لَم يَحضُر في شَيء مِنَ الفِتنَةِ، ولَم يَغمِس يَدَهُ فيها.

قالَ لَهُ: ومَن يَكونَ ذلِكَ؟ وكانَ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ قَد فَهِمَ رَأيَ أبي موسى في عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ عُمَرَ فَقالَ لَهُ: عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عُمَرَ. فَقالَ: إنَّهُ لَكَما ذَكَرتَ، ولكِن كَيفَ لي بِالوَثيقَةِ مِنكَ؟ فَقالَ لَهُ: يا أبا موسى، ﴿أَلاَ بِذِكْرِ اللّه تَطْمَئِنُّ الْقُلُوبُ﴾، خُذ مِنَ العُهودِ وَالمَواثيقِ حَتّى تَرضى.

ثُمَّ لَم يُبقِ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ عَهداً ولا مَوثِقاً ولا يَميناً مُؤَكَّدَةً حَتّى حَلَفَ بِها، حَتّى بَقِيَ الشَّيخُ مَبهوتاً، وقالَ لَهُ: قَد أحبَبتُ.

و رَأيُ الحَكَمَينِ

449. **تاريخ الطبري عن أبي جناب الكلبي:** إنَّ عَمراً وأبا موسى حَيثُ التَقَيا بِدومَةِ الجِندَلِ، أخَذَ عَمرٌو يُقَدِّمُ أبا موسى فِي الكَلامِ، يَقولُ: إنَّكَ صاحِبُ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ وأنتَ أسَنُّ مِنّي، فَتَكَلَّم وأتَكَلَّمُ؛ فَكانَ عَمرٌو قَد عَوَّدَ أبا موسى أن يُقَدِّمَهُ في كُلِّ شَيء، اغتَرى بِذلِكَ كُلِّهِ أن يُقَدِّمَهُ، فَيَبدَأُ بِخَلعِ عَلِيٍّ. قالَ: فَنَظَرَ في أمرِهِما ومَا اجتَمَعا عَلَيهِ، فَأَرادَهُ عَمرٌو عَلى مُعاوِيَةَ فَأَبى، وأرادَهُ عَلَى ابنِهِ فَأَبى، وأرادَ موسى عَمراً عَلى عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ عُمَرَ فَأَبى عَلَيهِ، فَقالَ لَهُ عَمرٌو: خَبِّرني ما رَأيُكَ؟ قالَ: رَأيي أن نَخلَعَ هذَينِ الرَّجُلَينِ، ونَجعَلَ الأَمرَ شورى بَينَ المُسلِمينَ، فَيَختارَ المُسلِمونَ لِأَنفُسِهِم مَن أحَبّوا. فَقالَ لَهُ عَمرٌو: فَإنَّ الرَّأيَ ما رَأيتَ.

فَأَقبَلا إلَى النّاسِ وهُم مُجتَمِعونَ، فَقالَ: يا أبا موسى، أعلِمهُم بِأَنَّ رَأيَنا قَد اجتَمَعَ وَاتَّفَقَ، فَتَكَلَّمَ أبو موسى فَقالَ: إنَّ رَأيي ورَأيَ عَمرو قَدِ اتَّفَقَ عَلى أمر نَرجو أن يُصلِحَ اللّهُ عَزَّ وجَلَّ بِهِ أمرَ هذِهِ الأُمَّةِ. فَقالَ عَمرٌو: صَدَقَ وبَرَّ، يا أبا موسى! تَقَدَّم فَتَكَلَّم، فَتَقَدَّمَ

through which, we hope, God, will reconcile this Community. ʿAmr said: He has spoken the truth. O Abū Mūsā, proceed and speak. Abū Mūsā proceeded to speak. Ibn ʿAbbās said to him: Woe unto you! By God, he has deceived you. If you have agreed on something, put him forward, so that he may speak before you, then you speak after him, for indeed ʿAmr is a cunning man; if you speak first, he will betray you. Abū Mūsā was foolish. He said to him: Indeed we have agreed. Thus Abū Mūsā proceeded, praised God, and then he said:

O people! Indeed we have looked at the affair of this Community; we did not see anything more convenient for its affair than an affair upon which my view and the view of ʿAmr have agreed, that is we remove ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah and that the Community accept this affair; they should appoint over themselves those whom they like. I have removed ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah. Thus, accept your affair and appoint over yourselves those you deem appropriate for this affair. Then he turned aside.

ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ came forward and stood in his place; he praised God and lauded Him and said: Indeed he has said what you have heard and he removed his companion, and I also remove his companion as he did, but affirm my companion, Muʿāwiyah, for indeed he is the guardian of ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, the avenger of his blood, and he has better right to this position [as successor].

Abū Mūsā said: What is wrong with you? May God not grant you success! Indeed the like of you "is like that of a dog: if you make for it, it lolls out its tongue, and if you let it alone, it lolls out its tongue."[1227]

ʿAmr said: Indeed the like of you "*is like that of an ass carrying books*".[1228]

Shurayḥ ibn Hānī attacked ʿAmr and lashed him with a whip; in turn, the son of ʿAmr attacked Shurayḥ and hit him with a whip, so people stood up and separated them. Shurayḥ would

أبو موسى لِيَتَكَلَّمَ، فَقالَ لَهُ ابنُ عَبّاس: وَيحَكَ! وَاللّهِ إنّي لاَظُنَّهُ قَد خَدَعَكَ. إن كُنتُما قَد اتَّفَقتُما عَلى أمر؛ فَقَدِّمهُ فَليَتَكَلَّم بِذلِكَ الأَمرِ قَبلَكَ، ثُمَّ تَكَلَّم أنتَ بَعدَهُ؛ فَإِنَّ عَمراً رَجُلٌ غادِرٌ، ولا آمَنُ أن يَكونَ قَد أعطاكَ الرِّضا فيما بَينَكَ وبَينَهُ، فَإذا قُمتَ في النّاسِ خالَفَكَ وكانَ أبو موسى مُغَفَّلاً فَقالَ لَهُ: إنّا قَدِ اتَّفَقنا. فَتَقَدَّمَ أبو موسى فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ عَزَّ وجَلَّ وأثنى عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

أيُّهَا النّاسُ! إنّا قَد نَظَرنا في أمرِ هذِهِ الاُمَّةِ فَلَم نَرَ أصلَحَ لِاَمرِها، ولا ألَمَّ لِشَعثِها مِن أمر قَد أجمَعَ رَأيي ورَأيُ عَمرو عَلَيهِ؛ وهُوَ أن نَخلَعَ عَلِيّاً ومُعاوِيَةَ، وتَستَقبِلَ هذِهِ الاُمَّةُ هذَا الأَمرَ؛ فَيُوَلّوا مِنهُم مَن أحَبّوا عَلَيهِم، وإنّي قَد خَلَعتُ عَلِيّاً ومُعاوِيَةَ، فَاستَقبِلوا أمرَكُم، ووَلّوا عَلَيكُم مَن رَأَيتُموهُ لِهذَا الأَمرِ أهلاً. ثُمَّ تَنَحّى.

وأقبَلَ عَمرُو بنُ العاصِ فَقامَ مَقامَهُ، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنى عَلَيهِ وقالَ: إنَّ هذا قَد قالَ ما سَمِعتُم وخَلَعَ صاحِبَهُ، وأنَا أخلَعُ صاحِبَهُ كَما خَلَعَهُ، وأُثبِتُ صاحِبي مُعاوِيَةَ؛ فَإِنَّهُ وَلِيُّ عُثمانَ بنِ عَفّانَ، وَالطّالِبُ بِدَمِهِ، وأحَقُّ النّاسِ بِمَقامِهِ.

فَقالَ أبو موسى: ما لَكَ لا وَفَّقَكَ اللّهُ! غَدَرتَ وفَجَرتَ! إنَّما مَثَلُكَ ﴿كَمَثَلِ الْكَلْبِ إن تَحمِل عليه يَلْهَثْ أو تتركه يَلْهث﴾. قالَ عَمرٌو: إنَّما مَثَلَكَ ﴿كَمَثَلِ الْحِمَارِ يَحْمِلُ أَسْفَارًا﴾. وحَمَلَ شُرَيحُ بنُ هانِئ عَلى عَمرو فَقَنَّعَهُ بِالسَّوطِ، وحَمَلَ عَلى شُرَيح ابنٌ لِعَمرو فَضَرَبَهُ بِالسَّوطِ، وقامَ النّاسُ فَحَجَزوا بَينَهُم. وكانَ شُرَيحٌ بَعدَ ذلِكَ يَقولُ: ما نُدِمتُ عَلى شَيء نَدامَتي عَلى ضَربِ عَمرو بِالسَّوطِ ألّا أكونَ ضَرَبتُهُ بِالسَّيفِ آتِياً بِهِ الدَّهرُ ما

then say: I have not regretted over something like my regret at hitting ʿAmr with a whip, in that I should have hit him with a sword and let fate take its course. The people of Syria sought after Abū Mūsā, but he mounted his camel and left for Mecca.

Ibn ʿAbbās said: May God denounce the view of Abū Mūsā! I warned and advised him, but he did not comprehend. Abū Mūsā used to say: Ibn ʿAbbās warned me against the deception of the transgressor [ʿAmr], but I trusted in him. I thought that he would not prefer anything over the [general] well-being of the Community. Thereafter ʿAmr and the people of Syria left for Muʿāwiyah and greeted to him as Caliph and Ibn ʿAbbās and Shurayḥ ibn Hānī returned to ʿAlī."[1229]

Imām ʿAlī's Words after the Arbitration

450. Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "Disobedience to the sympathetic counsellor who has knowledge and experience brings about disappointment and regret. I had given you my orders about this arbitration and put before you my hidden view, if only you had obeyed my order, but you rejected it like rough opponents and disobedient insurgents, until the counsellor himself fell in doubt about his counsel. You and I were like the brother of Hawāzin when he said:

I gave you my orders at [the place of] Munʿarij al-Liwa.

But you failed to take heed till the morning of the next day."[1230]

أتى. وَالتَمَسَ أهلُ الشّامِ أبا موسى، فَرَكِبَ راحِلَتَهُ ولَحِقَ بِمَكَّةَ.

قالَ ابنُ عَبّاس: قَبَّحَ اللّهُ رَأىَ أبي موسى! حَذَّرتُهُ وأمَرتُهُ بِالرَّأيِ فَما عَقَلَ. فَكانَ أبو موسى يَقولُ: حَذَّرَني ابنُ عَبّاسٍ غَدرَةَ الفاسِقِ، ولكِنّي اطمَأنَنتُ إلَيهِ، وظَنَنتُ أنَّهُ لَن يُؤثِرَ شَيئاً عَلى نَصيحَةِ الأُمَّةِ. ثُمَّ انصَرَفَ عَمرٌو وأهلُ الشّامِ إلى مُعاوِيَةَ، وسَلَّموا عَلَيهِ بِالخِلافَةِ، ورَجَعَ ابنُ عَبّاسٍ وشُرَيحُ بنُ هانِئ إلى عَلِيٍّ.

ز ـ كَلامُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لَمّا بَلَغَهُ أمرُ الحَكَمينِ

450. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ مِن كَلام لَهُ بَعدَ التَّحكيمِ وما بَلَغَهُ مِن أمرِ الحَكَمَينِ ـ : أمّا بَعدُ؛ فَإنَّ مَعصِيَةَ النّاصِحِ الشَّفيقِ العالِمِ المُجَرِّبِ، تورِثُ الحَسرَةَ، وتُعقِبُ النَّدامَةَ.

وقَد كُنتُ أمَرتُكُم في هذِهِ الحُكومَةِ أمري، ونَخَلتُ لَكُم مَخزونَ رَأيي، لَو كانَ يُطاعُ لِقَصير أمرٌ! فَأبَيتُم عَلَيَّ إباءَ المُخالِفينَ الجُفاةِ، وَالمُنابِذينَ العُصاةِ.

حَتّى ارتابَ النّاصِحُ بِنُصحِهِ، وضَنَّ الزَّندُ بِقَدحِهِ، فَكُنتُ أنَا وإيّاكُم كَما قالَ أخو هَوازِنَ:

أمَرتُكُمُ أمري بِمُنعَرَجِ اللِّوى فَلَم تَستَبينُوا النُّصحَ إلّا ضُحَى الغَدِ

A Study about the Arbitration

The arbitration at the Battle of Ṣiffīn is considered to be one of the most sorrowful and distressing events in the era of the Government of Imām ʿAlī; this bitter incident occurred at a time when the army of the Imām was on the verge of the final victory. Yet, the acceptance of the arbitration prevented the realisation of that overwhelming victory. In addition, it also led to the occurrence of differences in his army and the pre-occupation of the Imām in disputes with a large section of the best of his fighters. In order to shed more light on this subject, we have to firstly discuss a number of aspects:

The Reason for Accepting the Arbitration

The first question is: Why did the Imām agree to the idea of the arbitration? Was he doubtful about his situation and his positions? What is the meaning of the arbitration between truth and falsehood? Did not wisdom demand that the Imām resist the pressures of his army and not surrender to idea of the arbitration?

In reply we say: Yes, in accordance with wisdom it was not for the Imām to accept the arbitration. However, as mentioned in the historical documents, he did not agree to the arbitration of his own accord, or rather, but that it was imposed on him. His resistance in the face of that naive opinion was of no avail, or rather, it would lead to the outbreak of the Battle of Nahrawān at Ṣiffīn. The Imām would then be forced to fight a large contingent of his army along with fighting the army of Syria.

When Muʿāwiyah realised that he did not possess the energy to endure in the face of the army of the Imām, that if the battle continued, the decisive victory would fall to the share of the Imām, he, based on his knowledge of the large contingent of the army of the Imām and the proposition of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, resorted to two dangerous and satanic tricks:

The first aims at ceasefire. The second, however, aims at splitting or weakening the army of the Imām. Indeed both tricks bore their fruit with the help of elements infiltrating the army of the Imām.

The first trick was to raise the Qur'ān on the spears and invite the Imām to judge by the Qur'ān until he stops the fighting. The second trick was the issue of the arbitration which was concluded in an even more complicated manner. All that led to the opposition of the best of his army.

This was the reason that later pushed the Imām to fight his supporters at the Battle of Nahrawān. There was no other choice to him at the Battle of Ṣiffīn but to surrender to their pressures and accept the arbitration. In describing his position during the issue of arbitration the Imam said: 'Yesterday I was a Commander, but today I have become commanded! Yesterday I would forbid, but today I have been forbidden!' This clearly explains the bitter reality [at the time].

Why Abū Mūsā?

Some historical documents describe Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī as a hypocritical man. This view has been attributed to Ḥuzaifa and ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir. Even if we assume that this claim is not true, it is certain that he was a naive and simple-minded man. He would oppose the policy of the Imām in confronting the agitators of the internal riot. He would discourage the people to join the Commander of the Faithful when he arrived at Baṣra. He encouraged them to remain in their houses, until Mālik al-Ashtar forced him to leave the Governors palace.

At this point the following question comes to mind: Why did the Imām appoint a naive person like that as his representative in the issue of arbitration? Did he not know the outcome of the arbitration if Abū Mūsā participated in it?

The answer is:

Yes, the Imām was aware of the outcome. ʿAbdullah Ibn Abī Rāfiʿi, the scribe of Imām ʿAlī, mentioned that when Abū Mūsā wanted to leave for the arbitration, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) said: "It looks as if he would be deceived"; however, the pressures that forced the Imām to accept the arbitration were themselves those that forced him to send Abū Mūsā as a representative for him.

However, the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) tried a lot to send ʿAbdullah Ibn ʿAbbās or Mālik al-Ashtar as an arbitrator, but his efforts were in vain.

ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "Indeed you have disobeyed me at first, so do not disobey me now. I do not see [fit] to appoint Abū Mūsā".

Al-Ashʿath, Zayd ibn al-Ḥuṣain al-Ṭā'ī and Masʿar ibn Fadakī said: "We would not be well pleased with anyone other than him, for indeed we have fallen into what he was warning us against."

ʿAlī said: "He is not trustworthy with me. He had left me, betrayed the people by discouraging them. He had fled, until I had granted him protection".

The Imām was not able to dissuade them from their opinion, until he said to them at the end: "Do as you please."

The Subject of the Arbitration

Let us now look at the subject of the arbitration.

The arbitration document does not refer to the subject of the arbitration, the duties or the full powers of the arbitrators. It only includes a general obligation for the arbitrators to the effect "that they judge according to the Qur'ān, or else, to the Traditions of the Messenger of God."

In the text of the document there was no reference to the subject of the arbitration, or that indeed it is concerned with the issue of the killing of ʿUthmān, even though some asserted that the letters and words of Muʿāwiyah had urged the two arbitrators to look into the issue of the killing of ʿUthmān.

Was the subject of the arbitration so clear that it was not necessary to include it in the text of the document? Or could the subject of the arbitration be later dropped or distorted?

It looks that the subject of the arbitration was limited to resolving the differences of both parties, so there was no need to specify it. At any

rate, it is necessary for the arbitrators to resolve all the issues that are disagreed upon by both conflicting parties and secure a reconciliatory atmosphere between them.

In light of this the subject of the arbitration was not restricted to the issue of the killing of ʿUthmān, or rather, it included all issues disagreed upon between ʿAlī (a.s.) and Muʿāwiyah. It was obligatory on the arbitrators to resolve the conflict of the armies of Kūfah and Syria and put an end to the war and the bloodshed. The truth is that what was declared as the final opinion, the deception of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ was outside the [framework] of the subject of the arbitration and beyond the full powers delegated to both arbitrators.

Why were the Imam's Army Deceived?

Now we will direct our attention to the reasons for the confusion of the army of Imām ʿAlī. Why did they not perceive that the raising of the Qur'ān on the lances was nothing but a trick by the Syrians to stop the war.

The answer to this question is as follows:

Even though some individuals of the army of the Imām obeyed his command and wanted to keep on the battle up to the victory of the army of Kūfah, historical documents assert that a great majority of the army of the Imām were fed up with the war, and they knew that even if they were victorious, they would not obtain any booty, as it took place at the Battle of the Camel, so they lacked the motivation to continue fighting. When ʿAdī ibn Ḥātam suggested to the Imām to continue the war, saying: O Commander of the Faithful, should we not resist until we die?

ʿAlī said: Come close! He came close until he put his ear at the Imām's nose. The Imām said[121]: "Woe unto you! Indeed most of those who are with me, disobey me and Muʿāwiyah is with those who obey him and do not disobey."

Yes, the reciters of Kūfah – who had the primary role in the army of the Imām – were part of this group and in view of their position amongst the people of Kūfah they emerged as having the biggest role in forging this painful scenario. Their ignorance and arrogance were like a cover that prevented them from realising the deception that the Syrians resorted to in raising the Qur'āns on the spears for

the purpose of stopping the war and hindering their eminent defeat. Indeed religious extremism provoked – coupled with ignorance and stupidity – these ignorant servants to force their Imām to accept the arbitration.

Of that which supported the foolish position of the reciters during that time and contributed to the success of the conspiracies of Muʿāwiyah to stop the war and sow division in the army of the Imām – like reference has been made to it before – it is the position of those who co-operated with the Imām hypocritically and they would favour themselves with the promises of Muʿāwiyah; the head of them was al-Ashʿath ibn Qays.

He was from the tribe of Kindah who resided in the south of the Arabian Peninsula.

He was visited by the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) with a group from his people in the year 10 AH and embraced Islam. Then he renegade after the demise of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.). Abū Bakr sent an army to fight him; he was taken prisoner, chained and brought to Madina. Abū Bakr then forgave him and gave his sister to him in marriage.

After the assassination of ʿUthmān, he pledged allegiance to ʿAlī, but he did not cooperate with him sincerely, for his positions with the Imām, especially in relation to the arbitration, his sowing of differences within the ranks of the Imām's army, indicate that he was one of the elements of the army of the Imām who worked in favour of Muʿāwiyah. Imām ʿAlī (a.s.), however, was not able to take a stance against him because of his social status and his tribe that had an influential role in the army of Kūfa.

The Wisdom behind not Seizing the Opportunity after the Khārijites' Penitence

The battle ceased as a consequence of the conspiracy devised by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ; however; it was not long before the reciters of Kūfah realised that they were deceived and that they were definitely wrong to force the Imām to accept the arbitration. They thus came to him and confessed their error and repentance for their actions. They suggested that he should also repent because he accepted their opinions. They considered the document devoid of any value, so it must be revoked

to resume the war. The Imām refused to accept their proposals, which led to the Battle of Nahrawān.

Moreover, why did the Imām refuse the proposals of the reciters to revoke the document and return to fighting? Did he not know the outcome of the rejection of those proposals? Why did he not seize the golden opportunity to eradicate the riot of the Unjust and frustrate the confusion of the Renegates?

The answer to this question is: If the Imām had complied with those proposals, he would have committed three major political and religious mistakes that the Imām was not ready to do:

1. Acknowledgment of Mistake in Leadership

The first demand of the Khārijites was that he should acknowledge that he was mistaken concering the acceptance of the arbitration. However, the Imām was not ready to declare that he had committed a mistake, because the acceptance of the arbitration to resolve differences cannot be construed to be a mistake, or rather, such act is commended by the Qur'ān. The only objection [that may be raised] in this regard is that the arbitration was contrary to the wisdom and the policy that the Imām had openly declared. However they were the ones who objected to his position and forced him and the army of Kūfah to surrender to the arbitration.

2. Breacking the Treaty

Supposing that the Imam acknowledged his mistake, the Khārijites had another demand, that is to break the agreement between the army of Syria and the army of Kūfah. The Imām, on the contrary, considered adherence to the agreement to be one of the international principles in Islam; it is not possible to revoke any agreement under any pretext. Thus he wrote in his covenant to Mālik al-Ashtar: "If you bind an agreement between yourself and your enemy or grant him protection from yourself, then guard your agreement in good faith and tend your covenant with fidelity. Make of yourself a shield before what you have granted, for there is nothing in the obligations of God for people to unite upon more difficult than attaching importance to fidelity

in agreements, despite the division in their seats? and the diversity of their opinions. The idolaters also adhered to that [honouring agreements] among themselves because of the evil consequences of treachery that they had seen. So never betray your protective covenant, never break your agreement and never deceive your enemy. For indeed only a wretched and ignorant person will defy God. God has made his covenant and custody as [a means of] protection that He has revealed to His servants through His mercy and a sanctuary that they may take refuge and abound in its surroundings. Therefore, there should be no betrayal, no fraud and no deception in it."[1232] If Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) were to revoke this basic Islamic principle, then what would we have expect from others?

3. The Threat of the Ignorant Ascetics

Indeed the danger of ignorant ascetics assuming control in the view of the Imām (a.s.) is not lesser than [the control of] licentious scholars. Thus the acknowledgment of error and the revocation of the agreement in the issue of the arbitration would mean Imām ʿAlī's surrender to the control of the ignorant ascetics who were affected by the sickness of pride, the love of this world and religious extremism, those who were famous under the name of al-qurrā' (the Reciters). He could not delegate to them all the primary decisions with regard to war and peace, as well as all important and crucial affairs. The Imām could not approve of such compromise and position. This is what made the Imām resist their demands with all strength. He says: "I have gouged out the eye of sedition. No one but me dared to confront it."

Chapter Three

The Third War: The Battle of al-Nahrawān

A Study about the Māriqīn (the Deviants) and the Origins of their Deviation

Indeed the appearance of the Khārijites movement and the outbreak of the Battle of Nahrawān are considered to be of the incidents that are replete with lessons in Islamic history and the era of the government of the Commander of the Faithful, Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.). For the nature of their conduct, their religious backgrounds and their superficial adherence to Islam as well as their confrontation with the Imām, are all considered to be critical issues in Imām Alī's way of life. We can examine the dangers of their approach from the sublime words of the Imām (a.s.): "...I have gouged out the eye of sedition. No one but me dared to confront it."

Yes, how is it possible to unsheathe swords before faces that are outwardly Qur'ānic, foreheads that are calloused by excessive prostration?!

We will study - before anything else - the mental and social situation of the Khārijites on the basis of historical and contemporary documents, touching on their extreme position, obstinacy and ignorance in the face of the Imām (a.s.).

Religion and Moderation

Islam is a moderate religion[1233]. Its teachings are replete with

emphasis on moderation and a comprehensive and all-encompassing view and the necessity of distance from excessiveness and the myopic one-sided view to issues.

The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) , who used to introduce Islam as a manual for material and spiritual perfection, emphasise its comprehensiveness, its completeness in embracing individual and social well-being – would consider excessiveness and the myopic one-sided view as the biggest danger to his nation and religion. He continued to warn against this reality throughout his blessed life. He (ṣ.a.w.) would say:

"No one can establish the religion of God but he who encompasses it from all its sides."[1234]

He was of the opinion that those who have enjoyed a comprehensive and all-encompassing view of the religion, fully acquainted themselves with all the religious teachings in the sphere of thought, speech, individual and social perfection alone, they are the ones whose efforts bear fruits in support of the religion. As well, he used to say: "Indeed, no one will give victory to the religion of God but he who encompasses it from all its sides."[1235]

In addition to what the community [of Islam] has experienced of the teachings of his illuminating way of life, which lead to guidance and rectitude on the path, the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w) would point to the model in this sphere and emphasise Muslims, adherence to the way of life of his progeny, being the prominent example for moderation and the middle way. On this basis, Imām al-Sajjād (a.s.), in the supplications [of the month] of Shaʿbān, says:

"O God! Bless Muḥammad and the Household of Muḥammad, the sailing ships in the deep waters of the fathomless sea. Safe is he who boarded it and drowned is he who discarded it. Those who go ahead of them are misled, those who lag behind them are ruined and those who adhere to them are united with them."[1236]

Similarly, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w) and the Imams (a.s) drew the people's

attention to the necessity of maintaining moderation in thought and in life. We can comprehend from all this that the abandonment of the path of moderation and falling into the depth of excessiveness and extremism only result in deviation and drift with the trend of corruption.

The Khārijites represent, within the Islamic culture, an extreme trend with violent sporadic positions far from moderation. To them is referred the Prophetic tradition:

"There are peoples who penetrate so deeply into the religion that they pass through it as the arrow passes through the game's body."

In what follows we will briefly examine this term before we speak about the roots of the trend of the Khārijites:

Religious Extremism in Ḥadith Terminology

We have mentioned that Islam is a moderate religion; it rejects excessiveness. We can see this reality within the religious teachings through different designations. For example, we notice that excessiveness and extremism have been mentioned in the literature of traditions and reports under the title of "*taʿammuq*" (lit. deep penetration). The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) said: "Beware of (unnecessary) deep penetration into religion! For God has made it easy; so take of it that which you afford. For God loves every regular righteous deed even though it may be simple."[1237]

Below is a general overview of this term, seeking guidance from the lexicons.

Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī[1238] said: "*al-Mutaʿammiq*:[1239] is he who goes to great lengths who is extreme in a desired affair, seeking the utmost limit of it."[1240]

In *Lisān al-ʿArab* we read: "*al-Mutaʿamiq*: is one who goes to great lengths in an affair, seeking utmost limit thereof."[1241]

We also find this meaning in the words of the traditionists; it has been mentioned in the commentary of many reports that "*al-Taʿammuq*" means going beyond moderation or excessiveness as

opposed to moderation.[1242]

Indeed the investigation into the places that the word has been used in lexicons and Islamic traditions in the sources of both schools leaves no doubt that what is meant by this word in the Islamic culture is excessiveness and going beyond moderation.

This concise book has no room to include all of his educational advices and teachings which are rich in enlightening lessons worth of reading and pondering. A few of them′ however′ are mentioned here:

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w) used to advise his companions not to transgress the point of moderation and not to go to great lengths in the affairs of the religion, not to lose their zeal and vigour in the [acts of] worship, and, observe the borders of [his] path.

This concise book has no room to include all of his ducational advices and teachings which are reach in enlightening lessons worth of reading and pondering. A few of them, however, are mentioned here:

He (ṣ.a.w) said: "Indeed every act of worship has its [initial] fervour, then it weakens. He whose fervour of worship comes home to to my normative rule has been guided, and he who deviates from my rule, he has gone astray. His deeds are in ruin. I, however, pray and sleep, fast and break my fast; laugh and weep. He who deviates from my way and my normative rule, is not of me."[1243]

He (ṣ.a.w) would look at individuals of his community in the mirror of time, opposing the truth due to their excessiveness and extremism. They insist on their position such they keep far from religion and its realities. Therefore he said concering them:

"There are peoples who penetrate deeply into the religion, they pass through the true faith [i. e. renounce it] as an arrow passes through the game's body."[1244]

He said referring to their signs: "Indeed amongst you there is a people who worship and practise eargerly, that is they impress the people and are impressed by themselves; they pass through the religion as the arrow passes through the game's body."

Thus "*al-Ta'ammuq*" is an expression for extremism and excessiveness. If it is made as scales for the actions of others, they will only produce wrong judgements, because it sees the truth on its side while others do not have a share of it, thus causing division, deviation and creating dissension and disbelief. In this regard the words of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) about "*al-Ta'ammuq*" are quite expressive:

"Disbelief is [built] on four pillars: on deep penetration, disputation, deviation and dissension. Whoever penetrates deeply will not incline towards the truth."[1245]

Such people, who are drowned in their assumptions and illusions, do not find a place to return to the truth, so they do not submit to Islam. Is Islam anything but submission to the truth, and surrender to it after comprehending it?

The problem of the Khārijites lies in their extreme and excessive positions, such that they accuse of disbelief all those who do not hold their opinions or act according to their actions.

The Starting Point of the Deviation

Indeed many Muslims at the beginning of Islam did not take the warning of the Prophet against "al-Ta'ammuq" seriously for certain reasons. They would transgress the prophetic path and were excessive in their dispute, such that they would even take the Prophet (ṣ.a.w) to task. For example when he (ṣ.a.w) was one day busy with the distribution of the booty dividing it according to certain specific interests, one of the pseudo-saints - with a shaved head and calloused forehead due to frequent prostration - whose soul had made his matter decorous to him[1246], thought he was more just than the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w), so having raised his voice he demanded from him to be just in the distribution, saying "O Muḥammad, by God, you do not act justly!" The Prophet (ṣ.a.w) said to him angrily: "Woe unto you! Who would act justly if I failed to treat everyone with indiscriminate justice!"

The companions proposed to kill him for his impudent behaviour, when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w) forbade them and painted to them a picture

of his future. He informed them that he and his friends are far from the truth, saying:

"He will have followers who penetrate deeply into the religion to the extent until they depart from it."[1247]

He said in another tradition: "Indeed he, those that are like him and are equal to him will go forth; Satan will come to them from the side of their religion; they will pass through the religion as arrow passes through the game's body. They will not be affiliated to Islam at all."[1248]

What is wonderful is that they have clothed [themselves] in asceticism, have had the sign of the worshippers or the appearance of the ascetics, even though they were, from the perspective of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w), out of the [rope of the] religion and were distant from the truth and the reality. These were the ones who would refer to themselves as "the reciters" , when the Prophet (ṣ.a.w) would describe them saying: "They recite the Qur'an, even though it never goes but it will not go beyond their throats or gullets."[1249]

It is appropriate for us to speak briefly about the term "the reciters", due to the social impact they had in Islamic history.

The Trend of the Reciters and its Formation

There were people in the Islamic society who were famous for their excellent recitation; they enjoyed noticeable popularity and were well received by the people, such that the title "the reciter" came to be a mark of honour and had an effect in the appointment of positions at times.[1250]

Their numbers increased with the passage of the days; they would shave their heads in a special manner,[1251] and put a special cap on to distinguish themselves from others, so they were known as "the companions of the cap".

The reciters would live at Mecca, Medina, Syria and Kūfah; however, most of them were in Kūfah. They would not participate in any political activities, yet they began to criticise ʿUthmān in the days of

his Caliphate. He did not tolerate their criticisms, so he exiled them. They had also a role in the revolution against him and in his killing.

The Role of the Reciters in the Army of Imām ʿAlī

Due to their previous political and social efforts, the reciters would represent a noticeable section of the army of the Imām; they were well known for their bravery, boldness and fighting [skills]. They had a position in his army; when they were exterminated at the Battle of al-Nahrawān, they left a noticeable gap in the army. When Muʿāwiyah, launched his raids, and the Imām encouraged his troops to defend the frontiers, he did not hear an answer from them, so one of his companions said: "How much is the Commander of the Faithful and those with him in need of the people of al-Nahrawān."[1252]

The Reciters Imposing the Arbitration on the Imam

It is to be regretted that the reciters were deceived by the secret conspiracies of Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ due to their extremism and ignorance or as the prophet (s.a.w) said, due to their *taʿammuq*, so they imposed the arbitration on the Imām (a.s.). Ibn al-ʿĀṣ conspired and lured the army when the profile of Syria was to be brought to an end forever and ever, and when the Muslim Community was to be relieved of this complicated trial (*fitnah*). To stop fighting he commanded that the Qur'āns be raised on the lances as a sign for the judgement by the Book of God. Here the reciters took their shameful position. They were known for their superficialness and their focus on external issues. They did not see the aspect of the plot, despite the Imam's objection, and while the leading personalities among the Imam's companions and disciples were with him, they forced him to accept the arbitration and stop fighting in reverence of the Qur'ān - as they claimed. They threatened to kill him if he refused. He had no other choice but to accept the arbitration due to their influence in his army. The Imām (a.s.) accepted their suggestions and summoned Mālik, who had advanced at the battle and drawn near the tent of Muʿāwiyah.

The Reciters' Separation from Imām ʿAlī

It was not long before the superficial reciters acknowledged their mistakes and the conspiracy of raising the Qur'āns; however, instead of returning the truth to its rightful place, we find that they stubbornly contended and increased their extremism, ignorance and excessiveness, and committed a bigger crime than what they had previously done. They said to the Imām (a.s.) - "Indeed we have disbelieved through our action, and so we repent from it; you have also disbelieved, so you should also repent, revoke your agreement with Muʿāwiyah, and return to fighting!"

There is no doubt that the revocation of the agreement by the Imām (a.s.) - in addition to its opposition to his way of life, behaviour and religious teachings - would lead them to further tighten the grip around the Imām (a.s.), limit the scope of his government such that he would loose the reins of power, would lose his ability to make decisions concering the war, peace, political and administrative affairs. He therefore confronted this ignorant request with total force, but the reciters parted from the Commander of the Faithful and the Imām of the devout stemming from their *taʿammuq* and, excessiveness in their shameful behaviour. They encamped at Ḥarūrā' near Kūfah.

Transformation from Reciters to the Renegades

The prophecy of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w) came true when those who were yesterday the prominent figures of Muslims between strife and fighting and asceticism and worship, are today standing in the face of religion and the Imām of the Muslims due to their ignorance and extremism, under the pretext of defending the Qur'ān and the sanctuary of the religion. The disease of extremism and excessiveness took them out of religion. Similarly, they were called "the Māriqīn (the Renegades)" as the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w) had previously described them, when he said to the Imām: "O ʿAlī! If it were not for you, the people of al-Nahr (lit. the river)[1253] would not have been fought. He said: I said: O Messenger of God! Who are the people of al-Nahr?

He said: A people who pass through the religion as the arrow passes through the game's body."[1254]

Imām ʿAlī Prides Himself on Uprooting the Sedition of AL-TAʿAMMUQ

It has become clear from what we have mentioned about the trend of *al-Ta'ammuq* and the personalities associated with it that clashing with it was a difficult task. The reality of the matter was that the eradication of the roots of the sedition was extremely complex. The Imām (a.s.) was of the opinion that the extermination of this trend and the eradication of the roots of the sedition was one of the achievements of the era of his Caliphate. He would say: "Indeed I have gouged out the eye of sedition. No one but me dared to confront it."[1255]

Fighting the pretenders of truth, the reciters whose lives had been filled with the chanting recitation of the Qur'ān, who would assert that 'there is no judgement but God's', was an extremely difficult task. They were known to spend the night in prayers, fall down in prostration on their faces for long times so that their foreheads were calloused due to frequent prostration. They recognised no limits in criticising the others. They were known as powerful responsible people in the religion; however, they were sick at heart and small-minded.

Therefore, the clashing with the trend of *al-Taʿammuq* at that time was among the complex tasks that could not be tackled by anybody save Imam ʿAlī, because the repression of this trend required a special and distinguished insight and resoluteness that could not be applied by anybody except the Imam (a.s). It is for this reason that he would not say, concerning the people of the Camel or the followers of Muʿāwiyah, that which he would say concering the Kharijites,: "No one but me dared to confront it" or "if it was not for me, they would not have been fought".

The Origins of 'AL-TAʿAMMUQ'

Let us now look at the roots of the trend, how and why? Indeed the study of the origins of this trend and the reasons for the deviation of its companions are of vital importantce. The significance of this study

discloses itself if we take into account the reports of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w) and Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) about the continuation of this trend through the history of Islam and the necessity of the eradication of excessiveness and extremism.

The Prophet (ṣ.a.w) said, concering the continuation of this trend of thought,

"Whenever a head of them is cut off, another one emerges, until al-Dajjāl appears from what remains of them."[1256]

When the Khārijites were exterminated at al-Nahrawān, it was said to the Imām (a.s.): The people were eradicated altogether, so he said: "Nay, by God, they are present in the loins of men and wombs of women. Whenever a head among them appears, he is cut off, until the last of them turn [into] thieves and robbers."[1257]

Thus, before anything else, it is necessary to conduct a study of the psychology of 'the Māriqīn (the Renegades)', investigate the origins of al-Taʿammuq and investigate the grounds of extremism.

Ignorance

Ignorance is, without doubt, considered to be the first factor in the study of the origins of al-Taʿammuq. The traditions and reports have asserted this reality. ʿAlī (a.s.) considers ignorance to be the source of extremism and negligence, excessiveness and procrastination. He said:

"You would only find the ignorant either excessive or negligent."[1258]

Similarly, Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) considers it the basis of the extremism of the Khārijites and their [extremist] positions, Ismāʿīl al-Juʿfī said: "I asked Abū Ja'far [al-Bāqir] (a.s.) about the religion of which no servant should be ignorant? He said: Religion is all-embracing, but the Khārijites restrained themselves because of their ignorance."[1259]

This is the point that the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) would consolidate in his analysis of the thought of the Khārijites and the cause of their extremism and their excessive inclinations. He said: "But I have been afflicted by a group (who were) naive and foolish."[1260]

He said addressing them: "You are, by God, a people naive and

foolish."[1261]

He (a.s.) endeavoured to awaken them, advise them, clarify the realities to restrain their obstinacy and their ignorance. He referred to their character and disposition and said:

"Indeed you are the most evil of people and the target of Satan. Two classes of people will be ruined because of me: an excessive lover whose love takes him away from the truth, and an excessive hater whose hatred takes him away from the truth. The best of people are the middle community, so hold on to them."[1262]

The Intellect is the Criterion for Actions

Indeed rationality, intellection and contemplation are all of great importance from the religious perspective. the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w) said: "God has not divided, amongst his servants, anything better than the intellect. The sleep of the intelligent is better than the vigil of the ignorant. The residence of the intelligent [at home] is better than the journey of the ignorant."[1263]

Hence, there is no value for the acts that are not undertaken with recourse to the intellect. The Khārijites, due to their feeble-mindedness and ignorance, had not taken refuge to a firm pillar in the religion in spite of their worship and vigil. They did not attain firm conviction in spite of their heroism on the battlefield and their lengthy prostrations. These efforts and acts did not contribute to their perfection in belief. When the Commander of the Faithful heard a man of the Khālijites spend the night in prayer and recite, he said: "Sleep upon certainty is better than prayer in doubt."[1264]

The Depth of the Ignorance of the Khārijites

Indeed the ignorance of the Khārijites was so wonderful that they were in uncertainty and doubt about their affairs until the last moments of the battle which they themselves ignited. They did not take refuge to a firm pillar concering their beliefs. When one of them was killed at the battle of al-Nahrawān, he said: 'How excellent is the journey to paradise', their leader 'Abdullah ibn Wahab said: 'I do not

know, is it to paradise or hell? A man from the tribe of S'ad, who was witnessing this scene, said: I came [to the battlefield] deceived by this man, but I see that he is in doubt. So, he separated with a group of his companions and moved in the direction of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.

We recall that the answer of Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) concering the Khawārij is worthy of reading and reflection. He described them as "sceptics" warning against their positions. It is reported by Jamīl ibn Darrāj that he said: A man said to Abū ʿAbdullah, [Imām al-Ṣādiq] (a.s.): Are the Khārijites sceptics? He said: Yes. He [the man] said: How should they be sceptics when they would call people to fight. He said: This was because of what they found in themselves."[1265]

What is worthy of attention in this discussion is that the questioner finds difficulty in attesting to the fact that men may raise their swords and fight in defence of a belief tainted with doubt and confusion. The answer of the Imām (a.s.) is that they do not move on the basis of a solid belief, or rather, they were driven by false emotions. It may happen that a person falls captive to his emotions in certain difficult situations and circumstances, until the storm of emotions subsides and its intensity abates, the rider of its wave realises that how he lost his treasure. The words of the Imām indicate that the movement of 'the Māriqīn (the Renegades)' was not based on firm belief.

Love of this World

The love of this world - irrespective of the forms of this love and its indicators – is the second factor of the deviation of the Khārijites, the Nākithīn (the Breakers) and the Qāsiṭīn (the Unjust). The Imām in a profound speech of his, said:

"When I took up the reins [of government] one party broke their covenant, another turned disobedient, and another still acted wrongfully, as if they had not heard the words of God:

"*That abode in the hereafter, We assign it for those who intend not to exult themselves in the earth, nor [to make] mischief [therein]; and the end is [best] for the pious ones.*"[1266]

Yes, by God, they had heard it and understood it, but the world appeared glittering in their eyes and its embellishments seduced them."[1267]

What has been brought in history about the Khārijites makes this point somewhat difficult. For they would adopt asceticism as their trademark, abandon this world, preoccupy themselves with worship, dislike the material aspects of life and fight courageously on the battlefield. Here it is necessary for us to mention: "Here are a thousand issues finer than [a strand of] hair."[1268] Thus devotion to this world has many signs and faces. A man takes restrictions upon himself in order that he may be known and loved by people; he is renowned and is spoken of by name! Yes:

Everyone in existence looks for game
The difference lies just in the nets.

It is not for a person to [be] sincere in his intentions for as long as he has not freed himself from the trap of the self and the snare of Satan. It is clear that devotion to this world – if it is in the mould of religiousness and the clothing of the hereafter – is more dangerous than if it was in the mould of the love for this world. For it is difficult to comprehend this reality from behind that appearance.

We may clearly perceive this reality in the comprehensive description of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) when he speaks about the classes of people in his era, saying:

"Among them there is he who seeks [benefits of] this world through actions [meant for] the hereafter, but he does not seek [the good of] the hereafter through actions of this world. He is content with himself, takes small steps [close to one another], rolls up his clothes, embellishes himself to attain men's trust and takes God's protection a means of disobedience."[1269]

It is difficult to identify and distinguish the seekers of this world, especially those that pretend attentiveness towards the Hereafter. Such type of attentiveness does not manifest itself except at the times of tests

and the difficult turning points in life. The Imām said in this regard: "In the changing conditions is knowledge of the essences of men."[1270]

Indeed comprehending the hidden reality behind the veil of hypocrisy and deception is something problematic. It requires a profound and penetrating vision like the vision of Mālik al-Ashtar, who could see the love of this world concealed behind long prostrations and deceptive inclinations along with fabricated glittering sacredness. Mālik was on the verge of [achieving] victory at the Battle of Ṣiffīn, so he advanced until he reached the tent of the power-mongers, but he was forced to withdraw under the pressure of 'the reciters'. When he returned, he addressed them with sorrow and pain, saying: "O people of black foreheads! We would deem your prayers abstinence from this world and desire for meeting God. Indeed I can only see that you are fleeing from death to this world. Shame on you! [you are like] old camels that feed on dung."[1271]

This type of love for this world has also come down in the words of Imām Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, when he says:

"If you see a person having refined his character and conduct, polite in his speech and humble in his movements, be patient, he should not mislead you! Many a man is unable to partake of this world and enjoy the unlawful of it due to the weakness of his intention and its humiliation, cowardice of heart, so he erected his religion as a net for it. He continues to deceive people with his appearance; if he is able to gain the unlawful, he embarks on it!

If you find that he abstains from unlawful money, be patient, he should not mislead you! For indeed the desire of the creatures is different; many a man who disagrees with unlawful money, even though it may be abundant, but he sets out to have an illegal intercourse with an ugly woman. If you find that he abstains from that, don't be hasty, he should not deceive you! You should look at his intellect. Many a man who leaves that altogether, even though without to the sound intellect, so that which he destroys through his ignorance is more than

that which he sets right through his intellect? Thus if you find that his intellect is sound, be patient, he should not mislead you, until you see whether desire is with his intellect, or that he is with his intellect against his desires, how much he likes corrupt authority and his renunciation of it. Indeed there are amongst people those who have lost this world and the hereafter by abstaining from this world for [the benefit of] this world; they see that the enjoyment of corrupt authority is better than the enjoyment of money and lawfully permitted blessings, so they leave all that in search of authority, to the extent that when he is told, *'Be wary of God', conceit seizes him sinfully; so let hell suffice him and it is surely an evil resting place*![1272] He hits blindly [in the dark]. The first evil leads him to the furthest point of loss. His Lord provides him – after his request for that which he has no power over – in his deviation; he makes lawful that which God has made unlawful and makes unlawful that which God has made lawful. He is not concerned about that which he has lost from his religion if authority – by which he had become wreched – turns over to him.

They are those with whom God is wrathful and Who has cursed them,[1273] *and prepared for them a humiliating punishment.*[1274]

The perfect man, indeed, is he who makes his desire follow the command of God; his energies are spent for the pleasure of God; he views humiliation along with the truth closer to honour of eternity than honour with evil; he knows that the little difficulty he endures will lead him to eternal blessings in an abode that does not perish nor does it exhaust, and that a lot of the evil that accompanies him if he follows his desire will lead him to a punishment that has no end or limit. That is the man, the blessed one; so hold on to him, follow his normative rule and seek his intercession towards your Lord, for indeed his supplications are never rejected nor are his requests disappointed."[1275]

The Effects of 'al-Taʿammuq'

It is appropriate to speak about the effects of '*al-Taʿammuq*' after

we have come to know its nature and origins; we find that the reports that enumerated the perils of the ignorant worshipper have described the harmful effects of '*al-Taʿammuq*'. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) informed about the destruction of his community at the hands of the profligate scholars and ignorant worshippers. This tradition has disclosed itself on the days of the government of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) and it has taken shape since then. He said: "An immoral scholar and an ignorant worshipper have broken my back."[1276]

He [also] said: "Two people have cut off my back: An unrighteous scholar and an ignorant worshipper."[1277]

He said in a sermon:

"Two men from this world have cut off my back: an unrighteous learned man and an ignorant worshipper. The former conceals his unrighteous with his tongue and the latter conceals his ignorance with his worship; so beware of the unrighteous amongst the scholars and the ignorant amongst the worshippers. They are a test for everyone."[1278]

We notice here that the Imām reminds [us] of the problems his government had faced in reality; he reminds us that his government received two severe blows from two classes of men:

1. The unrighteous scholars: these were the prominent faces that ignited the sedition of the Battles of Jamal (the Camel) and Ṣiffīn [al-Nākithūn and al-Qāsiṭūn] and paved the way for corruption after they deliberately violated [their allegiance] and transgressed.

2. The ignorant worshippers who confronted the Imām at al-Nahrawān with the visage of ascetics and in the name of religion, stemming from their ignorance and stupidity.

There is no value in the worship of the ignorant nor is there any weight in his nightly [religious] vigils. Such men constitute a great danger for Islam and Islamic governance. In other words: the like of the danger of an unrighteous scholar on the Islamic system is like the danger of the ignorant worshipper on the Islamic community and Islamic system as well.

It is no wonder that the life of the Imām should end at the hands of the second class; the reality of history indicates that the danger of ignorant worshippers is more intense.

It has become clear that the most dangerous fruit of the evil tree of '*al-Ta'ammuq*' – with its roots in ignorance, love of this world clad in the apparel of religion – is the destruction of the pillars of the Islamic system. Let us now analyse the branches of this tree:

Conceitedness

Conceitedness, pride and haughtiness all represent the first branch of 'al-Ta'ammuq', extremism and ignorant ritualism. The reciters were afflicted with this harmful disease due to their excessiveness in their worship and their imprudent pursuance of rituals. They assumed – through this sickness – that there is no one better than them. It was through this that the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) asked one of them, in order to reveal his hidden vanity, saying: "Did you say to yourself when you entered the gathering: there is no one better than me amongst the people?" He said: Yes. The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) wanted to draw his attention to the disease of pride and conceitedness. He thus said about him and the likes of him: "Indeed amongst you [there are] people who work hard until they impress people and are impressed by themselves."[1279]

The Danger of Conceitedness

Conceitedness is the most dangerous of moral sicknesses. If it intensifies in a person, it will be incurable. The words of Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) is a clear sign of this reality. He (a.s.) said: Whoever is impressed by himself will be destroyed. Whoever is impressed by his opinion will be destroyed. Indeed Jesus the son of Mary said: I treated the sick and healed them by the permission of God. I cured those born blind and the lepers by the permission of God. I treated the dead and revived them by the permission of God. I treated the fool, but I was unable to set him right. Then it was said: O Spirit of God! What is a fool? He said: One who is impressed by his view and by himself, who

sees all virtue belongs to him and all rights are exclusive for him. Such is the fool for whom there is no trick to cure."[1280]

Imām Khomeini (r.a.) said in his advice to his son:

"O my son, free yourself from the bondage of pride and conceitedness; for it is the inheritance of Satan who had disobeyed God, when he failed to surrender to His friend and chosen [Prophet]. Know that all human afflictions are a result of this satanic inheritance; it is the root of sedition."[1281]

If this disease is rooted in one's soul, there is no way for him to attain salvation or perfection. Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said: "Iblīs said to his troops: If I have mastery of the son of Adam in three things, I will not bother what he does, for it will not be accepted from him: if he deems his act many, forgets his sins and conceitedness has entered him."[1282]

The disease of conceitedness prevents on the one hand a person from enjoying the blessings of his righteous action and, on the other leads to different ethical deviations. Thus it is necessary to affirm that all the effects of '*al-Taʿammuq*' spring forth from this vice.

The Continuation of Ignorance

This represents the other branch of the tree of '*al-Taʿammuq*'. It has its roots in conceitedness in some manner. Thus when a person goes to great lengths in his action without rationality and considers himself better than others, he will not review his thought and he will try while he is ignorant and will be captive to the trap of ignorance.

It is on this [basis] that Imām al-Hadī (a.s.) said: "Conceitedness drives [one] away from seeking knowledge. It calls for wandering in ignorance."[1283]

As a matter of fact the disease of conceitedness throws one into compound ignorance, in that he who practices *al-Taʿammuq* considers what he has done the best, so what is the need for contemplation on it?

The Holy Qur'ān speaks about such individuals in a manner that calls for consideration and heed. The Almighty says:

"Say: 'Shall we tell you of those who lose most in respect of their deeds?
Those whose efforts have been wasted in this life, while they thought that they were acquiring good by their works?' "[1284]

When this verse was recited in the presence of the Imām (a.s.), he said:

"The people of Ḥarūrā' are of them."[1285]

In this manner conceitedness entraps one in ignorance. The one afflicted with this ignorance will never consider himself ignorant and will not free himself of this shackle. The words of the Imām (a.s.) explain this reality eloquently. He indeed said in his advice to his son al-Ḥasan (a.s.):

"Indeed the ignorant is one who reckons himself with the scholars although he ignores many things and contents himself with his opinion. He is constantly far away from the scholars whom he disgraces. He accuses everyone who does not agree with him of error and misguides in the matters that he ignores. He denies and belies the matters that he ignores, and says: I do not know this, and I see it is not accurate and it will never be accurate. This is because such an ignorant is overconfident of his opinion and less aware of his ignorance. He is always involved in his confusing opinions, listening to his ignorance, denying the right, perplexed in his unawareness, and waxing too pround to seek knowledge."[1286]

Charge of Disbelief

One of the harmful fruits of extremism, ignorance, excessiveness, deep penetration into the religion and egocentrism, is charge others with disbelief. Those that are superficial, narrow-minded, proud, considering their behaviour the criterion for truth are quick to judge others without any basis and break the backs of all those who do not think like them with the stick of disbelief. Thus were the Khārijites. They imposed the arbitration on the Imām (a.s.) without permitting themselves, even slightly, to think about it or ponder over what they had innovated. Thereafter they carried the stick of disbelief

and denounced the Imām (a.s.) [as a disbeliever], when he was the epitome of exemplary faith, the embodiment of truth and the elevated manifestation of divinity. What was surprising was that they ordained the killing of all those who did not believe like them. They put it into practice and this way killed (certain) individuals.[1287].

They persisted with their method in this manner and declared all those who commit a major sin as disbelievers.When one of their leaders, Qaṭrī ibn al-Fujā'a, was asked in one of the battles: Will you fight or not? He answered in the negative. Then he rectified his word and decided to fight, so his troops said: You lied and [thus] disbelieved. They confronted him saying: Beast of God. He declared them disbelievers.[1288]

Fanaticism and Obstinacy

Obstinacy emanates from ignorance, and blind fanaticism is another effect of religious extremism and conceitedness. Therefore a person who goes to great lengths is hostage to deviation and misguidance such that his salvation is not possible. When the Khārijites were afflicted with it, the Imām addressed them saying: "O gang [of people], who have been misled by the enmity of argumentation and obstinacy, deterred from the path of Truth by desire, for whom frivolity has yearn, thus living in far confusion and a grave matter."[1289]

Therefore those who were excessive and fanatical, the people of obstinacy, did not at all consider what they believed nor did they consider it probable that it (their belief) was wrong and thus they did not deem it necessary to review and examine their error.

Henceforth, they did not listen to the kind and sincere guidelines of the Imām (a.s.), nor did they review their positions, when Ibn Abbās and other emissaries of the Imām (a.s.) were engaged with them in a rational dialogue; they abstained from speech in order that they may not be affected by it. ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab said, while he was fighting: "Throw the spears, unsheathe your swords, for indeed I fear that they will appeal to you as they did on the day of Ḥarūrā'."[1290]

They shouted, after the Imām (a.s.) spoke to them in a (reasoned) debate, saying: "Do not address them and do not speak to them."[1291]

When they heard the arguments of Ibn Abbās, having closed to them all loopholes of pretences and obstinacy with the guidance of the Qur'ān, they shouted: Let not the arguments of Quraysh be proof against you, for indeed he is of the people concerning whom God has said: "*Yea, they are a contentious people.*"[1292]

When they heard his strong answers in another session and they were unable to refute them, they raised their voices towards him and addressed him with these words:

"O Ibn Abbās, withhold from us the sharpness of your tongue, for indeed it is articulate, fluent, and penetrative of the areas of proof."[1293]

Accordingly, the Khārijites who were also known as 'the reciters' and also '*al-Mutaʿamiqūn* in religion (namely those who practised *al-Taʿammuq* and penetrated into the religion and the fields that resulted in immoderation, extremism, ignorance and obstinacy, while they persisted in their disbelief and were a source of deviation in the Islamic community.

The Role of the Infiltrators

It is necessary for us at the end not to be heedless of a point in our analysis of the sedition of the Khārijites and the investigation of its roots, that is the role of the infiltrators, especially the Qāsiṭīn (the Uniust) in the deviation of the Māriqīn (the Renegades), even it is difficult to get access to historical document to verify this issue. And it is due to the natural secrecy existing in this regard. However, it is possible for us, based on certain indications, to conjecture. One of the indications that may help the scholar in this field is the study of the role of al-Ashʿath ibn Qays in this sedition.[1294]

Contemplation on historical texts, especially what is mentioned in the invaluable book '*Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*', about al-Ashʿath and his position at the Battle of Ṣiffīn and thereafter, leaves no place for doubt that he had never befriended or supported the Imām, or rather, he was an

infiltrator, an agent of Muʿāwiyah, in the army of the Imām (a.s.). For he was dismissed from the governorship of Azerbaijan[1295] and from his leadership of his tribe[1296], in addition the inconsistency of his faith and the confusion of his religious belief, which led Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd to say: "The source of all corruption and confusion that occurred during the Caliphate of ʿAlī (a.s.) is al-Ashʿath."[1297]

Al-Ashʿath was accused of his connection to Muʿāwiyah; he himself was aware of this point and careful about it. He tried not to do anything that might reveal his true identity to the people. The idea of betaking himself to Muʿāwiyah after his dismissal tempted him, but his tribe prevented him from that.[1298] His contact with Muʿāwiyah and his dialogue with his emissaries is proof of his hypocrisy.[1299]

When the fighting flared up and the army of Muʿāwiyah weakened and the favourable signs of victory of the army of the Imām (a.s.) appeared on the horizon, al-Ashʿath addressed his tribe and frightened them by mentioning the widowed women and the orphaned children, so their ranks weakened dramatically.[1300] Therefore, when the companions of Muʿāwiyah raised the Qur'āns through the conspiracy of Ibn al-ʿĀṣ, al-Ashʿath spoke and forced the Imām (a.s.) to accept the arbitration.[1301] When the Imām accepted the arbitration and chose Mālik al-Ashtar or ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās as his representative, al-Ashʿath strived with all his effort to prevent that.[1302] When the text of the arbitration was written, he raised it in front of the army, so some of the troops shouted: "There is no judgement but God's"[1303] After the secrets of the conspiracy were partly revealed, those who were deceived accused ʿAlī (a.s.) of [committing] a sin and demanded that he repent. Thus when the Imām (a.s.) tried to extinguish the fire of the sedition in a pleasant manner and to mobilise the people to march toward Syria, al-Ashʿath continued to excite its flames and tried to make those deceived troops - who were determined to march and submit to the truth - go back to their first position.[1304]

In this manner al-Ashʿath sowed the seeds of sedition, deserted the

army of the Imām (a.s.), took his path with many individuals, went his own way and headed towards Kūfah.

Al-Ashʿath was self-polluted, of sick thought, having adopted a hostile position against the Imam; he was able to play an effective and evil role in arousing the sedition at the Battle of al-Nahrawān. He took positions that were based on his desires, material inclinations, and tribal partisanship under the quise of divine and human criteria.

What is also important is that when the Imām (a.s.) chose ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās for the arbitration, al-Ashʿath said: Nay, by God. Two members of [the tribe of] Muḍar shall not judge in it until the Last Hour; appoint a man from the people of Yemen, since they have appointed a man from Muḍar.

ʿAlī said: 'I fear that your Yemenite will be deceived, for indeed ʿAmr does not fear God if he has a desire for something.' Al-Ashʿath said: By God, if they pass judgement with that which we dislike when one of them is from the people of Yemen, it will be dearer to me than if they pass judgement with that which we like when they are both from Muḍar."[1305]

So it was his tribal partisanship, characteristic of the approach of al-Ashʿath and his companions that ignited the fire of the sedition of al-Nahrawān after those incidents. Hence, a foolish and naive person like Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī al-Yamanī was brought together with a cunning and shrewd man like ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, thus changing the course of Islamic history.

1.3.

A General Outlook

The Names of the Instigators of the War

The historical and traditional texts have described the agitators of the Battle of al-Nahrawān with the following five qualities, they are:

1. The Māriqīn (the Renegades)

The first person to describe them with this name was the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.), when he saw with divine sight that this group due to its excessive religiousness would go forth from the religion such that no trace of religion is left. He said: "They will pass through Islam as the arrow passess through a game's body, so that the archer will look at his arrow, at the arrowhead and at the feathers of the arrow, so he doubts the upper part: whether there is blood sticking to it."[1306]

2. Al-Ḥarūriyya

Al-Mubarrad mentioned, in his book *al-Kāmil*, the reason for such designation al-Ḥarūriyya, saying:

"They have been named al-Ḥarūriyya because ʿAlī (may God be pleased with him) debated with them their discussion with Ibn Abbās, saying:

'Do you not know those people? When they raised the Qur'āns, I said to you: Indeed this is a conspiracy and [a sign of] weakness. If they had truly intended to judge by the Qur'ān, they would not have fought me, and asked of me arbitration. Do you know that there was nobody

1 / 3

نَظرَةٌ عامّةٌ

أ ـ أسماءُ مُسَعِّري الحَربِ

وصفت النصوص التاريخيّة والحديثية مثيري حرب النهروان بخمس صفات، هي:

1. المارقون

أوّل من نعتهم بهذا الاسم هو رسولُ اللّهِ ﷺ، وذلك أنّه كان يرى بالبصيرة الإلهيّة بأنّ هذه الفئة بسبب تطرّفها الديني تمرق من الدين بسرعة بحيث لا يبقى عليها أيّ أثر من الآثار الحقيقيّة للدين؛ فقال في هذا المجال: «يَمرُقونَ مِنَ الدّينِ مُروقَ السَّهمِ مِنَ الرَّمِيَّةِ؛ فَيَنظُرُ الرّامي إلى سَهمِهِ، إلى نَصلِهِ، إلى رِصافِهِ، فَيَتَمارى فِي الفوقَةِ هَل عَلِقَ بِها مِنَ الدَّمِ شَيءٌ».

2. الحروريّة

اما سبب تسميتهم بالحروريّة فقد أورد المبرّد في كتابه «الكامل» ما يلي:

وكان سبب تسميتهم الحروريّة أنّ عليّاً رضوان الله عليه لمّا ناظرهم بعد مناظرة ابن عبّاس إيّاهم كان فيما قال لهم:

«ألا تَعلَمونَ أنَّ هؤُلاءِ القَومَ لَمّا رَفَعُوا المَصاحِفَ قُلتُ لَكُم: إنَّ هذِهِ مَكيدَةٌ ووَهنٌ، وأنَّهُم

peace between them with justice and be fair: for God loves those who are fair (and just)."[1313]

What is important is that the first three names are specific to the companions of [the Battle of] al-Nahrawān; however al-Khawārij and al-Bughāh also encompass the Nākithīn (the Breakers) and the Qāsiṭīn (the Unjust).

The Prophet's Prophecy

451. **The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) said,** concering al-Harūriyya: "They will pass through Islam as the arrow passes through the game's body."[1314]

452. **Ṣahīh Muslim,** reported from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī: "Indeed the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) has mentioned a people among his Community who will go forth along with other men. Their distinctive mark will be shaven heads. They will be the worst of creatures or of the worst of creatures. They will be killed the group closer to the truth."[1315]

453. **Ṣahīh al–Bukhārī,** reported from Yasīr ibn ʿAmr: "I said to Sahl ibn Ḥunayf, 'Did you hear the Prophet (s.a.w) say something about the Khārijites?' He said: 'I heard him say while pointing his hand towards Iraq: There will go forth out of it (i.e. Iraq) a people who will recite the Qur'ān, but it will not go beyond their throats; they will pass through Islam as the arrow passes through the game's body.' "[1316]

The Māriqūn from the Perspective of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.)

454. **Al-Futūḥ,** reporting from Ḥabīb ibn Āṣim al-Azdī, who said: "[I said] to Imām ʿAlī (a.s.): O Commander of the Faithful, are those that we are fighting, disbelievers?' ʿAlī said: 'They fled from disbelief, but fell into it.' He said: 'Are they hypocrites?' ʿAlī said: 'Indeed the hypocrites are not mindful of God except a little.' He said: 'Then who are they, O Commander of the Faithful, so that I may fight them with foresight and conviction?' ʿAlī said: 'They are a people that have passed through the religion of Islam like the arrow passes through the game's body; they recite the Qur'ān, but

وممّا ينبغي الالتفات إليه في هذا المضمار أنّ الأسماء الثلاثة الأُول خاصّ بأصحاب النهروان، وأمّا «الخارج» و «الباغي» فيشملان الناكثين والقاسطين أيضاً، بل يطلقان على كلّ من تمرّد على الإمام العادل.

ب ـ إخبارُ النَّبيِ صلى الله عليه وآله عَن خَصائِصِهِم ومَصيرِهِم

451. **رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله** ـ فِي الحَرَورِيَّةِ ـ: يَمرُقونَ مِنَ الإسلامِ مُروقَ السَّهمِ مِنَ الرَّمِيَّةِ.

452. **صحيح مسلم عن أبي سعيد الخدري:** إنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله ذَكَرَ قَوماً يَكونونَ في أُمَّتِهِ يَخرُجونَ في فُرقَةٍ مِنَ النّاسِ، سيماهُمُ التَّحالُقُ، هُم شَرُّ الخَلقِ أو مِن أشَرِّ الخَلقِ يَقتُلُهُم أدنَى الطّائِفَتَينِ إلَى الحَقِّ.

453. **صحيح البخاري عن يسير بن عمرو:** قُلتُ لِسَهلِ بنِ حُنَيف: هَل سَمِعتَ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وآله يَقولُ فِي الخَوارِجِ شَيئاً؟ قالَ: سَمِعتُهُ يَقولُ ـ وأهوى بِيَدِهِ قِبَلَ العِراقِ ـ : يَخرُجُ مِنهُ قَومٌ يَقرَؤونَ القُرآنَ، لا يُجاوِزُ تَراقِيَهُم، يَمرُقونَ مِنَ الإسلامِ مُروقَ السَّهمِ مِنَ الرَّمِيَّةِ.

ج ـ المارِقونَ مِن وِجهَةِ نَظرِ الإمامِ عليه السلام

454. **الفتوح عن حبيب بن عاصم الأزدي** ـ لِلإمامِ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام ـ: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ، هؤُلاءِ الَّذينَ نُقاتِلُهُم، أكُفّارٌ هُم؟

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: مِنَ الكُفرِ هَرَبوا، وفيهِ وَقَعوا. قالَ: أفَمُنافِقونَ؟ فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: إنَّ المُنافِقينَ لا يَذكُرونَ اللّهَ إلّا قَليلاً. قالَ: فَما هُم يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ حَتّى أُقاتِلَهُم عَلى بَصيرَةٍ ويَقينٍ؟ فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: هُم قَومٌ مَرَقوا مِن دينِ الإسلامِ، كَما مَرَقَ السَّهمُ مِنَ الرَّمِيَّةِ؛ يَقرَؤونَ القُرآنَ فَلا

it does not go beyond their throats; blessed is he who kills them or is killed by them.' "[1317]

The Imām's Pride in Fighting them

455. Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said: "So now praise and eulogy be to God. O people, I have gouged out the eye of revolt. No one but me dared to confront it, when its gloom was swelling and its madness intensified."[1318]

The Prohibition of Fighting them after Him

456. Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said: "Al-Ḥarūriyya were mentioned in the presence of ʿAlī (a.s.), so he said: 'If they rise with a group or against a just leader, then fight them; however if they rise against an unjust leader, then do not fight them, for indeed they may have an argument for their actions.' "[1319]

The Identity of Their Leaders

The Khārijites came from the heart of a group that would reside in Kūfah and were known as the 'Reciters'. They came into being in the shadow of inflamed emotions aggravated in the last days of the Battle of Ṣiffīn without intellection or rationality. The reigns of their military leadership were in the hands of Shabath ibn Rib'ī, whereas the reigns of their religious and ideological leadership were in the hands of 'Abdullah ibn al-Kawwā'.

After the receding of the intensity of emotions and the debates and arguments conducted by Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) and ʿAbdullah ibn Abbās, these two personalities forsook the Khārijites and returned to the army of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.). They were part of his army when the Battle of al-Nahrawān occurred. Shabath ibn Rib'ī assumed the right wing of the army of the Imām. After him, the reigns of the leadership of the Kharijites were assumed by certain individuals about whom we do not have sufficient information, such as: Shurayḥ ibn Awfā, Zayd ibn al-Ḥuṣain and Ḥamza ibn Sinān.

يَتَجاوَزُ تَراقِيَهُم، فَطوبى لِمَن قَتَلَهُم أو قَتَلوهُ.

د ـ مُباهاتُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِقِتالِهِم

455. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام**: أمّا بَعدَ حَمدِ اللهِ وَالثَّناءِ عَلَيهِ، أيُّهَا النّاسُ! فَإنّي فَقَأتُ عَينَ الفِتنَةِ، ولَم يَكُن لِيَجتَرِئَ عَلَيها أحَدٌ غَيري بَعدَ أن ماجَ غَيهَبُها، وَاشتَدَّ كَلَبُها.

هـ ـ نَهيُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَن قِتالِهِم بَعدَهُ

456. **الإمام الباقر عليه السلام**: ذُكِرَتِ الحَرَورِيَّةُ عِندَ عَلِيٍّ عليه السلام قالَ: إن خَرَجوا مَعَ جَماعَةٍ أو عَلى إمامٍ عادلٍ فَقاتِلوهُم، وإن خَرَجوا عَلى إمامٍ جائرٍ فَلا تُقاتِلوهُم؛ فَإنَّ لَهُم في ذلِكَ مَقالا.

و ـ هُوِيَّةُ رُؤَسائِهِم

انبثق الخوارج من قلب فئة كانت تسكن الكوفة وتعرف باسم «القراء». وجاءت نشأتهم في ظل مشاعر جيّاشة استفحلت في الأيّام الأخيرة من معركة صفّين، ولم تأتِ من نوازع قائمة على التفكير والتعقّل. كان زمام قيادتهم العسكريّة بيد شبث بن ربعي، فيما كان زمام زعامتهم الدينيّة والفكريّة بيد عبد الله ابن الكوّاء.

وفي أعقاب تقلّص حدّة المشاعر، ومن بعد المناظرات والاحتجاجات التي أجراها معهم الإمام عليّ عليه السلام وعبد اللّه بن عبّاس، انشقّ هذان الشخصان عن الخوارج وعادا إلى جيش الإمام عليّ عليه السلام، وكانا في عداد جيشه عند اضطرام معركة النهروان، وتولّى شبث بن ربعي قيادة ميسرة جيش الإمام. وأخذ بزمام قيادة الخوارج فيما بعد أفراد من عامّة الناس ومن مجاهيلهم، ولا تتوفّر بين أيدينا معلومات عنهم.

وقد وردت أسماء أشخاص مثل شريح بن أوفى، وزيد بن الحصين، وحمزة بن سنان في عداد الشخصيّات البارزة للخوارج، ولكن لا تتوفّر لدينا معلومات عن حياتهم وسيرتهم.

Ḥurqūṣ ibn al-Zubair

He was a companion [of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)][1320], but he was bereft of any firm belief; we have mentioned his malicious and offensive words to the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) at the Battle of Ḥunayn, when he said to him: Act justly, O Muḥammad' and the response of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to him.[1321] 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb commanded him to suppress the rebellion led by al-Hurmuzān in Khūzistān, and he was successful.[1322] He participated in the revolution against 'Uthmān, and the companions of [the Battle of] the Camel intended to kill him, but he was able to flee from their hands.[1323]

He was considered to be one of the companions of the Commander of the Faithful during his Caliphate, but he was deceived by the conspiracy of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ at the Battle of Ṣiffīn and stood against the Imām (a.s.). He played a crucial role in imposing the arbitration due to the deviated spiritual and ideological background he bore.

He was also an influential element in organising the Khārijites to fight the Imām (a.s.).

Similarly, he was intense in his enmity and hatred towards him.[1324] Even though he may have refused to be the commander of the companions of [the Battle of] al-Nahrawān, he did command the ground troops at the Battle[1325] thereafter he was killed by the Imām (a.s.).[1326] The Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) had informed of his killing at the Battle of al-Nahrawān. After the Battle of al-Nahrawān, the Imām (a.s.) said: 'Look for him'. However, they did not find him. He (a.s.) then said with emphasis: Return [to look for him]. By God, I have neither spoken a lie nor a lie has been spoken to me. [He said this] twice or thrice. They then found him [dead] in ruins.[1327]

This emphasis is proof of the genuineness of the Imām (a.s.) on one hand and the deviation of the Khārijites and their misguidance on the other. This was a step in the direction of reinforcing the hearts of the companions of the Imām (a.s.), as it was difficult for them to fight people who feigned asceticism and worship. In this manner, the Imām (a.s.) affirmed the truthfulness of his path and that of his companions at the Battle of al-Nahrawān.

1. حُرقوصُ بنُ زُهَير

كان حرقوص من الصحابة، ولكنّه خاو من الاعتقاد الراسخ. وقد ذكرنا كلمته البذيئة النابية لرسول الله ﷺ في غزوة حنين، إذ قال له: اعدِلْ يا محمّد! وكذلك جواب النبيّ ﷺ له. أمره عمر بن الخطّاب بقمع التمرّد الذي قام به الهرمزان في خوزستان، فنجح في مهمّته. وشارك في الثورة على عثمان. وهمّ أصحاب الجمل بقتله، لكنّه استطاع الفرار من أيديهم.

كان في عداد أصحاب الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام أيّام خلافته، لكنّه انخدع بمكيدة عمرو بن العاص في صفّين، ووقف بوجه الإمام عليه السلام، وقام بدور مهمّ في فرض التحكيم، بما كان يحمله من أرضيّة فكريّة وروحيّة منحرفة كما أشرنا إلى ذلك سلفاً.

وكان عنصراً مؤثّراً أيضاً في تنظيم الخوارج لحرب الإمام عليه السلام .

كما كان متشدّداً في عدائه له وحقده عليه. وهو وإن رفض الإمارة على أصحاب النهروان، لكنّه كان على رجّالتهم في تلك المعركة. ثمّ قتله الإمام عليه السلام فيها. وكان رسول الله ﷺ قد أخبر بهلاكه في النهروان، وعن كيفيّة ذلك. وبعد معركة النهروان قال الإمام عليه السلام: أُطلُبوهُ، فَلَم يَجِدوهُ، فَقالَ عليه السلام مُؤَكِّداً: إرجِعوا، فَوَاللّهِ ما كَذَبتُ ولا كُذِّبتُ مَرَّتَينِ أو ثَلاثاً ثُمَّ وَجَدوهُ في خَرِبَة.

فهذا التأكيد دليل على حقّانيّة الإمام عليه السلام من جهة، وعلى انحراف الخوارج وضلالهم الثابت من جهة أُخرى، وهو خطوة لتثبيت قلوب أصحاب الإمام عليه السلام الذين كان قد شقّ عليهم قتال أُناس يتظاهرون بالزهد والعبادة. وهكذا أصحر الإمام عليه السلام بحقّه وثبات خُطاه هو وأصحابه مراراً في معركة النهروان.

ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab

He assumed the leadership of the Khārijites in the sedition of al-Nahrawān; however, we do not have sufficient information about his past. He did not take on the responsibility at the beginning of the affair. Ibn al-Kawwā' was the leader of the prayers and Shabath ibn Rib'ī was the Commander of the battle;[1328] when they separated from the Khawārij[1329], they searched for a new leader. The candidates were: Zayd ibn Ḥuṣain, Ḥarqūṣ ibn Zuhair, Ḥamza ibn Sinān and Shurayḥ ibn Awfā; however, they refused that, so ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab appointed himself over them.[1330] He organised them for the war and invited them to it in fiery speeches and warned them against speaking to the Commander of the Faithful ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) or listening to his speeches.[1331]

Some historical texts state that he was not firm in his belief because of the way he had chosen for himself.[1332]He invited the Imām to a duel vaingloriously and impudently, but he was killed in the first moments of confrontation with the unrivalled lion of the battles.

3.2.

Description of the War

Its Date

Almost a year after the Battle of Ṣiffīn, when the fire of this bloody war had not as yet been extinguished, the fire of the third civil war erupted, stemming forth from within the army of the Imām and under the leadership of the extremist Muslims.

Hence, since the Imām assumed the reigns of the political power, he would face a civil war every year.

The date of the occurrence of the Battle of al-Nahrawān is not known exactly; some historians mentioned that it occurred in the year 38AH[1333], whereas others mentioned that it occurred in 37AH[1334], still

2. عَبدُ اللّه بنُ وَهب

تولّى قيادة الخوارج في فتنة النهروان. وليس في أيدينا معلومات تُذكَر عن ماضيه. علماً أنّه لم يَقُم بالأمر في بداية تبلور التيّار الخارجي؛ فقد كان ابن الكوّاء أمير الصلاة، وشَبَث بن رِبعيّ أمير الحرب. ثمّ انفصلا عن الخوارج فيما بعد، ممّا دفعهم إلى البحث عن قائد جديد لهم. وكان المرشّحون للقيادة: هم زيد بن حُصَين، وحرقوص بن زُهير، وحمزة بن سِنان، وشُريح بن أوفى، بيْد أنّهم رفضوا ذلك، فتآمر عبد الله بن وهب عليهم. ونظّمهم من أجل الحرب، ودعاهم إليها في خُطَبه الحماسيّة، وحذّرهم من التحدّث إلى الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، والاستماع إلى خُطَبِهِ.

وتدلّ بعض النصوص التاريخيّة على أنّه لم يكن ثابت العقيدة في طريقه الذي كان قد اختاره لنفسه.

ونقل المؤرّخون أنّه دعا الإمام عليّاً عليه السلام إلى البِراز بكلّ وقاحة وصلافة، ولكنّه قُتل في اللحظات الأُولى التي واجه فيها ليث الوغى الذي لا نِدّ له.

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مُواصفاتُ الحَرْبِ

أ ـ تاريخُها

بعدما يقرب من سنة واحدة على واقعة صفّين، وفي وقت لم تكن قد أُخمدت فيه نيران هذه الحرب الدامية، اندلع لهيب ثالث حرب داخليّة منطلقاً هذه المرّة من داخل جيش الإمام وبزعامة المتطرّفين من المسلمين.

وهكذا كان الإمام منذ تسلّمه لزمام السلطة السياسية يواجه في كلّ عام حرباً أهليّة.

others have further indicated that it occurred in 39AH.[1335]

It appears that the first view is closer to the truth, for many authors of life history or biographies - or most of them, according to al-Ṭabarī - adopt this view; a close observation of the events occurring in the era of the government of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) also supports this view.

Concering the month in which the Battle of al-Nahrawān occurred, most historians have not referred to it; however some of them are of the opinion that it happened in the month of Ṣafar, 38AH[1336], whereas other say that it was in the month of Shʿabān, 38AH[1337]. It appears that the correct view is the first one, i.e. in the month of Ṣafar, 38AH, for the time for the arbitration was the month of Ramaḍān; after that the Imām equipped the army and advanced with it towards Syria, during which he faced the rebellion of the Khārijites against him.

The period of the war was very short; it was not long before it was extinguished.[1338]

Its Locus

The battle broke out at al-Nahrawān, a vast area between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ from the eastern side[1339], at a distance of four farsakhs from Baghdad.[1340]

The Number of Participants

The army of the Commander of the Faithful comprised more than sixty seven thousand [men], because the Imām (a.s.) had prepared himself to fight the people of Syria, when he had not decided to fight the Khārijites[1341] at that time; however, the army of the Khawārij was four thousand[1342] or two thousand and eight hundred [men].[1343]

457. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, reporting from Abū Salama al-Zuhrī, who said, concering what is left of the companions of al-Nahrawān after the Imām had granted them protection - : "They were [originally] four thousand [men], and those that remained with ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab from amongst them were two thousand and eight hundred [men]."[1344]

إنّ تاريخ وقوع معركة النهروان غير محدّد على وجه الدقّة؛ فقد ذكر بعض المؤرّخين أنّها وقعت سنة ٣٨ هـ بينما ذكر آخرون أنّها وقعت سنة ٣٧ هـ وأشار غيرهم الى وقوعها سنة ٣٩ هـ

ويبدو أنّ الرأي الأوّل أقرب إلى الصواب؛ فبالإضافة إلى أنّ الكثير من أصحاب السيَر أو أكثرهم كما يقول الطبري يذهبون إلى هذا القول؛ فإنَّ التتبّع الدقيق لمجريات الأحداث في عهد حكومة الإمام عليّ عليه السلام يؤيّد هذا الرأي أيضاً.

وأمّا الشهر الذي وقعت فيه معركة النهروان فلم يُشِر إليه أكثر المؤرّخين إلّا أنّ البعض منهم يرى أنّها حدثت في شهر صفر سنة ٣٨ هـ ويرى آخرون أنّها كانت في شهر شعبان سنة ٣٨ هـ ويبدو أنّ القول الصحيح هو الأوّل أي في شهر صفر سنة ٣٨ هـ؛ لأنّ وقت التحكيم كان قد عُيّن في شهر رمضان، ومن بعده جهّز الإمام جيشاً وسار به نحو الشام، وإذا به يواجه تمرّد الخوارج عليه.

وكانت مدّة الحرب قصيرة جدّاً وما لبثت أن خمدت على وجه السرعة.

ب ـ مَكانُها

دارت رحى الحرب في النهروان وهي كورة واسعة بين بغداد وواسط من الجانب الشرقي على أربعة فراسخ من بغداد.

ج ـ عَدَدُ المُشارِكينَ فيها

شكّل جيش الإمام أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام أكثر من ثمانية وستين ألفاً؛ وذلك أنّ الإمام عليه السلام تهيّأ لقتال أهل الشام، ولم يكن عزم على قتال الخوارج. وأمّا جيش الخوارج فكان أربعة آلاف، أو ألفين وثمانمِئَة.

457. **تاريخ الطبري عن أبي سلمة الزهري** ـ في ذِكرِ ما بَقِيَ مِن أصحابِ النَّهرَوانِ بَعدَ إعطاءِ الإمامِ لَهُمُ الأَمانَ ـ:

كانوا أربَعَةَ آلافٍ، فَكانَ الَّذينَ بَقوا مَعَ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ وَهبٍ مِنهُم ألفَينِ وثَمانَمِئَة.

3.3.

The Journey of the Māriqīn (the Renegades) towards al-Nahrawān

The Beginning of the Separation

458. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī**, reporting from al-Zuhrī, who said: "The people of Ṣiffīn dispersed after the arbitrators had been appointed. When ʿAlī left, al-Ḥarūriyya opposed and disobeyed; that was the first sign of their opposition; thereafter they declared war against him because he appointed the children of Adam to judge in God's judgement, saying: 'There is no judgement but God's. [1345] and they fought the Imam.'[1346]

Delegating ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās to them

459. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said**, in his advice to ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās, when he delegated him to argue with the Khārijites - : "Do not argue with them by the Qur'ān, for the Qur'ān is a bearer of interpretations; you would say and they would respond; but argue with them in light of the Sunnah (traditions [of the Holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)]), for indeed they will find no escape out of it."[1347]

Imām ʿAlī Heading towards Ḥarūrā'

460. **Al-Futūḥ**, relates - after mentioning the return of ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās from Ḥarūrā' and that he gave the Imam an account of his debate with the Khārijites - : " 'Alī rode to them [i.e. the Khārijites] with a hundred men of his companions until he met them at Ḥarūrā'. When the news reached the Khārijites, 'Abdullah Ibn al-Kawwā' rode with a hundred men of his companions until he met the Imam.

'Alī said to him: 'O Ibn al-Kawwā' there is a lot to talk about, come to me from amongst your companions, so that I may talk to you.' Ibn al-Kawwā' said: 'Will I be protected from your sword?'

أ ـ بِدايَةُ الفُرقَةِ

458. **تاريخ الطبري عن الزهري:** تَفَرَّقَ أهلُ صِفّينَ حينَ حُكِّمَ الحَكَمانِ... فَلَمَّا انصَرَفَ عَلِيٌّ خالَفَتِ الحَرَورِيَّةُ وخَرَجَت وكانَ ذلِكَ أوَّلَ ما ظَهَرَت فَآذَنوهُ بِالحَربِ، ورَدّوا عَلَيهِ أن حَكَّمَ بَني آدَمَ في حُكمِ اللهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ، وقالوا: لا حُكمَ إلّا للّهِ سُبحانَهُ! وقاتَلوا.

ب ـ إشخاصُ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ عَبّاس إليهِم

459. **الإمام عليّ**عليه السلام مِن وَصِيَّتِهِ لِعَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ العَبّاسِ لَمّا بَعَثَهُ لِلاِحتِجاجِ عَلَى الخَوارِجِ ـ: لا تُخاصِمهُم بِالقُرآنِ؛ فَإِنَّ القُرآنَ حَمّالٌ ذو وُجوه؛ تَقولُ ويَقولونَ، ولكِن حاجِجهُم بِالسُّنَّةِ، فَإِنَّهُم لَن يَجِدوا عَنها مَحيصاً.

ج ـ خُروجُ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلى حَرَوراءَ وتَوبَةُ جَماعَةٍ مِنَ الخَوارِجِ

460. **الفتوح** بَعدَ ذِكرِ رُجوعِ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ عَبّاس مِن حَرَوراءَ وإخبارِهِ الإمامَ بِما جَرى بَينَهُ وبَينَ الخَوارِجِ ـ: رَكِبَ عَلِيٌّ إلَى القَومِ في مِئَةِ رَجُل مِن أصحابِهِ، حَتّى وافاهُم بِحَرَوراءَ، فَلَمّا بَلَغَ ذلِكَ الخَوارِجَ رَكِبَ عَبدُ اللهِ بنُ الكَوّاءِ في مِئَةِ رَجُل مِن أصحابِهِ حَتّى واقَفَهُ.

فَقالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: يَابنَ الكَوّاءِ إنَّ الكَلامَ كَثيرٌ، ابرُز إلَيَّ مِن أصحابِكَ حَتّى أُكَلِّمَكَ. قالَ ابنُ الكَوّاءِ: وأنَا آمِنٌ مِن سَيفِكَ.

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: نَعَم، وأنتَ آمِنٌ مِن سَيفي.

قالَ: فَخَرَجَ ابنُ الكَوّاءِ في عَشَرَة مِن أصحابِهِ ودَنَوا مِن عَلِيٍّ(رضي الله عنه). قالَ:

ʿAlī said: 'Yes, you will be protected from my sword.'

He said: Ibn al-Kawwā' set forth with ten of his men and came close to ʿAlī (a.s.). He said: Ibn al-Kawwā' wanted to speak but a man from the companions of ʿAlī shouted and said: 'Be quiet, let the one who has better right to speak first'. He said: Ibn al-Kawwā' was thus silent and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib spoke. He recalled the war between him and Muʿāwiyah. He recalled the day when the copies of the Qur'ān were raised and they agreed on the two arbitrators. Then ʿAlī said to him, 'Woe unto you, O Ibn al-Kawwā', did I not say to you on that day when the copies of the Qur'ān were raised, the people of Syria desire to deceive you through it? Did I not say to you that they are frightened by the war, so leave me that I may fight them, but you refused and said: Indeed they [the Syrians] have invited us to the Book of God, so thus answer them, or else, we would not fight with you, or rather, we would give you in to them. When I agreed and wanted to send my cousin ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbbās in order to be my arbitrator, for he is man who has no desire of the pleasures of this world, there were those of you who rejected and you came to me with Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and said: Indeed we are pleased with him. I agreed to you in spite of my displeasure; if I had found supporters at that time, I would not have agreed. I then stipulated a condition for the arbitrators, in your presence, that they rule according to what God has revealed or to the comprehensive [Prophetic] Traditions; so if they do not act accordingly, there is no obedience biding on me towards them Did that happen or not? '

Ibn al-Kawwā' said: 'You have spoken the truth. This is exactly what happened; so why do you not return to fight the [Syrian] people when you know that the arbitrators did not judge rightly and that one of them deceived the other?'

ʿAlī said: 'I cannot fight them until the period we have stipulated between ourselves and them expires. '

وذَهَبَ ابنُ الكَوّاءِ لِيَتَكَلَّمَ فَصاحَ بِهِ رَجُلٌ مِن أصحابِ عَلِيٍّ وقالَ: اُسكُت؛ حَتّى يَتَكَلَّمَ مَن هُوَ أحَقُّ بِالكَلامِ مِنكَ.

قالَ: فَسَكَتَ ابنُ الكَوّاءِ، وتَكَلَّمَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ، فَذَكَرَ الحَربَ الَّذي كانَ بَينَهُ وبَينَ مُعاوِيَةَ، وذَكَرَ اليَومَ الَّذي رُفِعَت فيهِ المَصاحِفُ، وكَيفَ اتَّفَقوا عَلَى الحَكَمَينِ، ثُمَّ قالَ لَهُ عَلِيٌّ: وَيحَكَ يَابنَ الكَوّاءِ، أ لَم أقُل لَكُم في ذلِكَ اليَومِ الَّذي رُفِعَت فيهِ المَصاحِفُ: كَيفَ أهلُ الشّامِ يُريدونَ أن يَخدَعوكُم بِها؟ أ لَم أقُل لَكُم بِأنَّهُم قَد عَضَّهُمُ السِّلاحُ وكاعوا عَنِ الحَربِ، فَذَروني أُناجِزهُم، فَأَبَيتُم عَلَيَّ وقُلتُم: إنَّ القَومَ قَد دَعَونا إلى كِتابِ اللّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ فَأَجِبهُم إلى ذلِكَ، وإلّا لَم نُقاتِل مَعَكَ، وإلّا دَفَعناكَ إلَيهِم! فَلَمّا أجَبتُكُم إلى ذلِكَ وأرَدتُ أن أبعَثَ ابنَ عَمّي عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ عَبّاسٍ لِيَكونَ لي حَكَماً، فَإنَّهُ رَجُلٌ لا يَبتَغي بِشَيءٍ مِن عَرَضِ هذِهِ الدُّنيا ولا يَطمَعُ أحَدٌ مِن النّاسِ في خَديعَتِهِ، فَأَبى عَلَيَّ مِنكُم مَن أبى، وجِئتُموني بِأَبي موسَى الأَشعَرِيِّ وقُلتُم: قَد رَضينا بِهذا. فَأَجَبتُكُم إلَيهِ وأنا كارِهٌ، ولَو أصَبتُ أعواناً غَيرَكُم في ذلِكَ الوَقتِ لَما أجَبتُكُم. ثُمَّ إنّي اشتَرَطتُ عَلَى الحَكَمَينِ بِحَضرَتِكُم أن يَحكُما بِما أنزَلَ اللّهُ مِن فاتِحَتِهِ إلى خاتِمَتِهِ أو السُّنَّةِ الجامِعَةِ، فَإن هُما لَم يَفعَلا ذلِكَ فَلا طاعَةَ لَهُما عَلَيَّ، أكانَ ذلِكَ أم لَم يَكُن ؟

فَقالَ ابنُ الكَوّاءِ: صَدَقتَ، قَد كانَ هذا بِعَينِهِ، فَلِمَ لا تَرجِعُ إلى حَربِ القَومِ إذ قَد عَلِمتَ إنَّ الحَكَمَينِ لَم يَحكُما بِالحَقِّ، وأنَّ أحَدَهُما خَدَعَ صاحِبَهُ ؟

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: إنَّهُ لَيسَ إلى حَربِ القَومِ سَبيلٌ إلَى انقِضاءِ المُدَّةِ الَّتي ضُرِبَت بَيني وبَينَهُم.

قالَ ابنُ الكَوّاءِ: فَأَنتَ مُجمِعٌ عَلى ذلِكَ؟

Ibn al-Kawwā said: 'Have you agreed on that?'

He said: 'Can I do anything else? Look O Ibn al-Kawwā'! Have I found supporters and relinquished my rights?'

He said: Thereupon Ibn al-Kawwā' hit the belly of his horse and moved towards ʿAlī with ten of his companions; they withdrew from the doctrine of the Khawārij and marched with ʿAlī to Kūfah. The remainders [of them] dispersed while they were saying: "There is no judgement but God's Judgement; there is no obedience to one who has disobeyed God."[1348]

Imām ʿAlī's Patience and Gentleness with Them

461. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, reporting from Kathīr ibn Bahz al-Ḥaḍramī, who said: "One day ʿAlī stood amongst the people and addressed them, when a man said from the side of the Mosque: 'Sovereignty (or judgement) belongs only to God.' and then another stood up and said so, followed by a few men with the same response.

ʿAlī (a.s.) said: 'God is Greater! A word of truth by which falsehood is sought![1349] You are entitled to three things as long as you accompany us: we will not prevent you from the Mosques of God if you want to remember His Name, we will not deny you the booty as long as your hands are with us and we will not fight you until you begin it (i.e. the war).' He then returned to his place"[1350]

Their Pledging of Allegiance to ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab

462. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī**, reporting from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abū Ḥurra, who said: "Indeed when ʿAlī sent Abū Mūsā to implement the arbitration, the Khārijites met one another and gathered at the house of ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab al-Rāsibī. He praised God and lauded Him and then said: 'By God, it should not be for a people that believe in the All-Compassionate and resort to the ruling of the Qur'ān that this world is dearer to them than commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong and speaking the truth.

So, O our brothers go forth with us from this town, whose

قالَ: وهَل يَسَعُني إلّا ذلِكَ؟ أُنظُر يَابنَ الكَوّاءِ أنّي أصَبتُ أعواناً وأقعُدُ عَن حَقّي؟

قالَ: فَعِندَها بَطَنَ ابنُ الكَوّاءِ فَرَسَهُ وصارَ إلى عَلِيٍّ مَعَ العَشَرَةِ الَّذينَ كانوا مَعَهُ، ورَجَعوا عَن رَأيِ الخَوارِجِ، وَانصَرَفوا مَعَ عَلِيٍّ إلَى الكوفَةِ، وتَفَرَّقَ الباقونَ وهُم يَقولونَ: لا حُكمَ إلّا للّهِ، ولا طاعَةَ لِمَن عَصَى اللّهَ.

د ـ صَبرُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَلى أذاهُم ورِفقُهُ بِهِم

461. **تاريخ الطبري عن كثير بن بهز الحضرمي:** قامَ عَلِيٌّ فِي النّاسِ يَخطُبُهُم ذاتَ يَوم، فَقالَ رَجُلٌ ـ مِن جانِبِ المَسجِدِ ـ: لا حُكمَ إلّا للّهِ. فَقامَ آخَرُ فَقالَ مِثلَ ذلِكَ، ثُمَّ تَوالى عِدَّةُ رِجال يُحَكِّمونَ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: اللّهُ أكبَرُ، كَلِمَةُ حَقٍّ يُلتَمَسُ بِها باطِلٌ! أما إنَّ لَكُم عِندَنا ثَلاثاً ما صَحِبتُمونا: لا نَمنَعُكُم مَساجِدَ اللّهِ أن تَذكُروا فيهَا اسمَهُ، ولا نَمنَعُكُمُ الفَيءَ ما دامَت أيديكُم مَعَ أيدينا، ولا نُقاتِلُكُم حَتّى تَبدَؤونا. ثُمَّ رَجَعَ إلى مَكانِهِ الَّذي كانَ فيهِ مِن خُطبَتِهِ.

هـ ـ بَيعَتُهُم عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ وَهبٍ

462. **تاريخ الطبري عن عبد الملك بن أبي حرّة:** إنَّ عَلِيّاً لَمّا بَعَثَ أبا موسى لِإنفاذِ الحُكومَةِ لَقِيَتِ الخَوارِجُ بَعضُها بَعضاً، فَاجتَمَعوا في مَنزِلِ عَبدِ الله بنِ وَهَب الرّاسِبِيِّ، فَحَمِدَ الله عَبدُ الله بنُ وَهب وأثنى عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: أمّا بَعدُ، فَوَاللهِ مايَنبَغي لِقَوم يُؤمِنونَ بِالرَّحمنِ ويُنيبونَ إلى حُكمِ القُرآنِ أن تَكونَ هذِهِ الدّنيَا ـ الَّتِي الرِّضا بِها وَالرُّكونُ بِها وَالإيثارُ إيّاها عَناءٌ وتَبارٌ ـ آثَرَ عِندَهُم مِنَ الأَمرِ بِالمَعروفِ، وَالنَّهيِ عَنِ المُنكَرِ، وَالقَولِ بِالحَقِّ، وإن مُنَّ وضُرَّ فَإنَّهُ مَن يُمَنُّ ويُضَرُّ في هذِهِ الدُّنيا فَإنَّ ثوابَهُ يَومَ القيامَةِ رِضوانُ اللّهِ عَزَّ وجَلَّ وَالخُلودُ

people are unjust[1351], to some of the mountainous regions or to these cities, denouncing these misleading innovations.'

Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhair said to him: 'Indeed the pleasures of this world are little and separation from it [i.e. this world] is near. So do not let its jewels and beauty invite you to reside in it, nor should it distract you from demanding the truth and denouncing the oppression, for *God is with those who are God wary and those who are virtuous.*[1352]'

So Ḥamza ibn Sinān al-Asadī said: 'O People! Indeed the view is what you determine. Entrust your affair to a man from amongst you, for you must have a pillar, a support and a flag under which you assemble and return.' They suggested it to Zayd ibn Ḥuṣain al-Ṭā'ī, but he refused. They then proposed it to Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhair, but he refused. Then they proposed it to Ḥamza ibn Sinān and Shurayḥ ibn Awfā al-ʿAbisī, but they both refused. Then [finally] they proposed it to ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab, so he said: 'Bring it forth; by God, I do not accept it out of desire for this world, nor do I refuse it out of fear of death.' They pledged their alleagiance to him - who was called Dhu al-Thafināt (having calloused forehead) - on the tenth of Shawwāl.

They then gathered in the house of Shurayḥ ibn Awfā al-ʿAbisī. Ibn Wahab said: 'Take us to a place, that we may come together to enforce the rule of God, for indeed you are the people of the Truth.

Shurayḥ said: 'Let's go forth to al-Madā'in; we will alight there, seize control of its gates, expel its inhabitants, and send for our brothers from the people of Baṣra to come to us.'

Zayd ibn Ḥuṣain said: 'Indeed if you go forth together, you will be followed, thus go forth separately and secretly, for indeed [in] al-Madā'in there is someone who will prevent you; so march until you arrive at the bridge of al-Nahrawān and write to your brothers from the people of Baṣra.' They said: 'That is the correct view.'

ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab wrote to those who were in Baṣra

في جَنّاتِهِ. فَاخرُجوا بِنا إخوانَنا مِن هذِهِ القَريَةِ الظّالِمِ أهلُها إلى بَعضِ كُوَرِ الجِبالِ، أو إلى بَعضِ هذِهِ المَدائِنِ، مُنكِرينَ لِهذِهِ البِدَعِ المُضِلَّةِ.

فَقالَ لَهُ حُرقوصُ بنُ زُهَيرٍ: إنَّ المَتاعَ بِهذِهِ الدُّنيا قَليلٌ، وإنَّ الفِراقَ لَها وَشيكٌ، فَلا تَدعُوَنَّكُم زينَتُها وبَهجَتُها إلَى المُقامِ بِها، ولا تَلفِتَنَّكُم عَن طَلَبِ الحَقِّ، وإنكارِ الظُّلمِ، فَإنَّ اللّه مَعَ الَّذينَ اتَّقَوا وَالَّذينَ هُم مُحسِنونَ.

فَقالَ حَمزَةُ بنُ سِنانٍ الأَسدِيُّ: يا قَومُ! إنَّ الرَّأيَ ما رَأَيتُم، فَوَلّوا أمرَكُم رَجُلاً مِنكُم، فَإنَّهُ لابُدَّ لَكُم مِن عِمادٍ وسِنادٍ ورايَةٍ تَحُفّونَ بِها، وتَرجِعونَ إلَيها. فَعَرَضوها عَلى زَيدِ بنِ حُصَينٍ الطّائِيِّ، فَأَبى، وعَرَضوها عَلى حُرقوصِ بنِ زُهَيرٍ، فَأَبى، وعَلى حَمزَةَ بنِ سِنان وشُرَيحِ بنِ أوفَى العَبسِيِّ، فَأَبَيا، وعَرَضوها عَلى عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ وَهبٍ، فَقال: هاتوها، أما وَاللّهِ لا آخُذُها رَغبَةً فِي الدُّنيا، ولا أدَعُها فَرَقاً مِنَ المَوتِ. فَبايَعوهُ لِعَشرٍ خَلَونَ مِن شَوّالَ، وكانَ يُقالُ لَهُ: ذُو الثَّفِناتِ.

ثُمَّ اجتَمَعوا في مَنزِلِ شُرَيحِ بنِ أوفَى العَبسِيِّ، فَقالَ ابنُ وَهب: إشخَصوا بِنا إلى بَلدَةٍ نَجتَمِعُ فيها لِإنفاذِ حُكمِ اللّهِ، فَإنَّكُم أهلُ الحَقِّ.

قالَ شُرَيحٌ: نَخرُجُ إلَى المَدائِنِ فَنَنزِلُها، ونَأخُذُ بِأبوابِها، ونُخرِجُ مِنها سُكّانَها، ونَبعَثُ إلى إخوانِنا مِن أهلِ البَصرَةِ فَيَقدَمونَ عَلَينا.

فَقالَ زَيدُ بنُ حُصَينٍ: إنَّكُم إن خَرَجتُم مُجتَمِعينَ اتُّبِعتُم، ولكِنِ اخرُجوا وُحداناً مُستَخفينَ، فَأمّا المَدائِنُ فَإنَّ بِها مَن يَمنَعُكُم، ولكِن سيروا حَتّى تَنزِلوا جِسرَ النَّهرَوانِ وتُكاتِبوا إخوانَكُم مِن أهلِ البَصرَةِ. قالوا: هذا الرَّأيُ.

وكَتَبَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ وَهبٍ إلى مَن بِالبَصرَةِ مِنهُم يُعلِمُهُم مَا اجتَمَعوا عَلَيهِ، ويَحُثُّهُم عَلَى اللِّحاقِ بِهِم، وسَيَّرَ الكِتابَ إلَيهِم، فَأجابوهُ أنَّهُم عَلَى اللِّحاقِ بِهِ.

informing them about what they had agreed upon and encouraging them to join them. He dispatched the letter to them; they answered him that they would join him.

When they decided to march, they spent the night in worship; it was the eve and day of Friday. They thus marched on Saturday. Shurayḥ ibn Awfā al-ʿAbisī set forth reciting the words of God: *So he escaped from thence, fearing, vigilant. He said: My Lord! Deliver me from the wrongdoing folk. And when he turned his face toward Midian, he said: Peradventure my Lord will guide me in the right road.*[1353]"[1354]

The Killing of Ibn Khabbāb and His Pregnant Wife

463. **Musnad ibn Ḥanbal**, reporting from Ayyūb, Ḥamīd ibn Hilāl and a man from ʿAbd al-Qays, who was a Khārijite, and then he deserted their doctrine, that he said: "when they entered a village, ʿAbdullah ibn Khabbāb went forth frightened, pulling his robe, so they said: 'Why do you panic?' He said: 'By God, you have scared me!'

They said: 'Are you ʿAbdullah ibn Khabbāb, the companion of the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.)?' He said: 'Yes.' They said: 'Will you narrate to us a report you heard from your father, from the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.)?' He said: 'Yes, I heard him narrate from the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) that he mentioned [the occurrrence of] a sedition, the one sitting will be better than the one standing, the one who is standing will be better than the one walking, and the one walking will be better than the one striving. He said: 'If you get caught up in it, then be the killed 'Abdullāh (servant of God).' Ayyūb (the narrator) said: 'I think he added: 'But do not be the killing 'Abdullāh.' They said: 'Did you hear that from your father, from the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.)?'

He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'They took him to the banks of the river and struck his neck, so his blood flowed, but it did not scatter, as if it was a shoelace, and they cut open the belly of his wife [in spite of her pregnancy].'"[1355]

فَلَمّا عَزَموا عَلَى المَسيرِ تَعَبَّدوا لَيلَتَهُم؛ وكانَت لَيلَةُ الجُمُعَةِ ويَومُ الجُمُعَةِ، وساروا يَومَ السَّبتِ، فَخَرَجَ شُرَيحُ بنُ أوفَى العَبسِيُّ وهُوَ يَتلو قَولَ اللهِ تَعالى: ﴿فَخَرَجَ مِنْهَا خَآئِفًا يَتَرَقَّبُ قَالَ رَبِّ نَجِّنِى مِنَ الْقَوْمِ الظَّـٰلِمِينَ * وَ لَمَّا تَوَجَّهَ تِلْقَآءَ مَدْيَنَ قَالَ عَسَى رَبِّى أَن يَهْدِيَنِى سَوَآءَ السَّبِيلِ﴾.

و قَتلُهُمُ ابنَ خَبّاب وامرَأَتَهُ وهِيَ حُبلى

463. مسند ابن حنبل عن أيّوب عن حميد بن هلال عن رجل من عبد القيس كان من **الخوارج ثمّ فارقهم قال:** دَخَلوا قَريَةً، فَخَرَجَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ خَبّاب، ذَعِراً يَجُرُّ رِداءَهُ، فَقالوا: لَم تُرَعْ، قالَ: وَاللّهِ لَقَد رُعتَموني!

قالوا: أنتَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ خَبّاب صاحِبِ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ؟

قالَ: نَعَم. قالوا: فَهَل سَمِعتَ مِن أبيكَ حَديثاً يُحَدِّثُهُ عَن رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ تُحَدِّثُناهُ؟

قالَ: نَعَم، سَمِعتُهُ يُحَدِّثُ عَن رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ أنَّهُ ذَكَرَ فِتنَةً، القاعِدُ فيها خَيرٌ مِنَ القائِمِ، وَالقائِمُ فيها خَيرٌ مِنَ الماشي، وَالماشي فيها خَيرٌ مِنَ السّاعي. قالَ: فَإن أدرَكتَ ذلِكَ فَكُن عَبدَ اللّهِ المَقتولَ ـ قالَ أيّوبُ: ولا أعلَمُهُ إلّا قالَ: ولا تَكُن عَبدَ اللّهِ القاتِلَ ـ.

قالوا: أ أنتَ سَمِعتَ هذا مِن أبيكَ يُحَدِّثُهُ عَن رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ؟

قالَ: نَعَم.

قالَ: فَقَدَّموهُ عَلى ضَفَّةِ النَّهرِ، فَضَرَبوا عُنُقَهُ، فَسالَ دَمُهُ كَأنَّهُ شِراكُ نَعلٍ مَا ابذَقَرَّ، وبَقَروا أُمَّ وَلَدِهِ عَمّا في بَطنِها.

3.4.

Imām ʿAlī's Determination to Fight Muʿāwiyah

The Sermon of Imām ʿAlī before His Advance to Syria

464. Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, reporting from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abū Ḥurrah who said: "When the Khawārij left [and disobeyed] and Abū Mūsā fled to Mecca, ʿAlī returned Ibn Abbās to Baṣra, he stood up in Kūfah and addressed them, saying: 'Praise be to God even though fate brings forth grave misfortunes and majestic events and I bear witness that there is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.

Indeed sin occasions grief and yields regret. I have already given you my command concering these two men and the arbitration, I informed you of my opinion, if only Qasīr had the command, but you refused but that which you wanted, so you and I were like the brother of Hawāzin when he said:

"I gave them my orders at Munʿarij al-Liwā;
But they did not take heed till the forenoon of the next day."

The two men whom you chose as arbitrators have discarded the ruling of the Qur'ān behind their backs, revived that which the Qur'ān destroyed, each one following their desires without the guidance from God, so they judged without clear evidence or past tradition; they differed in their judgement when both of them were not guided. God, his Messenger and the righteous believers dissociate themselves from them. Prepare yourselves and get ready for the advance to Syria, by the will of God, and be in your camps on Monday morning." [1356]

Imām ʿAlī Seeking Assistance from the Khārijites to Fight Muʿāwiyah

465. Ansāb al-Ashrāf, reporting from Abū Mijlaz who said: "'Alī sent [a message] to the Khārijites: Go to wherever you want, do not create

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عَزمُ الإمامِ عليه السلام على قِتالِ مُعاوِيَةَ ثانِياً

أ ـ خُطبَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام قَبلَ المَسيرِ إلَى الشّامِ

464. **تاريخ الطبري عن عبد الملك بن أبي حرّة:** لَمّا خَرَجَتِ الخَوارِجُ وهَرَبَ أبو موسى إلى مَكَّةَ ورَدَّ عَلِيٌّ ابنَ عَبّاسٍ إلى البَصرَةِ، قامَ فِي الكوفَةِ فَخَطَبَهُم، فَقالَ:

الحَمدُ للّهِ وإن أتَى الدَّهرُ بِالخَطبِ الفادِحِ، وَالحَدَثانِ الجَليلِ، وأشهَدُ أن لا إلهَ إلّا اللّه، وأنَّ مُحَمَّداً رَسولُ اللّهِ.

أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنَّ المَعصِيَةَ تورِثُ الحَسرَةَ، وتُعقِبُ النَّدَمَ، وقَد كُنتُ أمَرتُكُم في هذَينِ الرَّجُلَينِ وفي هذِهِ الحُكومَةِ أمري، ونَحَلتُكُم رَأيي، لَو كانَ لِقَصير أمرٌ! ولكِن أبَيتُم إلّا ما أرَدتُم، فَكُنتُ أنَا وأنتُم كَما قالَ أخو هَوازِنَ:

أمَرتُهُمُ أمري بِمُنعَرَجِ الـلِّوى فَلَم يَستَبينُوا الرُّشدَ إلّا ضُحَى الغَدِ

ألا إنَّ هذَينِ الرَّجُلَينِ اللَّذَينِ اختَرتُموهُما حَكَمَينِ قَد نَبَذا حُكمَ القُرآنِ وَراءَ ظُهورِهِما، وأحيَيا ما أماتَ القرآنُ، وَاتَّبَعَ كُلُّ واحِد مِنهُما هَواهُ بِغَيرِ هُدىً مِنَ اللّهِ، فَحَكَما بِغَيرِ حُجَّة بَيِّنَة، ولا سُنَّة ماضِيَة، وَاختَلَفا في حُكمِهِما، وكِلاهُما لَم يَرشُد، فَبَرِئَ اللّهُ مِنهُما ورَسولُهُ وصالِحُ المُؤمِنينَ. إستَعِدّوا وتَأَهَّبوا لِلمَسيرِ إلَى الشّامِ، وأصبِحوا في مُعَسكَرِكُم إن شاءَ اللّهُ يَومَ الإثنَينِ.

ب ـ إستِنصارُ الإمامِ عليه السلام الخَوارِجَ في قِتالِ مُعاوِيَةَ

465. **أنساب الأشراف عن أبي مجلز:** بَعَثَ عَلِيٌّ إلَى الخَوارِجِ أن سيروا إلى حَيثُ شِئتُم، ولا تُفسِدوا فِي الأَرضِ؛ فَإنّي غَيرُ هانِجِكُم ما لَم تُحدِثوا حَدَثاً.

mischief in the land, for I will not agitate you as long as you do not commit a crime.

They marched on until they reached al-Nahrawān, where ʿAlī had determined to go to Ṣiffīn. When Muʿāwiyah was informed, he [also] advanced to Ṣiffīn. ʿAlī wrote to the Khawārij at al-Nahrawān 'Now then, indeed, what you wanted has come to pass; the two arbitrators have dispersed without any judgement or agreement, so return to your [original] positions, for I want to advance to Syria.'

They replied to him: 'It is not permissible for us to adopt you as a leader, when you have disbelieved, until you bear witness against yourself to that effect [that you have disbelieved] and repent as we have repented, for you did not get angry for God, or rather, you got angry for yourself.' When he read the reply of his letter, he gave up all hope of them; he decided to march from his encampment at al-Nukhayla to Syria and he wrote to the people of Baṣra to rise with him."[1357]

The Army of Imām ʿAlī Halting at al-Nukhailah

466. **Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl**, relates, after mentioning the letter of the Imām (a.s.) to the Khārijites and their reply to him: "When ʿAlī read their letter, he gave up all hope of them; he was of the opinion to leave them to their own devices and advance to Syria to re-engage Muʿāwiyah in battle. He marched with the people until they camped at al-Nukhailah and said to his companions: 'Get ready to advance to the people of Syria, for indeed I have written to all your brothers to march towards you; when they arrive, we will depart by the will of God.' He then wrote to all his governors to appoint deputies in their places and advance towards him."[1358]

The Army's Insistence on Fighting the Khārijites before the Advance

467. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī**, reports from Abū al-Ṣalt al-Taymī: "It reached ʿAlī that people are saying: 'If he marched with us to al-Ḥarūriyya, we would begin [to fight] them [first]; when have been done with

فَساروا حَتّى أتَوُا النَّهرَوانَ، وأجمَعَ عَلِيٌّ عَلى إتيانِ صِفّينَ، وبَلَغَ مُعاوِيَةَ فَسارَ حَتّى أتى صِفّينَ.

وكَتَبَ عَلِيٌّ إلَى الخَوارِجِ ـ بِالنَّهرَوانِ ـ: أمّا بَعدُ، فَقَد جاءَكُم ما كُنتُم تُريدونَ، قَد تَفَرَّقَ الحَكَمانِ عَلى غَيرِ حُكومَة ولاَ اتِّفاق، فَارجِعوا إلى ما كُنتُم عَلَيهِ، فَإنّي أُريدُ المَسيرَ إلَى الشّامِ.

فَأجابوهُ: أنَّهُ لا يَجوزُ لَنا أن نَتَّخِذَكَ إماماً وقَد كَفَرتَ حَتّى تَشهَدَ عَلى نَفسِكَ بِالكُفرِ، وتَتوبَ كَما تُبنا، فَإنَّكَ لَم تَغضَب للهِ، إنَّما غَضِبتَ لِنَفسِكَ.

فَلَمّا قَرَأَ جَوابَ كِتابِهِ إلَيهِم يَئِسُ مِنهُم، فَرَأى أن يَمضِيَ مِن مُعَسكَرِهِ بِالنُّخَيلَةِ ـ وقَد كانَ عَسكَرَ بِها حينَ جاءَ خَبرُ الحَكَمَينِ ـ إلَى الشّامِ، وكَتَبَ إلى أهلِ البَصرَةِ فِي النُّهوضِ مَعَهُ.

ج ـ نُزولُ عَسكَرِ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِالنُّخَيلَةِ

466. **الأخبار الطوال** بَعدَ ذِكرِ رِسالَةِ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلَى الخَوارِجِ وجَوابِهِم لَهُ ـ: لَمّا قَرَأَ عَلِيٌّ كِتابَهُم يَئِسَ مِنهُم، ورَأى أن يَدَعَهُم عَلى حالِهِم، ويَسيرَ إلَى الشّامِ؛ لِيُعاوِدَ مُعاوِيَةَ الحَربَ، فَسارَ بِالنّاسِ حَتّى عَسكَرَ بِالنُّخَيلَةِ، وقالَ لِأصحابِهِ: تَأَهَّبوا لِلمَسيرِ إلى أهلِ الشّامِ، فَإنّي كاتِبٌ إلى جَميعِ إخوانِكُم لِيَقدَموا عَلَيكُم، فَإذا وافَوا شَخَصنا إن شاءَ اللهُ.

ثُمَّ كَتَبَ كِتابَهُ إلى جَميعِ عُمّالِهِ أن يُخَلِّفوا خُلفاءَهُم عَلى أعمالِهِم، ويَقدَموا عَلَيهِ.

د ـ إصرارُ الجَيشِ عَلى قِتالِ الخَوارِجِ قَبلَ المَسيرِ

467. **تاريخ الطبري عن أبي الصلت التيمي**: بَلَغَ عَلِيّاً أنَّ النّاسَ يَقولونَ: لَو سارَ بِنا إلى هذِهِ

them, we may advance towards those that we are fighting' [i.e. the Syrians]', so he stood amongst the people, praised and lauded God, and then he said: 'Your words have reached me: If only the Commander of the Faithful were to march with us to these rebels who rebelled against him, so we began [to fight] them, and when have been done with them, we may advance towards those that we are fighting. Leave them. Let's march to a people that are fighting you in order that they may be oppressive rulers over you and take the servants of God as slaves.' The people called out from all sides: 'O Commander of the Faithful, march with us to wherever you like.' "[1359]

3.5.

The Advance of the Army of Imām ʿAlī to al-Nahrawān

Motivations Causing Change in the Imam's Position in Confrontation with the Kharijites

468. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī**, reporting from Ḥamīd ibn Hilāl, who said, after he mentioned that the Khārijites had killed ʿAbdullāh ibn Khabbāb and his wife - : "They killed also three women from [the tribe of] Ṭayy' and killed Umm Sinān al-Ṣaydāwiyya. When the news reached ʿAlī and those with him of the Muslims, that is the Killing of ʿAbdullah ibn Khabbāb and his wife and their opposition to the people, he sent al-Ḥārith ibn Murra al-ʿAbdī to go to them and look into what they say, and write to him without concealing anything.

He left until he reached al-Nahr to inquire about them, but they [i.e. the Khawārij] went forth to him and killed him. The news reached the Commander of the Faithful and the people, so they stood up and said: 'O' Commander of the Faithful, why are you leaving them to remain behind us along with our wealth and

الحَرَورِيَّةِ فَبَدَأنا بِهِم، فَإذا فَرَغنا مِنهُم وَجَّهَنا مِن وَجهِنا ذلِكَ إلَى المُحِلّينَ. فَقامَ في النّاسِ، فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وأثنى عَلَيهِ، ثُمَّ قالَ: أمّا بَعدُ، فَإنَّهُ قَد بَلَغَني قَولُكُم: لَو أنَّ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ سارَ بِنا إلى هذِهِ الخارِجَةِ الَّتي خَرَجَت عَلَيهِ فَبَدَأنا بِهِم، فَإذا فَرَغنا مِنهُم وَجَّهَنا إلَى المُحِلّينَ، وإنَّ غَيرَ هذِهِ الخارِجَةِ أهَمُّ إلَينا مِنهُم، فَدَعوا ذِكرَهُم، وسيروا إلى قَومٍ يُقاتِلونَكُم كَيما يَكونوا جَبّارينَ مُلوكاً، ويَتَّخِذوا عِبادَ اللهِ خَوَلاً.

فَتَنادى النّاسُ مِن كُلِّ جانِبٍ: سِر بِنا يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ حَيثُ أحبَبتَ.

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مَسيرُ جَيشِ الإمامِ عليه السلام إلَى النَّهروانِ

أ ـ ما أدّى إلى تَطَوُّرِ مَوقِفِ الإمامِ عليه السلام في مُواجَهَةِ الخَوارِجِ

468. **تاريخ الطبري عن حميد بن هلال** ـ بَعدَ أن ذَكَرَ أنَّ الخَوارِجَ قَتَلوا عَبدَ اللّهِ ابنَ خَبّابٍ وامرَأتَهُ ـ : وقَتَلوا ثَلاثَ نِسوَةٍ مِن طَيِّءٍ، وقَتَلوا اُمَّ سِنانٍ الصَّيداوِيَّةَ، فَبَلَغَ ذلِكَ عَلِيّاً ومَن مَعَهُ مِنَ المُسلِمينَ مِن قَتلِهِم عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ خَبّابٍ وَاعتِراضِهِم النّاسَ، فَبَعَثَ إلَيهِمُ الحارِثَ بنَ مُرَّةَ العَبدِيَّ لِيَأتِيَهُم فَيَنظُرَ فيما بَلَغَهُ عَنهُم، ويَكتُبَ بِهِ إلَيهِ عَلى وَجهِهِ، ولا يَكتُمَهُ.

فَخَرَجَ حَتّى انتَهى إلَى النَّهرِ لِيُسائِلَهُم، فَخَرَجَ القَومُ إلَيهِ فَقَتَلوهُ. وأتَى الخَبَرُ أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ وَالنّاسَ، فَقامَ إلَيهِ النّاسُ فَقالوا: يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ عَلامَ تَدَعُ هؤُلاءِ وَراءَنا يَخلُفونَنا في أموالِنا وعِيالِنا؟! سِر بِنا إلَى القَومِ، فَإذا فَرَغنا مِمّا بَينَنا وبَينَهُم سِرنا إلى عَدُوِّنا مِن أهلِ الشّامِ.

families? March with us to the people [of the Khārijites]; when we have settled what is between us and them, we may advance towards our enemy of the people of Syria.'

Al-Ashʿath ibn Qays al-Kindī stood up towards him and spoke in the same manner. The people were of the opinion that al-Ashʿath would incline to them [i.e. the Khawārij], because he said on the day of Ṣiffīn 'the people who have invited us to the Book of God have been fair to us.' Thus when he commanded ʿAlī to march towards them, people knew that he disagreed with them. He agreed and commanded [them] to depart."[1360]

Imām ʿAlī Camping Next to al-Nahrawān

469. **Al-Futūḥ**, relates: "'Alī (a.s.) advanced until he alighted at a distance of two parasangs from al-Nahrawān, so he summoned his servant and said to him: 'Ride to those people and say to them: 'What has caused you to rebel against me? Was I not moderate with your judgement? Was I not just in your share [of the treasury]? Did I not distribute your [share of the] booty amongst you? Was I not merciful to your young? Was I not respectful to your elders? Do you not know that I have not taken you as slaves, nor have I made your wealth a gift for others?' Look into their response; if they abuse you, bear it, and do not reply to any one of them.'

The slave of ʿAlī came until he overlooked the people [the Khārijites] and said to them what he had been commanded to. The Khārijites said to him: 'Return to your master; we will not respond to him at all; we fear he will reply to us in beautiful words as he replied to our brothers at al-Ḥarūriyya, ʿAbdullah Ibn al-Kawwā' and his companions. God says: "*Yea, they are a contentious people*"[1361], Your master ʿAlī is of them, so return to him and inform him that our gathering here is to wage war against him only."[1362]

وقامَ إلَيهِ الأَشعَثُ بنُ قَيس الكِندِيُّ فَكَلَّمَهُ بِمِثلِ ذلِكَ وكانَ النّاسُ يَرَونَ أنَّ الأَشعَثَ يَرى رَأيَهُم؛ لأنَّهُ كانَ يَقولُ يَومَ صِفّينَ أنصَفَنا قَومٌ يَدعونَ إلى كِتابِ اللّهِ، فَلَمّا أمَرَ عَلِيّاً بِالمَسيرِ إلَيهِم عَلِمَ النّاسُ أنَّهُ لَم يَكن يَرى رَأيَهُم فَأَجمَعَ عَلى ذلِكَ، فَنادىٰ بِالرَّحيلِ.

ب ـ نُزولُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَلى فَرسَخَينِ مِنَ النَّهرَوانِ

469. **الفتوح:** سارَ عَلِيٌّ(رضيَ الله عنه) حَتّى نَزَلَ عَلى فَرسَخَينِ مِنَ النَّهرَوانِ، ثُمَّ دَعا بِغُلامِهِ فَقالَ لَهُ: إركَب إلى هؤُلاءِ القَومِ، وقُل لَهُم عَنّي: مَا الَّذي حَمَلَكُم عَلَى الخُروجِ عَلَيَّ، أ لَم أقصِد في حُكمِكُم؟ أ لَم أعدِل في قَسمِكُم؟ أ لَم أقسِم فيكُم فَينَكُم؟ أ لَم أرحَم صَغيرَكُم؟ أ لَم أُوَقِّر كَبيرَكُم؟ أ لَم تَعلَموا أنّي لَم أتَّخِذكُم خَوَلاً، ولَم أجعَل مالَكُم نَفَلاً؟ وَانظُر ماذا يَرُدّونَ عَلَيكَ، وإن شَتَموكَ فَاحتَمِل، وإيّاكَ أن تَرُدَّ عَلى أحَد مِنهُم شَيئاً.

فَأَقبَلَ غُلامُ عَلِيٍّ حَتّى أشرَفَ عَلَى القَومِ بِالنَّهرَوانِ، فَقالَ لَهُم ما أمَرَهُ بِهِ، فَقالَت لَهُ الخَوارِجُ: إرجِع إلى صاحِبِكَ؛ فَلَسنا نُجيبُهُ إلى شَيء يُريدُه أبَداً، وإنّا نَخافُ أن يَرُدَّنا بِكَلامِهِ الحَسَنِ كَما رَدَّ إخوانَنا بِحَرَوراءَ عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ الكَوّاءِ وأصحابَهُ، وَاللّهِ تَعالى يَقولُ: ﴿بَلْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ خَصِمُونَ﴾، ومَولاكَ عَلِيٌّ مِنهُم، فَارجِع إلَيهِ وخَبِّرهُ بِأَنَّ اجتِماعَنا هاهُنا لِجِهادِهِ ومُحارَبَتِهِ، لا لِغَيرِ ذلِكَ.

Imām ʿAlī Informing of What Would Occur ino the War

470. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** - when he intended to fight the Khārijites, and it was said to him: 'The people have crossed the bridge of al- Nahrawān' -: 'Their falling places are on this side of the river. By God, only ten of them will escape, and only ten of you will be killed."[1363]

3.6.

Advancing the Argument at the Battlefield

The Arguments of Imām ʿAlī against Them

471. **Nahjul Balāgha,** from his (a.s.) words to the Khārijites, when he went forth to their camps, and they continued in their refusal of the arbitration, so he (a.s.) said: "Did all of you witness [the Battle of] Ṣiffīn with us?' They said: 'Some of us did and some did not.' He said: 'Then let you divide yourselves into two groups. Let those who witnessed Ṣiffīn be a group and those who did not be another group, so that I may address each as I see suitable.' Then he shouted to the people: 'Stop talking and listen to my words, turn with your hearts towards me. Whomever we ask to bear witness, let him attest according to his knowledge about it.'

Then he (a.s.) engaged them with a long conversation, of which he said: 'Did you not say, when they raised the Qur'āns out of deceit, trickery, conspiracy and treachery, 'They are our brothers and people of our faith, they request our forgiveness and seek protection through the Book of God. [Our] opinion is to agree with them and to release them'. Then I said to you: 'This is an affair whose external aspect is faith but whose internal aspect is enmity. Its beginning is mercy and its end is regret. So remain in your position and be steadfast on your path and keep on striving

ج ـ إخبارُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِما سَيَقَعُ فِي الحَربِ

470. **الإمام عليّ** عليه السلام ـ لَمّا عَزَمَ عَلى حَربِ الخَوارِجِ، وقيلَ لَهُ: إنَّ القَومَ عَبَروا جِسرَ النَّهرَوانِ ـ : مَصارِعُهُم دونَ النُّطفَةِ، وَاللّهِ، لا يُفلِتُ مِنهُم عَشَرَةٌ، ولا يَهلِكُ مِنكُم عَشَرَةٌ.

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إقامَةُ الحُجَّةِ فِي ساحَةِ القِتالِ

أ ـ إحتِجاجاتُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَلَيهِم

471. **نهج البلاغة:** مِن كَلام لَهُ عليه السلام قالَهُ لِلخَوارِجِ، وقَد خَرَجَ إلى مُعَسكَرِهِم وهُم مُقيمونَ عَلى إنكارِ الحُكومَةِ فَقالَ عليه السلام: أكُلُّكُم شَهِدَ مَعَنا صِفّينَ ؟

فَقالوا: مِنّا مَن شَهِدَ، ومِنّا مَن لَم يَشهَد.

قالَ: فَامتازوا فِرقَتَينِ؛ فَلْيَكُن مَن شَهِدَ صِفّينَ فِرقَةً، ومَن لَم يَشهَدها فِرقَةً، حَتّى أُكَلِّمَ كُلّاً مِنكُم بِكَلامِهِ. ونادَى النّاسَ، فَقالَ: أمسِكوا عَنِ الكَلامِ، وأنصِتوا لِقَولي، وأقبِلوا بِأَفئِدَتِكُم إلَيَّ، فَمَن نَشَدناهُ شَهادَةً فَلْيَقُل بِعِلمِهِ فيها.

ثُمَّ كَلَّمَهُم عليه السلام بِكَلام طَويل، مِن جُملَتِهِ أن قالَ عليه السلام: أ لَم تَقولوا عِندَ رَفعِهِمُ المَصاحِفَ حيلَةً وغيلَةً ومَكراً وخَديعَةً: إخوانُنا وأهلُ دَعوَتِنا استَقالونا وَاستَراحوا إلى كِتابِ اللهِ سُبحانَهُ، فَالرَّأيُ القَبولُ مِنهُم، وَالتَّنفيسُ عَنهُم؟

فَقُلتُ لَكُم: هذا أمرٌ ظاهِرُهُ إيمانٌ، وباطِنُهُ عُدوانٌ، وأوَّلُهُ رَحمَةٌ، وآخِرُهُ نَدامَةٌ، فَأَقيموا عَلى شَأنِكُم، وَالزَموا طَريقَتَكُم، وعَضّوا عَلَى الجِهادِ بِنَواجِذِكُم، ولا تَلتَفِتوا إلى ناعِق

[in battle]as much as you could. Do not pay heed to the shouts of the shouter: If he is answered, he will mislead, and if he is ignored, he will be disgraced.'

'Then there was this attempt [i.e. the arbitration], and I found that you agreed to it. By God, if I had refused it, it would not have been binding on me, nor would God have held me responsible for its sin. By God, if I respond, then indeed I am the rightful person who should be followed, for certainly the Qur'an is with me. I have never forsaken it since I have accompanied it. We were with the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) and the killing would embrace fathers, sons, brothers and close relatives. Nevertheless, trouble and hardship would only increase our faith, our march on the path of truth, submission to the divine will, and patience on the pain of wounds.

Indeed we have to fight our brethren in Islam because of misguidance, crookedness, doubts and [wrong] interpretation. If we find, however, a trait that will make God gather us together and we become close to one another, we will accept it and give up everything else."[1364]

472. **Tārīkh Baghdad**, reporting from Jābir, who said: "I witnessed ʿAlī on the day of al-Nahrawān, when he had noticed the people [of Syria], say to his companions - : 'Desist!' Then he called out to them that they should give in the killer of ʿAbdullah ibn Khabbāb the governor of ʿAlī (a.s.) to al-Nahrawān, so they said: 'We have all killed him.' "[1365]

The Sermon of Imām ʿAlī between the Battle Lines

473. **Al-Akhbār al-Muwaffaqiyyāt**, reporting from ʿAlī ibn Ṣāliḥ, who said: "When the two groups assembled at al-Nahrawān, the Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) went between the two front lines and said:

'O group [of people] that have been victim to the custom of

نَعَقَ؛ إن أُجيبَ أضَلَّ، وإن تُرِكَ ذَلَّ.

وقَد كانَت هذِهِ الفَعلَةُ، وقَد رَأَيتُكُم أعطَيتُموها. وَاللّهِ لَئِن ابُيتُها ما وَجَبَت عَلَيَّ فَريضَتُها، ولا حَمَّلَنِي الله ذَنبَها. ووَاللّهِ، إن جِئتُها إنّي لَلمُحِقُّ الَّذي يُتَّبَعُ، وإنَّ الكِتابَ لَمَعي، ما فارَقتُهُ مُذ صَحِبتُهُ، فَلَقَد كُنّا مَعَ رَسولِ اللّهِﷺ وإنَّ القَتلَ لَيَدورُ عَلَى الآباءِ وَالأَبناءِ، وَالإِخوانِ وَالقَراباتِ، فَما نَزدادُ عَلى كُلِّ مُصيبَة وشِدَّة إلّا إيماناً، ومُضِيّاً عَلَى الحَقِّ، وتَسليماً لِلأَمرِ، وصَبراً عَلى مَضَضِ الجِراحِ.

ولكِنّا إنَّما أصبَحنا نُقاتِلُ إخوانَنا فِي الإِسلامِ عَلى ما دَخَلَ فيهِ مِنَ الزَّيغِ وَالاعوِجاجِ، وَالشُّبهَةِ وَالتَّأويلِ. فَإِذا طَمِعنا في خَصلَة يَلُمُّ اللّهُ بِها شَعَثَنا، ونَتَدانى بِها إلَى البَقِيَّةِ فيما بَينَنا، رَغِبنا فيها، وأمسَكنا عَمّا سِواها.

472. **تاريخ بغداد عن جابر:** إنّي لَشاهِدٌ عَلِيّاً يَومَ النَّهرَوانِ لَمّا أن عايَنَ القَومَ قالَ لِأَصحابِهِ: كُفّوا. فَناداهُم أن أقيدونا بِدَمِ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ خَبّابٍ ـ وكانَ عامِلُ عَلِيٍّ عَلَى النَّهرَوانِ ـ .

قالوا: كُلُّنا قَتَلَهُ.

ب ـ خُطبَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بَينَ الصَّفَّينِ

473. **الأخبار الموفّقيّات عن عليّ بن صالح:** لَمّا استَوَى الصَّفّانِ بِالنَّهرَوانِ تَقَدَّمَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبعليه السلام بَينَ الصَّفَّينِ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

أمّا بَعدُ، أيَّتُهَا العِصابَةُ الَّتي أخرَجَتها عادَةُ المِراءِ وَالضَّلالَةِ، وصَدَفَ بِها عَنِ الحَقِّ الهَوى وَالزَّيغُ، إنّي نَذيرٌ لَكُم أن تُصبِحوا غَداً صَرعى بِأَكنافِ هذَا النَّهرِ، أو بِمِلطاط مِنَ الغائِطِ،

hypocrisy and misguidance, [who have been] turned away from the truth by desire and deviation! I warn you lest you be lifeless victims tomorrow on the banks of this river or on the shores of this desert without any evidence or clear proof from your Lord. Did I not prevent you from this arbitration and warn you against it? Did I not informe you that their request was a deception and conspiracy?! You contradicted my command and brushed aside the determination, and so you disobeyed me; then I approved the arbitration, took a commitment from the two arbitrators and verified [it] and commanded both of them to revive that which the Qur'ān revives and to deaden that which the Qur'ān deadens, but they disobeyed my command and acted according to [their] desires. We are thus [back] on the first issue, where are you going? Where are you being misled too?'

Their spokesperson said:

'O ʿAlī, indeed when we imposed the arbitration, it was a [form of] disbelief from us, if you repent like we have repented then we are with you and from you, however if you refuse, then we will equally oppose you, indeed God does not like the betrayers.'

ʿAlī then said: 'You have been struck by divine punishment, and nobody will remain from you. Will I attest to disbelief after my faith in God, strife in His path and migration with the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.)?! Then I would stray from the path, and be not of [the company of] those who receive guidance. I have been afflicted with a group that are feebleminded and foolish, and God is sought for assistance."[1366]

Raising the Flag of Protection

474. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from Abū Salama al-Zuhrī, who said:

"'Alī raised the flag of protection with Abū Ayyūb, so he called out to them: 'Whosoever of you comes under this flag having not killed anyone and having not proceeded ruthlessly, he will be safe. Whosoever of you departs for Kūfah or to any other city and he

بِلا بَيِّنَة مِن رَبِّكُم ولا سُلطان مُبين. أ لَم أنهَكُم عَن هذِهِ الحُكومَةِ وأُحَذِّركُموها، وأعلِمكُم أنَّ طَلَبَ القَومِ لَها دَهنٌ مِنهُم ومَكيدَةٌ ؟! فَخالَفتُم أمري وجانَبتُمُ الحَزمَ فَعَصَيتُموني حَتّى أقرَرتُ بِأَن حَكَّمتُ، وأخَذتُ عَلَى الحَكَمَينِ فَاستَوثَقتُ، وأمَرتُهُما أن يُحيِيا ما أحيَا القُرآنُ، ويُميتا ما أماتَ القرآنُ، فَخالَفا أمري وعَمَلا بِالهَوىٰ، ونَحنُ عَلَى الأَمرِ الأَوَّلِ، فَأَينَ تَذهَبونَ؟ وأينَ يُتاهُ بِكُم؟

فَقالَ خَطيبُهُم: أمّا بَعدُ، يا عَلِيُّ! فَإِنّا حينَ حَكَّمنا كانَ ذلِكَ كُفراً مِنّا، فَإِن تُبتَ كَما تُبنا فَنَحنُ مَعَكَ ومِنكَ، وإن أبَيتَ فَنَحنُ مُنابِذوكَ عَلى سَواءٍ إنَّ اللّهَ لا يُحِبُّ الخائِنينَ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: أصابَكُم حاصِبٌ ولا بَقِيَ مِنكُم وابِرٌ، أبعدَ إيماني بِاللهِ، وجِهادي في سَبيلِ اللّهِ، وهِجرَتي مَعَ رَسولِ اللّهِ ﷺ اقِرُّ بِالكُفرِ ؟! لَقَد ضَلَلتُ إذاً وما أنَا مِن المُهتَدينَ، ولكِن مُنيتُ بِمَعشَر أخِفّاءِ الهامِ، سُفَهاءِ الأَحلامِ، وَاللّهُ المُستَعانُ.

ج ـ رَفعُ رايَةِ الأَمانِ

474. **تاريخ الطبري عن أبي سلمة الزهري:** رَفَعَ عَلِيٌّ رايَةَ أمان مَعَ أبي أيّوبَ، فَناداهُم أبو أيّوبَ: مَن جاءَ هذِهِ الرّايَةَ مِنكُم مِمَّن لَم يَقتُل ولَم يَستَعرِض فَهُوَ آمِنٌ، ومَنِ انصَرَفَ مِنكُم إلَى الكوفَةِ أو إلَى المَدائِنِ وخَرَجَ مِن هذِهِ الجَماعَةِ فَهُوَ آمِنٌ، إنَّهُ لا حاجَةَ لَنا بَعدَ أن نُصيبَ قَتَلَةَ إخوانِنا مِنكُم في سَفكِ دِمائِكُم.

فَقالَ فَروَةُ بنُ نَوفَل الأَشجَعِيُّ: وَاللّهِ، ما أدري عَلى أيِّ شَيء نُقاتِلُ عَلِيّاً؟ ! لا أرى إلّا أن أنصَرِفَ حَتّى تَنفُذَ لي بَصيرَتي في قِتالِهِ أو اتِّباعِهِ، وَانصَرَفَ في خَمسِمِئَةِ فارِسٍ حَتّىٰ

leaves this group, he is safe; indeed there is no need for us to spill your blood once we have arrested the killers of our brothers from amongst you.'

Farwah ibn Nawfal al-Ashjaʿī said: 'By God, I do not know why we are fighting ʿAlī? I see that I should leave until I have the foresight to fight him or follow him.' So he left with five hundred horsemen until he arrived at al-Bandanijayn and al-Daskara. Another group also left, scattered and arrived at Kūfah. About a hundred of them went forth to ʿAlī. They were [originally] four thousand. Those that remained of them with ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab were two thousand eight hundred."[1367]

3.7.

The Fighting

Supplication before Fighting

475. **Imām al-Bāqir (a.s.) said**: Indeed ʿAlī (a.s.) would invoke God against the Khawārij, saying in his supplication: "O God, Lord of the much-frequented House, the canopy raised high, the ocean filled with swell and the Book Inscribed, I ask of You victory over those who discarded Your Book behind their backs and departed from the Community of Aḥmad arrogantly against you."[1368]

The Command to Fight

476. **Murūj al-Dhahab**, in mentioning the fighting of the Khārijites, When ʿAlī (a.s.) drew close to them, he said: "God is Greater, God and the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) have spoken the truth. They faced one another, and ʿAlī (a.s.) stood alone in front of them; he invited them to return and repent, but they refused and attacked his companions. When it was said to him: 'They have targeted us', he said: 'Desist!' They repeated their statement to him thrice, and he commanded them to abstain, until a dead man was brought covered with his blood.

ʿAlī (a.s.) said: God is greater! Now fighting is permissible. Attack them."[1369]

نَزَلَ البَندَنيجَيْنَ وَالدَّسْكَرَةَ، وخَرَجَت طائِفَةٌ أُخرى مُتَفَرِّقينَ فَنَزَلَتِ الكوفَةَ، وخَرَجَ إلى عَلِيٍّ مِنهُم نَحوٌ مِن مِئَةٍ، وكانوا أربَعَةَ آلافٍ، فَكانَ الَّذينَ بَقوا مَعَ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ وَهبٍ مِنهُم ألفَينِ وثَمانِمِئَة.

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القِتال

أ ـ الدُّعاءُ قَبلَ القِتالِ

475. **الإمام الباقر**عليه السلام: إنَّ عَلِيّاً عليه السلام كانَ يَدعو عَلَى الخَوارِجِ فَيَقولُ في دُعائِهِ: اللّهمَّ رَبَّ البَيتِ المَعمورَ، وَالسَّقفِ المَرفوعِ، وَالبَحرِ المَسجورِ، وَالكِتابِ المَسطورِ، أسأَلُكَ الظَّفَرَ عَلى هؤُلاءِ الَّذينَ نَبَذوا كِتابَكَ وَراءَ ظُهورِهِم، وفارَقوا أُمَّةَ أحمَدَ عُتُوّاً عَلَيكَ.

ب ـ الأَمرُ بِالقِتالِ

476. **مروج الذهب** ـ في ذِكرِ قِتالِ الخَوارِجِ ـ : لَمّا أشرَفَ [عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام] عَلَيهِم قالَ: اللّهُ أكبَرُ، صَدَقَ اللّه ورَسولُ اللّهِ صلى الله عليه وآله .

فَتَصافَّ القَومُ، ووَقَفَ عَلَيهِم بِنَفسِهِ، فَدَعاهُم إلَى الرُّجوعِ وَالتَّوبَةِ، فَأَبَوا ورَمَوا أصحابَهُ، فَقيلَ لَهُ: قَد رَمَونا.

فَقالَ: كُفّوا.

فَكَرَّرُوا القَولَ عَلَيهِ ثَلاثاً وهُوَ يَأمُرُهُم بِالكَفِّ، حَتّى أُتِيَ بِرَجُل قَتيل مُتَشَحِّط بِدَمِهِ.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: اللّهُ أكبَرُ، الآنَ حَلَّ قِتالُهُمُ، احمِلوا عَلَى القَومِ.

Imām ʿAlī's Fighting

477. **Al-Kāmil, by al-Mubarrad, relates:** "A man from among them came forth, after ʿAlī (a.s.) [had] said: 'Return and surrender to us the killer of ʿAbdullah ibn Khabbāb.' They said: Indeed we have all killed him and shared in his blood! Then a man from them attacked the [front] line of ʿAlī, who had previously said: 'Do not begin fighting, and killed three of ʿAlī's companions, saying:

I kill them though I do not see ʿAlī
If he appears, I will stab him to death

ʿAlī (a.s.) went forth to him and killed him; when the sword struck him, he said: 'How excellent is the passage to Paradise!'

ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab said: 'I do not know whether it is to Paradise or Hell?'

A man from the tribe of S'ad [who was witnessing this scene] then said: 'Indeed I came [to the battlefield] being deceived by this man, but I see that he is in doubt! Then he separated with a group of his companions and moved with a thousand [men] in the direction of Abī Ayyūb al-Anṣārī."[1370]

Imām ʿAlī Fighting ʿAbdullah ibn Wahab

478. **Al-Futūḥ, relates:** "'Abdullah ibn Wahab al-Rāsibī came forth until he stood between the two armies, then he shouted at the top of his voice: 'O son of Abī Ṭālib! Until when will this procrastination between you and us last? By God, we will never leave this plain unless you reject your desires, so come forth to me, so that I may engage you [in combat] and leave the people aside.' ʿAlī (a.s.) smiled and said: May God ruin him![1371] A man with so little shame! Does he not know that I am the ally of the sword and the grip of the spear, but he has become despondent about life or it maybe that he desires falsely [because I am old].

He said: ʿAbdullah began to pace between the two [front] lines reciting poetry and saying:

ج ـ قِتالُ الإمامِ عليه السلام بِنَفسِهِ

477. **الكامل للمبرّد:** خَرَجَ مِنهُم رَجُلٌ بَعدَ أن قالَ عَلِيٌّ رِضوانُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ:

اِرجِعوا وَادفَعوا إلَينا قاتِلَ عَبدِ اللّهِ بنِ خَبّاب.

فَقالُوا: كُلُّنا قَتَلَهُ وشَرِكَ في دَمِهِ! ثُمَّ حَمَلَ مِنهُم رَجُلٌ عَلى صَفِّ عَلِيٍّ وقَد قالَ عَلِيٌّ: لا تَبدَؤوهُم بِقِتال فَقَتَلَ مِن أصحابِ عَلِيٍّ ثَلاثَةً وهُو يَقولُ:

أقتُلُهُم ولا أرى عَلِيّـا ولَو بَدا أوجَرتُهُ الخَطِّيّا

فَخَرَجَ إلَيهِ عَلِيٌّ صَلَواتُ اللّهِ عَلَيهِ فَقَتَلَهُ، فَلَمّا خالَطَهُ السَّيفُ قالَ: حَبَّذَا الرَّوحَةُ إلَى الجَنَّةِ!

فَقالَ عَبدُ اللّهِ بنِ وَهَبٍ: ما أدري أإلَى الجَنَّةِ أم إلَى النّارِ؟

فَقالَ رَجُلٌ مِن بَني سَعدٍ: إنَّما حَضَرتُ اغتِراراً بِهذا، وأراهُ قَد شَكَّ! فَانخَزَلَ بِجَماعَة مِن أصحابِهِ، ومالَ ألفٌ إلى ناحِيَةِ أبي أيّوبَ الأنصارِيِّ.

د ـ مُقاتَلَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عَبدَ اللّهِ بنَ وَهبٍ

478. **الفتوح:** تَقَدَّمَ عَبدُ اللّه بنِ وَهَب الرّاسِبِيُّ حَتّى وَقَفَ بَينَ الجَمعَينِ، ثُمَّ نادى بِأعلى صَوتِهِ: يَابنَ أبي طالِب! حَتّى مَتى يَكونَ هذِهِ المُطاوَلَةُ بَينَنا وبَينَكَ ؟! وَاللّهِ، لا نَبرَحُ هذِهِ العَرصَةَ أبَداً أو تَأبىٰ عَلىٰ نَفسِكَ، فَابرُز إلَيَّ حَتّى أبرُزَ إلَيكَ وذَرِ النّاسَ جانِباً.

فَتَبَسَّمَ عَلِيٌّ(رضي اللّهُ عنه) ثُمَّ قالَ: قاتَلَهُ اللّهُ مِن رَجُلٍ ما أقَلَّ حياءَهُ! أما إنَّهُ لَيَعلَمُ أنّي حَليفُ السَّيفِ وجَديلُ الرُّمحِ، ولكِنَّهُ أيِسَ مِنَ الحَياةِ، أو لَعَلَّهُ يَطمَعُ طَمَعاً كاذِباً.

قالَ: وجَعَلَ عَبدُ اللّهِ يَجولُ بَينَ الصَّفّينِ وهُوَ يَرتَجِزُ ويَقولُ:

I am the son of Wahab al-Rāsibī, the avenger
I strike the people to take revenge
Until the government of the evil is destroyed
And the truth returns to the best of people.
Then he attacked, and ʿAlī struck him once and made him join his [dead] companions."[1372]

The Swiftness of their Destruction

479. **Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah**, reporting from al-Thʿalabī, who said: "I saw the Khārijites, when they were received by spears and arrows, as if they were goats trying to prevent the rain through their horns, followed by the cavalry from the left and the right. ʿAlī arose from the heart of the army with the sword and the spear. By God, it was not long[1373] before God destroyed them, as if it was said to them: 'Die!' and they died."[1374]

The Delight of People at the Fulfilment of a Prophecy

480. **Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim**, reporting from Busr ibn Saʿīd, from ʿUbaidullah ibn Abu Rāfiʿ, who said: "When the Harūriyyah rebelled, they said: 'There is no judgement but God's. ʿAlī said: 'A word of truth, by which falsehood is sought. Indeed the Messenger of God (ṣ.aw.) described people, and I identify their characteristics in them. They state the truth with their tongue, but it does not go beyond this part – he pointed towards his throat. The most detestable of the creatures of God unto Him is a black man among them, whose one hand is like the teat of a goat or the nipple of the breast.' When ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) killed them, he said: 'Look for his dead body.' They looked [for him], but found nothing. Upon this he said: 'Go [and search for him]. By God, neither have I spoken a lie nor has a lie been spoken to me.' He said this twice or thrice. Then they found him in some ruins, so they brought [the dead body] and placed him in the presence of ʿAlī (a.s.). ʿUbaidullah said: 'I was present when ʿAlī said that about them."[1375]

أنَا ابنُ وَهبٍ الرّاسِبِيُّ النّاري أضرِبُ فِي القَومِ لآخذِ الثّارِ

حَتّى تَزولَ دَولَةُ الأَشرارِ ويَرجِعَ الحَقُّ إلَى الأَخيارِ

ثُمَّ حَمَلَ فَضَرَبَهُ عَلِيٌّ ضَربَةً ألحَقَهُ بِأَصحابِهِ.

هـ ـ سُرعَةُ دَمارِهِم

479. **الإمامة والسياسة عن الثعلبي:** لَقَد رَأَيتُ الخَوارِجَ حينَ استَقبَلَتهُمُ الرِّماحُ وَالنَّبلُ كَأَنَّهُم مَعَزٌ اتَّقَتِ المَطَرَ بِقُرونِها، ثُمَّ عَطَفَتِ الخَيلُ عَلَيهِم مِنَ المَيمَنَةِ وَالمَيسَرَةِ، ونَهَضَ عَلِيٌّ فِي القَلبِ بِالسُّيوفِ وَالرِّماحِ، فَلا وَاللّهِ ما لَبِثوا فواقاً، حَتّى صَرَعَهُمُ اللّه، كَأَنَّما قيلَ لَهُم: موتوا فَماتوا.

و ـ اِستِبشارُ النّاسِ بِظُهورِ آيَةٍ مِن آياتِ النُّبُوَّةِ

480. **صحيح مسلم عن بسر بن سعيد عن عبيد اللّه بن أبي رافع:** إنَّ الحَرَورِيَّةَ لَمّا خَرَجَت وهُوَ مَعَ عَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِب(رضي اللّه عنه) قالوا: لا حُكمَ إلّا للّهِ.

قالَ عَلِيٌّ: كَلِمَةُ حَقٍّ أُريدَ بِها باطِلٌ، إنَّ رَسولَ اللهﷺ وَصَفَ ناساً إنّي لاَعرِفُ صِفَتَهُم في هؤُلاءِ، يَقولونَ الحَقَّ بِأَلسِنَتِهِم لا يَجوزُ هذا مِنهُم ـ وأشارَ إلى حَلقِهِ ـ مِن أبغَضِ خَلقِ اللّهِ إلَيهِ مِنهُم أسوَدُ، إحدى يَدَيهِ طُبيُ شاةٍ أو حَلَمَةُ ثَدي.

فَلَمّا قَتَلَهُم عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِب(رضي الله عنه) قالَ: أنظُروا، فَنَظَروا فَلَم يَجِدوا شَيئاً.

فَقالَ: اِرجِعوا، فَوَاللّهِ! ما كَذَبتُ ولا كُذِّبتُ ـ مَرَّتَينِ أو ثَلاثاً ـ ثُمَّ وَجَدوهُ في خَرِبَة، فَأَتَوا بِهِ حَتّى وَضَعوهُ بَينَ يَدَيهِ.

The Words of Imām ʿAlī When Passing by the Dead of the Kharijites

481. **Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) said,** when he passed by the dead of the Khārijites on the day of al-Nahrawān, "How unfortunate are you! You were harmed by him who deceived you!"

It was said to him: 'Who deceived them, O Commander of the Faithful?'

He said: "Satan the misguiding and the soul inciting to evil deceived them with desires, extended for them the path of sin, promised them victory and thrust them into the fire."[1376]

The Imam's Prediction about the Continuation of Their Method in the Future

482. **Al_Muṣannaf:** "When he killed them, a man said: 'Praise be to God who has eradicated them and relieved us of them.'

ʿAlī said: "Nay, by Him in Whose hand is my soul. Among them are those who still exist in the loins of men; women have not as yet become pregnant with them. Indeed the last of them will turn [into] thieves and robbers."[1377]

The Policy of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) concering the Wounded and the Spoils

483. **Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,** reporting from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abū Ḥurra who said: "'ʿAlī (a.s.) inquired as to those who were still breathing, so we found that they were four hundred men. ʿAlī then commanded that they be surrendered to their tribes. He said: 'Carry them with you, treat them [their wounds]; when they are cured, bring them to Kūfah and take whatever you find in their camps.' He said: 'As for the weapons and the animals, however, he divided them amongst the Muslims. Concering the possessions, the slaves and the bondwomen, when he arrived [at Kūfah], he returned them to their owners."[1378]

قالَ عُبَيدُ الله: وأنَا حاضِرٌ ذلِكَ مِن أمرِهِم، وقَولِ عَلِيٍّ فيهِم.

ز ـ كَلامُ الإمامِ عليه السلام عِندَ المُرورِ بِقَتلَى الخَوارِجِ

481. **الإمام عليّ عليه السلام** ـ وقَد مَرَّ بِقَتلَى الخَوارِجِ يَومَ النَّهرَوانِ ـ: بُؤساً لَكُم، لَقَد ضَرَّكُم مَن غَرَّكُم!

فَقيلَ لَهُ: مَن غَرَّهُم يا أميرَ المُؤمِنينَ؟

فَقالَ عليه السلام: الشَّيطانُ المُضِلُّ، وَالأَنفُسُ الأَمّارَةُ بِالسّوءِ، غَرَّتهُم بِالأَمانِيِّ، وفَسَحَت لَهُم بِالمَعاصي، ووَعَدَتهُمُ الإظهارَ، فَاقتَحَمَت بِهِمُ النّارَ.

ح ـ إخبارُ الإمامِ عليه السلام باستِمرارِ نَهجِهِم فِي التّاريخِ

482. **المصنّف لعبد الرزّاق عن قتادة:** لَمّا قَتَلَهُم قالَ رَجُلٌ: الحَمدُ للّهِ الَّذي أبادَهُم وأراحَنا مِنهُم.

فَقالَ عَلِيٌّ: كَلّا وَالَّذي نَفسي بِيَدِهِ، إنَّ مِنهُم لَمَن في أصلابِ الرِّجالِ لَم تَحمِلهُ النِّساءُ بَعدُ، ولَيَكونَنَّ آخِرُهُم لُصّاصاً جَرّادينَ.

ط ـ سِياسَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام فِي الجَرحى وَالغَنائِمِ

483. **تاريخ الطبري عن عبد الملك بن أبي حرّة:** طَلَبَ [عَلِيٌّ عليه السلام] مَن بِهِ رَمَقٌ مِنهُم، فَوَجَدناهُم أربَعَمِئَةِ رَجُل، فَأَمَرَ بِهِم عَلِيٌّ فَدُفِعوا إلى عَشائِرِهِم، وقالَ:

اِحمِلوهُم مَعَكُم فَداووهُم، فَإذا بَرِئوا فَوافوا بِهِمُ الكوفَةِ، وخُذوا ما في عَسكَرِهِم مِن شَيء.

قالَ: وأمّا السِّلاحُ وَالدَّوابُّ وما شَهِدوا بِهِ عَلَيهِ الحَربَ، فَقَسَّمَهُ بَينَ المُسلِمينَ، وأمّا المَتاعُ وَالعَبيدُ وَالإماءُ فَإنَّهُ حينَ قَدِمَ رَدَّهُ عَلى أهلِهِ.

The Sermon of Imām ʿAlī After the War against the Khārijites

484. **Kanz al-ʿUmmāl,** reporting from ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Qarīb, who said: "I heard al-ʿAlā ibn Ziyād al-ʿA'rābī say: 'I heard my father say: The Commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.) ascended the pulpit of Kūfah after the sedition and his return from al-Nahrawān. He praised God and his eyes were filled with tears, such that his beard was dampened; thereafter he wiped his beard, and its drops fell on some of the people; we would say: 'Indeed whoever his tears have fallen on, God will protect [his body] from the hellfire.' He then said: O, people! Do not be [like] the one who seeks the Hereafter without any action, he delays repentance because of long expectations, he speaks in this world the speech of the ascetics and performs the action of those inclined to it. If he is given from it, he will not be satiated, and if he is denied, he will not be satisfied. He fails to thank [God] for that which he is given. He desires more from that which remains; he commands but does not fulfil [his duties], and he prohibits but does not desist. He loves the righteous, but does not perform their deeds; he abhors the oppressors even though he is one of them. His soul overpowers him for that which he assumes, but he does not overpower it for what he is certain of. If he is self-sufficient, he is tested; if he is sick he is sad, and if he is in need he loses hope and grows feeble. He fluctuates between sin and blessings; he is cured but does not give thanks; he is afflicted but does not exercise patience, as if the one who is cautioned about death is [someone] other than him and the one who is promised [reward] and warned [against punishment] is someone else.

O targets of tribulations! O hostages of death! O vessels of sicknesses! O booty of days! O load of the time! O fruit of the age! O light of misfortunes! O, the speechless in the face of proofs! O' the one who is engulfed with trials and a barrier is placed between him and the knowledge of instructions [and lessons]!

With truth I say: No one is delivered, except that he is delivered

ي ـ خُطبَةُ الإمامِ عليه السلام لَمّا فَرَغَ مِن قِتالِ الخَوارِجِ

484. **كنز العمّال عن عبد الملك بن قريب:** سَمِعتُ العَلاءَ بنَ زِياد الأَعرابِيَّ يَقولُ: سَمِعتُ أبي يَقولُ: صَعِدَ أميرُ المُؤمِنينَ عَلِيُّ بنُ أبي طالِبٍ مِنبَرَ الكوفَةَ بَعدَ الفِتنَةِ وفَراغِهِ مِنَ النَّهرَوانِ فَحَمِدَ اللّهَ وخَنَقَتهُ العِبرَةُ، فَبَكى حَتّى اخضَلَّت لِحيَتُهُ بِدُموعِهِ وجَرَت، ثُمَّ نَفَضَ لِحيَتَهُ فَوَقَعَ رَشاشُها عَلى ناس مِن أُناس، فَكُنّا نَقولُ: إنَّ مَن أصابَهُ مِن دُموعِهِ فَقَد حَرَمَهُ اللّهُ عَلى النّارِ، ثُمَّ قالَ:

يا أيُّهَا النّاسُ! لا تَكونوا مِمَّن يَرجُو الآخِرَةَ بِغَيرِ عَمَل، ويُؤَخِّرُ التَّوبَةَ بِطولِ الأَمَلِ، يَقولُ فِي الدُّنيا قَولَ الزّاهِدينَ، ويَعمَلُ فيها عَمَلَ الرّاغِبينَ، إن أُعطِيَ مِنها لَم يَشبَع، وإن مُنِعَ مِنها لَم يَقنَع، يَعجِزُ عَن شُكرِ ما أُوتِيَ، ويَبتَغِي الزِّيادَةَ فيما بَقِيَ، ويَأمُرُ ولا يَأتي، ويَنهى ولا يَنتَهي، يُحِبُّ الصّالِحينَ ولا يَعمَلُ بِأعمالِهِم، ويُبغِضُ الظّالِمينَ وهُوَ مِنهُم، تَغلِبُهُ نَفسُهُ عَلى ما يَظُنُّ، ولا يَغلِبُها عَلى ما يَستَيقِنُ، إنِ استَغنى فُتِنَ، وإن مَرِضَ حَزِنَ، وإنِ افتَقَرَ قَنِطَ ووَهَنَ، فَهُوَ بَينَ الذَّنبِ وَالنِّعمَةِ يَرتَعُ، يُعافى فَلا يَشكُرُ، ويُبتَلى فَلا يَصبِرُ، كَأَنَّ المُحَذَّرَ مِنَ المَوتِ سِواهُ، وكَأَنَّ مَن وُعِدَ وزُجِرَ غَيرُهُ.

يا أغراضَ المَنايا! يا رَهائِنَ المَوتِ! يا وِعاءَ الأَسقامِ! يا نُهبَةَ الأَيّامِ! ويا ثِقلَ الدَّهرِ! ويا فاكِهَةَ الزَّمانِ! ويا نورَ الحَدَثانِ! ويا خُرسُ عِندَ الحُجَجِ! ويا مَن غَمَرَتهُ الفِتَنُ وحيلَ بَينَهُ وبَينَ مَعرِفَةِ العِبَرِ. بِحَقٍّ! أقولُ: ما نَجا مَن نَجا إلّا بِمَعرِفَةِ نَفسِهِ، وما هَلَكَ مَن هَلَكَ إلّا مِن

through knowledge of his self and no one is destroyed except that he is destroyed through his [own] hands. God says: "*O ye who believe! save yourselves and your families from a Fire*"[1379]. May God make us and you of those who listen to the admonition and accept, and who is invited to the deed and performs."[1380]

3.8.

The Rebellion of the Rest of the Khawārij

485. **Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh**, relates: "When the people of al-Nahrawān were killed, Ashras ibn ʿAwf al-Shaybānī rebelled against ʿAlī at al-Daskarah with two hundred men, so he marched on to al-Anbār. ʿAlī dispatched to him al-Abrash ibn Ḥassān with three hundred [men]; he fought him, and Ashras was killed in the month of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir in the year 38AH.

Thereafter Hilāl ibn ʿUllafa of the tribe of Taym al-Ribāb, rebelled his brother Mujālid; he came to [the city of] Māsabadhān[1381]. ʿAlī dispatched Mʿaqil ibn Qays al-Riyāḥī, and he killed him and his companions; they were more than two hundred in number. Their killing was in the month of Jumādā al-Ūlā 38AH.

Thereafter al-Ashhab ibn Bishr, of the tribe of Bajīla, rebelled with a hundred and eighty men; he came to the battlefield where Hilāl and his companions were killed, prayed over their bodies and buried as many as possible of them.

ʿAlī dispatched Jāriya ibn Qudāma al-Sʿadī, (or Ḥujr ibn ʿAdī); al-Ashhab came towards them, and they fought at Jarjarāyā[1382] in the area of Jūkhā[1383]; al-Ashhab and his companions were killed in the month of Jumādā al-Ākhira, 38AH.

Thereafter Saʿīd ibn Qufl al-Taymī, of the tribe of Taymullāh ibn Thʿalaba, rebelled in the month of Rajab in Bandanījain and with two hundred men; he came to Darzinjān[1384], two parasangs

تَحتِ يَدِهِ، قالَ اللّه تَعالى: ﴿يـٰأَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا قُوا أَنفُسَكُمْ وَ أَهْلِيكُمْ نَارًا﴾ جَعَلَنَا اللّه وإيّاكُم مِمَّن سَمِعَ الوَعظَ فَقَبِلَ، ودُعِيَ إلَى العَمَلِ فَعَمِلَ.

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خُروجُ بَقايا مِنَ الخَوارِجِ

485. **الكامل في التاريخ:** لَمّا قُتِلَ أهلُ النَّهرَوانِ، خَرَجَ أشرَسُ بنُ عَوف الشَّيبانِيُّ عَلى عَلِيٍّ بِالدَّسكَرَةِ في مِئَتَينِ، ثُمَّ سارَ إلَى الأنبارِ، فَوَجَّهَ إلَيهِ عَلِيٌّ الأبرَشَ بنَ حَسّان في ثَلاثِمِئَة فَواقَعَهُ، فَقُتِلَ أشرَسُ في رَبيعٍ الآخِرِ سَنَةَ ثَمانٍ وثَلاثينَ.

ثُمَّ خَرَجَ هِلالُ بنُ عُلَّفَةَ ـ مِن تَيمِ الرِّبابِ ـ ومَعَهُ أخوهُ مُجالِدٌ، فَأتى ماسَبَذانَ، فَوَجَّهَ إلَيهِ عَلِيٌّ مَعقِلَ بنَ قَيس الرِّياحِيَّ فَقَتَلَهُ وقَتَلَ أصحابَهُ، وهُم أكثَرُ مِن مِئَتَينِ، وكانَ قَتلُهُم في جُمادَى الأُولى سَنَةَ ثَمانٍ وثَلاثينَ.

ثُمَّ خَرَجَ الأشهَبُ بنُ بِشر، وقيلَ: الأشعَثُ وهُوَ مِن بَجيلَةَ في مِئَة وثَمانينَ رَجُلاً، فَأتَى المَعرَكَةَ الَّتي أُصيبَ فيها هِلالٌ وأصحابُهُ، فَصَلّى عَلَيهِم ودَفَنَ مَن قَدِرَ عَلَيهِ مِنهُم.

فَوَجَّهَ إلَيهِم عَلِيٌّ جارِيَةَ بنَ قُدامَةَ السَّعدِيَّ، وقيلَ: حُجرَ بنَ عَدِيٍّ، فَأقبَلَ إلَيهِمُ الأشهَبُ، فَاقتَتَلا بِجَرجَرايا مِن أرضِ جوخا، فَقُتِلَ الأشهَبُ وأصحابُهُ في جُمادَى الآخِرَةِ سَنَةَ ثَمانٍ وثَلاثينَ.

ثُمَّ خَرَجَ سَعيدُ بنُ قُفل التَّيمِيُّ مِن تَيمِ اللّهِ بنِ ثَعلَبَةَ في رَجَبٍ بِالبَندَنيجَينِ ومَعَهُ مِئَتا رَجُلٍ فَأتى دَرزِنجانَ وهِيَ مِنَ المَدائِنِ عَلى فَرسَخَينِ فَخَرَجَ إلَيهِم سَعدُ بنُ مَسعودٍ فَقَتَلَهُم

from al-Madā'in. Sʿad ibn Masʿūd confronted them and killed them in the month of Rajab 38 AH.

Thereafter Abū Maryam al-Sʿadī al-Tamīmī rebelled; he came to Shahrazūr, whose people were mostly non-Arabs; it is said that there were no Arabs with him except six people including him. Two hundred men joined him. He returned until he settled about five parasangs from Kūfah.

ʿAlī sent for him, inviting him to pledge his allegiance and to enter Kūfah, but he refused, saying: 'There is only war between us.'

ʿAlī sent Shurayh ibn Hānī with seven hundred [men]. The Khārijites attacked Shurayḥ and his companions and divided them. Shurayḥ remained with only two hundred [men]. He took refuge to one of the villages; some of his companions returned to him, and the rest of them entered Kūfah.

Thereafter ʿAlī himself went forth and put ahead Jāriya ibn Qudāma al-Sʿadī; he invited them to surrender to ʿAlī and threatened them of death, but they did not respond. ʿAlī followed them and invited them [to pledge their allegiance], but they refused. Thus the companions of ʿAlī killed them except fifty of them, who sought protection and were granted.

There were forty men amongst the Khārijites who were injured. ʿAlī commanded that they be taken to Kūfah and be treated until they are cured. The companions of Abū Maryam were killed in the month of Ramaḍān 38AH; they among were the bravest fighters of the Khārijites; it was for their boldness that they drew close to Kūfah."[1385]

3.9.

The Rebellion of al-Khirrīt ibn Rāshid

486. **Usd al-Ghāba,** reporting from al-Zubayr, who said: "Al-Khirrīt

في رَجَبٍ سَنَةَ ثَمانٍ وثَلاثينَ.

ثُمَّ خَرَجَ أبو مَريَمَ السَّعدِيُّ التَّميمِيُّ، فَأتى شَهرَزورَ، وأكثَرُ مَن مَعَهُ مِنَ المَوالي، وقيلَ: لَم يَكُن مَعَهُ مِنَ العَرَبِ غَيرُ سِتَّةِ نَفَرٍ هُوَ أحَدُهُم، وَاجتَمَعَ مَعَهُ مِئَتا رَجُلٍ، وقيلَ: أربَعُمِائَةٍ، وعادَ حَتّىٰ نَزَلَ عَلى خَمسَةِ فَراسِخَ مِنَ الكوفَةِ.

فَأرسَلَ إلَيهِ عَلِيٌّ يَدعوهُ إلى بَيعَتِهِ ودُخولِ الكوفَةِ، فَلَم يَفعَل، وقالَ: لَيسَ بَينَنا غَيرُ الحَربِ.

فَبَعَثَ إلَيهِ عَلِيٌّ شُرَيحَ بنَ هانِئٍ في سَبعِمِئَةٍ، فَحَمَلَ الخَوارِجُ عَلى شُرَيحٍ وأصحابِهِ فَانكَشَفوا، وبَقِيَ شُرَيحٌ في مِائَتَينِ، فَانحازَ إلى قَريَةٍ، فَتَراجَعَ إلَيهِ بَعضُ أصحابِهِ ودَخَلَ الباقونَ الكوفَةَ.

فَخَرَجَ عَلِيٌّ بِنَفسِهِ وقَدَّمَ بَينَ يَدَيهِ جارِيَةَ بنَ قُدامَةَ السَّعدِيَّ، فَدَعاهُم جارِيَةُ إلى طاعَةِ عَلِيٍّ وحَذَّرَهُم القَتلَ فَلَم يُجيبوا، ولَحِقَهُم عَلِيٌّ أيضاً فَدَعاهُم فَأبَوا عَلَيهِ وعَلى أصحابِهِ، فَقَتَلَهُم أصحابُ عَلِيٍّ ولَم يَسلَم مِنهُم غَيرُ خَمسينَ رَجُلاً استَأمَنوا فَآمَنَهُم.

وكانَ فِي الخَوارِجِ أربَعونَ رَجُلاً جَرحىٰ، فَأمَرَ عَلِيٌّ بِإدخالِهِمُ الكوفَةَ ومُداواتِهِم حَتّى بَرِؤوا، وكانَ قَتلُهُم في شَهرِ رَمَضانَ سَنَةَ ثَمانٍ وثَلاثينَ؛ وكانوا مِن أشجَعِ مَن قاتَلَ مِنَ الخَوارِجِ، ولِجُرأتِهِم قارَبُوا الكوفَةَ.

9 / 3

خُرُوجُ الخِرِّيتِ بنِ راشِدٍ

486. **أُسد الغابة عن الزبير:** كانَ الخِرِّيتُ عَلى مُضَرَ يَومَ الجَمَلِ مَعَ طَلحَةَ وَالزُّبَيرِ، وكانَ

was the head of Muḍar in the army of Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr at the Battle of the Camel. ʿAbdullah ibn ʿĀmir had employed al-Khirrīt ibn Rāshid as governor over a village of Persia. Thereafter he joined ʿAlī, but after the arbitration he opposed ʿAlī and left for a region in Persia. ʿAlī sent an army to pursue him and appointed Mʿaqil ibn Qays and Ziyād ibn Khaṣafa as leaders of the army. Many of the Arabs and the Christians, who were paying the tribute, joined him; he commanded the Arabs to withhold their alms and the Christians to withhold the tribute. When the newly-converted Christians noticed the differences, they renegaded and supported him. They confronted the companions of ʿAlī and fought them. Ziyād ibn Khaṣafa raised the flag of protection and commanded a caller to declare: 'Whoever joins this flag is secure[2].' So many of the companions of al-Khirrīt left him and went towards. it [i. e. the flag], and so al-Khirrīt was defeated and killed."[1386]

عَبدُ اللّهِ بنُ عامِرٍ قَد استَعمَلِ الخِرّيتَ بنَ راشِدٍ عَلى كورَةٍ مِن كُوَرِ فارِسٍ، ثُمَّ كانَ مَعَ عَلِيٍّ، فَلَمّا وَقَعَتِ الحُكومَةُ فارَقَ عَلِيّاً إلى بِلادِ فارسٍ مُخالِفاً، فَأَرسَلَ عَلِيٌّ إلَيهِ جَيشاً، وَاستَعمَلَ عَلَى الجَيشِ مَعقِلَ بنَ قَيسٍ وزِيادَ بنَ خَصَفَةَ، فَاجتَمَعَ مَعَ الخِرّيتِ كَثيرٌ مِنَ العَرَبِ ونَصارىٰ كانوا تَحتَ الجِزيَةِ، فَأَمَرَ العَرَبَ بِإمساكِ صَدَقاتِهِم وَالنَّصارىٰ بِإمساكِ الجِزيَةِ، وكانَ هُناكَ نَصارىٰ أسلَموا، فَلَمّا رَأَوُا الإختِلافَ ارتَدّوا وأعانوهُ، فَلَقوا أصحابَ عَلِيٍّ وقاتَلَهُم، فَنَصَبَ زِيادُ بنُ خَصَفَةَ رايَةَ أمانٍ، وأمَرَ مُنادِياً فَنادىٰ: مَن لَحِقَ بِهذِهِ الرّايَةِ فَلَهُ الأَمانُ، فَانصَرَفَ إلَيها كَثيرٌ مِن أصحابِ الخِرّيتِ، فَانهَزَمَ الخِرّيتُ فَقُتِلَ.

Endnotes

1. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 583, ḥ. 3605.
2. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 94.
3. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 21.
4. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Mufīd, p. 294.
5. Refer to: *Ahlul Bayt fī al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, p. 163, ch. 2 (A Collection of their characteristics).
6. *Maʿānī al-Akhbār*, p. 56, ḥ. 4.
7. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 11.
8. Refer to: *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 13.
9. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 452.
10. *Al-Ṭabaqāt* al-Kubrā, vol. 1, p. 209.
11. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 448, ḥ. 28-33.
12. Ibid., ḥ. 29.
13. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām: vol. 2, p. 57.
14. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1, p. 209.
15. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 211.
16. *Kamāl al-Dīn*, p. 174, ḥ. 32.
17. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 448, ḥ. 29. Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 35, p. 136, ḥ. 81.
18. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 14.
19. *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 13, p. 636, ḥ. 37607.
20. *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 118, no. 17.
21. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 215, ḥ. 1141.
22. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 453, ḥ. 2.
23. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 117, ḥ. 4574.
24. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 7, p. 212, no. 7176.
25. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 453, ḥ. 2.
26. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 19.
27. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 19.
28. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 452.
29. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 19.
30. *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. 6, p. 22.
31. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Saḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 550, ḥ. 6044.

32. *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyīn*, p. 39.
33. Both meaning lion in Arabic. [Tr.]
34. Refer to: *Muwsū'at al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib(a.s.)*, vol. 1, Part One, Chapter One: His Names.
35. *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār*, p. 55, ḥ. 3.
36. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 19.
37. *Al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, p. 129.
38. The word *kunya* refers to a surname of relationship composed of abu 'father' or umm 'mother'.
39. *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 39.
40. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, p. 1358, ḥ. 3500. In some sources it is narrated in respect to the origin of this nickname that there was a misunderstanding between Imām 'Alī and Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (a.s.), so the Imām left the house upset to sleep in the mosque angry. This is what has been narrated. However, the infallibility of these two great persons, along with what the Imām (a.s.) has said after her martyrdom (a.s.), that: "She never made me angry", clearly indicates that this part of the narration is fabricated and intentionally inserted by their rivals and enemies.
41. Lit. Crushing.
42. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 192.
43. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 340, ḥ. 536.
44. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 19.
45. *Al-Mū'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 10, p. 156, ḥ. 10305.
46. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 22.
47. *Musnad ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 174, ḥ. 603.
48. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 23.
49. *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, vol. 6, p. 135.
50. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 89.
51. It could be that because of this she was nicknamed 'The mother of her father'. cf. *Tahdhīb al-al-Kamāl*, vol. 35, p. 247, ḥ. 7899.
52. *Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 537.
53. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 295.
54. *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār*, p. 206.
55. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 568, ḥ. 54.
56. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 461, ḥ. 10.
57. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 39, ḥ. 44.
58. *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 1, p. 616, ḥ. 1911.
59. *Al-Manāqib*, by al-Khwārizmī, p. 353, ḥ. 364.
60. *Tārīkh Mawālīd al-A'immah* (a.s.), p. 172.
61. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 354.

62. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
63. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, p. 479, no. 4089.
64. This name is written in most of the sources with a gemination (*shaddah*). Ibn Ḥajar has stated in *al-Iṣāba* that it was 'al-Muḥassin', with a *shaddah*, but it is mentioned without a *shaddah* in *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, and *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*.
65. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 20, p. 479.
66. *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfi*, vol. 3, p. 156.
67. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 19.
68. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 154.
69. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20
70. *I'lām al-Warā*, vol. 1, p. 396.
71. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
72. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
73. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 413.
74. *Nasab Quraish*, p. 45.
75. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 469.
76. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
77. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 414.
78. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 3, p. 198.
79. *Nasab Quraish*, p. 45.
80. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 469.
81. *Nasab Quraish*, p. 45.
82. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 465.
83. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 469.
84. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
85. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 414.
86. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 414.
87. *Nasab Quraish*, p. 45.
88. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 415.
89. *Nasab Quraish*, p. 46.
90. *Al-Manāqib*, by Ibn Shahr Āshūb, vol. 3, p. 305.
91. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
92. *Nasab Quraish*, p. 45.
93. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
94. *Al-Manāqib, by Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 3, p. 305.
95. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
96. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 354.
97. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 20.
98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Qur'ān, 26:214.
102. Refer to: *Mawsū'at al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.)*, vol. 1, ch. 1.
103. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 13, p. 244.
104. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 6, ḥ. 4265.
105. Qur'ān, 2:207.
106. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p. 301.
107. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1, p. 227.
108. Qur'ān, 8:30.
109. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 447, ḥ. 998-999.
110. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 465, ḥ. 1031.
111. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, pp. 67-68.
112. *Majma' al-Bayān*, vol. 2, p. 535.
113. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 68.
114. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 6, p. 472, ḥ. 12697.
115. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 470, ḥ. 1031.
116. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 22.
117. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 69, ḥ. 8416.
118. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 418,446.
119. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 120, ḥ. 4583.
120. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 436.
121. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, by Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 2, p. 613, ḥ. 1049.
122. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 445.
123. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarīi*, vol. 2, p. 445.
124. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 10.
125. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 70.
126. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 70.
127. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 72.
128. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 71.
129. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 120, ḥ. 4583.
130. This is a after al-Aswad ibn 'Abd al-'Asad al-Makhzūmī who was killed by Ḥamza ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
131. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 2, p. 277.
132. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 71.
133. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 504-507.
134. *Al-Maghāzī*, vol. 1, p. 203,204,206.
135. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 503.
136. *Al-Maghāzī*, vol. 1, p. 199,208.

137. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 513.
138. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 72.
139. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 80.
140. *Al-Maghāzī*, vol. 1, p. 226.
141. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 88.
142. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol .2, p. 518.
143. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 3, p. 135.
144. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 91.
145. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 514.
146. *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, vol. 1, p. 116.
147. *Al-Manāqib*, by Ibn Shahr Āshūb, vol. 3, p. 299.
148. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 527.
149. The name of Gabriel's horse. [*al-Nihāyah*, vol. 1, p. 467].
150. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 318, ḥ. 502.
151. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 89.
152. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 4, p. 93, ḥ. 3789.
153. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 551.
154. *Tārīkh al-Islām*, by al-Dhahabī, vol. 2, p. 245.
155. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, pp. 92-93.
156. *Al-Irshād*: vol. 1, p. 92.
157. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 571.
158. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 571.
159. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 581 & 583.
160. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 581.
161. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 74.
162. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 582
163. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 3, p. 251.
164. *Al-Irshād*: vol. 1, p. 111..
165. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 3, p. 251.
166. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 565.
167. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 570.
168. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 566.
169. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 572.
170. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 574.
171. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 9, p. 223, ḥ. 18350.
172. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 19, p. 61.
173. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 574.
174. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 574.
175. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 34, ḥ. 4327.

176. *'Awālī al-La'ālī*, vol. 4, p. 86, ḥ. 102.
177. *Al-Irshād*: vol. 1, p. 102.
178. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 574.
179. *Kanz al-Fawā'id*, vol. 1, p. 298.
180. *Al-Irshād*: vol. 1, p. 107.
181. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 34, ḥ. 4327.
182. *'Awālī al-La'ālī*, vol. 4, p. 86, ḥ. 102.
183. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 95.
184. Ibid.
185. *Al-Ḥirār*, –plural of *Ḥarra*– is the name of a place that has black stones full of holes as if they have been burnt in fire. There are many places in Arabia, like *Ḥarra Awṭās*, and *Ḥarra Tabūk. Taqwīm al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 234 & 245.
186. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 2, p. 960.
187. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 409.
188. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 565.
189. *Al-Maghāzī*, vol. 2, p. 637.
190. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 106.
191. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Saḥīḥain*, vol. 3, pp. 39-41.
192. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 9, p. 28, ḥ. 23093.
193. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 3, p. 349.
194. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 351, ḥ. 548.
195. *Al-Muṣannif*, by Ibn Abī Shaibah, vol. 7, p. 507, ḥ. 76.
196. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 125.
197. A camel, and especially a red camel, is considered to be one of the most valuable possessions of the Arabs of that time.
198. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 1542, ḥ. 3973.
199. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 125.
200. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 20, p. 316, ḥ. 626.
201. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 134.
202. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 135, 139.
203. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 1557.
204. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2, p. 442, ḥ. 2012.
205. *Tārīkh al-Islam*, by al-Dhahabī, vol. 2, p. 532.
206. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 1, p. 456-457.
207. Rawḍah Khākh: a place between the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, near Ḥamrā' al-Asad from the side of Medina. [*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 335].
208. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 1557, ḥ. 4025.
209. Kudā: The lower mountain road in Mecca close to Bāb al-'Umrah. [*Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. 15, p. 218].

210. Kadā': The upper mountain road in Mecca after the cemetery, which is also called al-Muʿallā. [*Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 15, p. 218].
211. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 56.
212. *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 4, p. 80.
213. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 150.
214. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 151.
215. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 74.
216. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 151.
217. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 75.
218. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 376, ḥ. 566.
219. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 143,150.
220. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 153.
221. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 152.
222. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 149.
223. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 142.
224. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 144.
225. *Al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 5, p. 203, ḥ. 5094.
226. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 155.
227. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 23.
228. *Khaṣāʾiṣ Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, by al-Nisāʾī, p. 107, ḥ. 45.
229. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 152.
230. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 65.
231. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 1, p. 65.
232. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 131.
233. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 169.
234. *Musnad ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 190, ḥ. 666.
235. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 169.
236. Editor's note: A nearly word for word translation of this sentence is as follows: "It will be better for you than whatever on which the rays of the sun shine when it rises, and stop shining when it sets."" This sentence is used to emphasize that you are talking about whatever (precious things) exist in the world.
237. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 28, ḥ. 4.
238. *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥābah*, by Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 2, p. 678.
239. *Sunan al-Tirmidhi*, vol. 5, p. 633, ḥ. 3714.
240. *Al-Jamal*, p. 81.
241. *Al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 2, p. 357, ḥ. 2505.
242. *Al-Muʿjam al-Aawsaṭ*, vol. 8, p. 47, ḥ. 7917.
243. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, pp. 189-191.
244. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 185.

245. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 186.
246. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 262.
247. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 197.
248. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 187.
249. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 291, & p. 301.
250. Qur'ān, 3:144.
251. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 187.
252. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 16, p. 228, ḥ. 44266.
253. Editor's note: This statement is an allusion to conducting his funeral.
254. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 197.
255. Qur'ān, 39:30.
256. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 1, p. 187, ḥ. 359.
257. Qur'ān, 20:1-2.
258. Qur'ān, 9:128.
259. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 54, ḥ. 129.
260. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2, p. 383, no. 1892.
261. *Al-Mustadrak* 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥain, vol. 3, p. 300, ḥ. 5165.
262. A Jordanian writer, and author of *Wa Rakibtu al-Safīnah*.
263. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2676, ḥ. 6920.
264. We have taken this intellectual analysis from the valuable book *Nash'at al-Tashayyu' wa al-Shī'ah*, written by the great scholar and martyr, the Grand Ayatullah Seyyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr, pp. 23-59, with more explanation on our part.
265. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 192.
266. Many documents and proofs were mentioned regarding this subject in the *Mawsū'a al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.)* [the original text of the unabridged Encyclopedia], and it has been summarised in this book. For further information, refer to: *Mawsū'a al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.)*, vol. 1, Part Three: The efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) for the leadership of Imām 'Alī (a.s.).
267. Qur'ān, 26:214.
268. *Al-Manāqib*, by Ibn Shahr 'Āshūb, vol. 1, p. 306.
269. Ibid.
270. For more information on the details of the event of 'The Day of Warning' or 'The Day of the Home' in historical references, refer to: *Ṭārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 2, p. 319, and: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min Sīrah al-Nabī al-A'ẓam*, vol. 3, p. 61, where a large number of sources are cited.
271. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 392, ḥ. 9005.
272. *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vol. 30, p. 297.
273. See: *Minhāj al-Barā'ah fī sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 16, p. 19.
274. For more information about this scheme and its manifestations, refer to: *Ma'ālim*

al-Madrasatain, vol. 1, p. 483.

275. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 107, ḥ. 80.

276. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 107, ḥ. 80.

277. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 2, p. 195.

278. In reference to Qur'ān, 4:59.

279. *'Ilal al-Sharā'i'*, p. 212, ḥ. 2.

280. *Al-'Ain*, vol. 8, p. 428.

281. *Al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 203.

282. *Al-Amālī, by al-Mufīd*, p. 113, ḥ. 5.

283. For further information, refer to: *Mawsū'at al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.)*, vol. 1, Part Three: The efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to consolidate the leadership of Imām 'Alī (a.s.), and Chapter Seven, 'The Traditions of *wilāyah*'.

284. Refer to: Qur'ān, 10:35.

285. Qur'ān, 13:7.

286. Qur'ān, 33:33.

287. *Ahlul Bayt (a.s.) fī 'Āyat al-Taṭhīr*, pp. 40-41.

288. For more information about the different forms and the chains of narrators of this tradition, refer to: *Ahlul Bayt fī al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, p. 165.

289. Qur'ān, 17:60.

290. For more information on the reliability of the various forms of this tradition, its different chains of narrators and other important points related to it, refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vols. 10, 11 and 12.

291. For example, refer to *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1451, ch. 33: 'People will follow Quraysh and Caliphate is in Quraysh'.

292. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1453, ḥ. 1822.

293. *Yanābī' al-Mawaddah*, vol. 3, p. 290, ḥ. 4.

294. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 4, p. 501, ḥ. 2223.

295. Qur'ān, 18:5.

296. Refer to: *al-Imāmah wa Ahlul Bayt (a.s.)*, vol. 2, p. 56-76. This book was written by the Egyptian scholar and Professor of Alexander University, Dr. Muḥammad Bayyūmī Mihrān, one of the best Sunni writers. He discusses the inferiorities and faults of Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, through documents and historical texts. He then presents the following question to the readers: Despite all this, can it be said that they were the successors of the Prophet?!"

297. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 144.

298. *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 2, p. 1367, ḥ. 4085.

299. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, vol. 4, p. 107, ḥ. 4284.

300. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 213, ḥ. 773.

301. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 2, p. 10, ḥ. 2571.

302. *Kifāyat al-Athar*, p. 23.
303. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1453, ḥ. 10.
304. Refer to: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 5, p. 2020, ḥ. 4969 and 4970.
305. Refer to: *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 405, ḥ. 20840 and 20843.
306. Refer to: *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 418, ḥ. 20922.
307. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 427, ḥ. 20976.
308. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 427, ḥ. 20977.
309. *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 2, p. 197, ḥ. 1799.
310. *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 2, p. 196, ḥ. 1794.
311. *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, vol. 2, p. 253, ḥ. 2062.
312. Qur'ān, 49:2.
313. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 430, ḥ. 20991.
314. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1453, ḥ. 9.
315. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 435, ḥ. 21020.
316. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 473, ḥ. 29.
317. For more information about the text of *Ḥadīth al-Safīnah*, its chain of transmission and other points related to it refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vol. 4; *Ahlul Bayt fi al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, p. 95.
318. Refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 90.
319. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 663, ḥ. 3788.
320. *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, vol. 5, p. 303. For more information about the views of numerous Sunni scholars, refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vol. 2, p. 248.
321. Qur'ān, 10:32.
322. Qur'ān, 41:42.
323. Refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vol. 6, p. 377.
324. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 214.
325. *Risālah ṭuruq ḥadīth man kuntū mawlāh fa 'Alī mawlāh*, by al-Dhahabī, p. 11.
326. *Al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 60.
327. This book is a manuscript and has not yet been published. Refer to: Footnote of *al-Ghadīr*, (Markaz al-Ghadīr li al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyah), vol. 1, p. 144.
328. Refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vol. 6-9.
329. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 118, ḥ. 4576.
330. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 613, ḥ. 6272.
331. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 633, ḥ. 3713.
332. *Tadhkirah al-Ḥuffāẓ*, vol. 2, p. 713, ḥ. 728.
333. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 7, p. 74.
334. *Al-Iqbāl*, vol. 2, p. 240.
335. Refer to: *al-Ghadīr fi al-Turāth al-Islāmī*, p. 45. The author of this book clearly and precisely explains the importance of Ibn 'Uqda's book and its effect on books in this

subject after him.

336. Refer to: *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 204-238.

337. Refer to: *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 362. Here the author mentions some of these meanings.

338. Qur'ān, 57:15.

339. *Majāz al-Qur'ān*, vol. 2, p. 254.

340. Taken from one of the *al-Muʿallaqāt al-Sabʿ*, the Muʿallaqāh of Labīd ibn Rabīʿah al-ʿĀmirī.

341. *Sharḥ al-Muʿallaqāt al-Sabʿ*, by al-Zūzanī, p. 210.

342. Qur'ān, 9:51.

343. *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, vol. 5, p. 53.

344. Qur'ān, 57:15.

345. *Maʿānī al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, p. 124.

346. Refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vol. 8, pp. 86-140.

347. Qur'ān, 47:11.

348. *Al-Shāfī*, vol. 2, p. 271.

349. *Maʿānī al-Qur'ān*, vol. 2, p. 161.

350. *Mufradāt Alfāẓ al-Qur'ān*, p. 885.

351. Qur'ān, 6:62.

352. *Al-Wasīṭ fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Majīd*, vol. 2, p. 281.

353. Qur'ān, 2:286.

354. *Al-Kashshāf*, vol. 1, p. 173.

355. Refer to: *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, p. 228. What is wonderous is that Ibn Kathīr regarded the tradition of al-Ghadīr to be applicable to this meaning. He cited ʿUmar's statement when he said: "You have become the *Mawlā* of every believer." Commenting on this, he said: "Meaning, the *Walī* of every believer."

356. Refer to: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, vol. 6, p. 16. *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 345. These two eminent scholars and defenders of the truth (Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusain Hindī and ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Amīnī) insisted on this reality through tens of references in lexicology, literature and exegesis.

Editor's note: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār* (by S. ʿAli Ḥusaynī Mīlanī) is an ahridged version of *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār* (by Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusain).

357. We must make mention of the erudite Egyptian researcher Muḥammad Bayyūmī Mahrān, Professor of the Alexander University, who refers to this reality without any hesitation. He explicitly quotes that the word *Mawlā* means 'the worthier to be in (that is more entitled to administration)'. Refer to: *al-Imāma wa Ahlul Bayt*, vol. 2, p. 120.

358. Referring to the words given by Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) describing the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) by saying: "A doctor who wanders around with his medicine." Refer to: *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 108.

359. *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, vol. 5, p. 231.

360. Qur'ān, 50:37.
361. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 349.
362. *Saḥāba*, lit cloud, is one of the belongings of the holy Prophet (ṣ.a.w.).
363. *Musnad al-Shihāb*, vol. 1, p. 75, ḥ. 47.
364. *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vol. 17, p. 506.
365. *Farā'id al-Simṭain*, vol. 1, p. 76, ḥ. 42.
366. Some sources mention that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) put the turban on the head of 'Alī at the beginning, and then said: 'Whoever has adopted me as his master, 'Alī is his master'; this could have happened more than once.
367. The Ghadīr poem of Ḥassān is considered as the best of his poems. Refer to *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2, p. 34. However, it is unfortunate that Dr. Muḥammad Ṭāhir Darwīsh wrote a large book about Ḥassān and spoke about his poems and the different aspects of his life, but he failed to mention this particular poem of Ghadīr. Refer to his book called: *Ḥassān ibn Thābit*.
368. Qur'ān, 70:1.
369. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 9, p. 143, ḥ. 23622.
370. In reference to the known sentence: "The household is more knowledgeable about what is in it," that has been mentioned in a tradition. Refer to: *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 81, p. 274.
371. Alluding to the Qur'ān, 83:26.
372. *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār*, p. 65, ḥ. 1.
373. Refer to: *Majallat Turāthunā, [Journal]*, no. 21, an important discussion entitled: *'al-Ghdīr wa ḥadīth al-'iṭrah al-ṭāhirah'* 'al-Ghadīr and the traditions of the holy Progeny).
374. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, p. 1111, ḥ. 2888.
375. Refer to: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 243.
376. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, p. 1111, ḥ. 2888.
377. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 477, ḥ. 1935.
378. *Al-Murāja'āt*, p. 455.
379. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 12, p. 21.
380. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 190.
381. *Al-Milal wa al-Naḥl*, vol. 1, p. 23.
382. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 447, ḥ. 598
383. *Kitāb man lā-Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 180, ḥ. 5407.
384. *Al-Faḍā'il*, by Ibn Shadhan, p. 84.
385. *Kitāb man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 175, ḥ. 5402.
386. Ibid.
387. It says in the Qur'ān, 18:60: *"When Moses said to his lad I will go on [journeying]...."*, and verse 62: *"So when they had passed on, he [Moses] said to his lad, 'Bring us our meal... ."*

388. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 117, ḥ. 92.
389. *Maʿānī al-Akhbār*, p. 372, ḥ. 1.
390. *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥābah*, by Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 2, p. 615, ḥ. 1052.
391. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 32, ḥ. 5.
392. The name of a place close to Mecca. *Muʿjam al-Buldān*: vol. 4, p. 313.
393. Qur'ān, 11:12. The rest of the verse is: "*because they say, 'Why has not a treasure been sent down to him, or [why does] not an angel accompany him?' You are only a warner, and Allah watches over all things.*"
394. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 378, ḥ. 572
395. *Al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 4, p. 171, ḥ. 4046.
396. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 450, ḥ. 34.
397. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 678, ḥ. 924.
398. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 13, p. 210.
399. *Kitāb man lā-Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 179, ḥ. 5406.
400. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 411, ḥ. 533.
401. *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Aʾimmah* (a.s.), p. 75.
402. *Baṣāʾir al-Darajāt*, p. 294, ḥ. 6.
403. *Al-Sunnah*, by ibn Abī Asim, p. 549, ḥ. 1183.
404. *Kitāb man lā-Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 179, ḥ. 5405.
405. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 271, ḥ. 299.
406. *Kifāyat al-Athar*, p. 199.
407. *Al-Sunnah, by Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim*: p. 589, ḥ. 1351.
408. *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā (a.s.)*, vol. 1, p. 297, ḥ. 53.
409. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 641, ḥ. 3730.
410. *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 2, p. 302, ḥ. 866.
411. *Kanz al-Fawaʾid*: vol. 2, p. 177.
412. *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥābah, by Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 2, p. 663, ḥ. 1131.
413. The word that is used in this verse is *miṣr*, which could mean Egypt, the city, or according to a tradition from Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) [*in Tafsīr al-Qummī*] it is Bayt al-Maqdis.
414. Qur'ān, 10:87.
415. *Al-Manaqib, by Ibn al-Maghāzilī*, p. 255, ḥ. 303.
416. *Al-Manāqib, by Ibn al-Maghāzilī*, p. 237, ḥ. 285.
417. Tabūk is a place half way on the path between Medina and Damascus, to the north-west of Medina and south of Damascus. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) mobilised an army in the ninth year AH to subdue the Arabs of the north, but there was no war.
418. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 1602, ḥ. 4154.
419. *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 195. What is meant by 'five thousand chains of transmission' is the multiplicity of report in different eras, not the multiplicity of narrators in each level of the levels of the chain of transmission.

420. *Al-Istiʿāb*, vol. 3, p. 202, no. 1875.
421. *Kifāyah al-Ṭālib*, p. 283.
422. *Al-Azhār al-Mutanāthirah fī al-Akhbār al-Mutawātirah*, p. 76, ḥ. 103.
423. Qur'ān, 20:29-32.
424. Qur'ān, 7:142.
425. Qur'ān, 7:142.
426. *Maʿānī al-Akhbār*, p. 74, ḥ. 2.
427. *Maʿānī al-Akhbār*, p. 74, ḥ. 2.
428. *Al-Manāqib, by al-Kūfī*, vol. 1, p. 510, ḥ. 429.
429. Qur'ān, 4:59.
430. *Kamāl al-Dīn*, p. 353, ḥ. 3.
431. *Kamāl al-Dīn*, p. 219, ḥ. 2.
432. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 492, ḥ. 669.
433. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 3, p. 144, h, 317.
434. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 2, p. 377, ḥ. 877.
435. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 412, ḥ. 4.
436. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 411, ḥ. 2.
437. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 83, ḥ. 49.
438. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 148, ḥ. 4668.

    Editor's note: *Qā'id al-ghurr al-muḥajjalīn*: Leader of the unique ones. The word *ghurr* is the plural of *agharr* which literally means a horse in whose face, forearms and legs is whiteness. *Muḥajjal* literally means a white-footed horse, and thus is distinct from others. Metaphorically, *al-agharr al-muḥajjal* means he (i. e. a sincere believer) whose face, hands and feet (washed or wiped during ablution) are brilliant becuse of the (spiritual) effect of ablution, when he is called (in the hereafter) for everyone to see, or called to the Paradise. See al-Ṭurayḥī, *Majaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, vol. 5, p.349.

439. *Al-Manāqib*, by al-Khwārizmī, p. 61, ḥ. 31.
440. *Maʿānī al-Akhbār*, p. 372, ḥ. 1.
441. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 62, ḥ. 24.
442. Qur'ān, 17:71.
443. *Al-Maḥāsin*, vol. 1, p. 253, ḥ. 479.
444. Qur'ān, 5:55.
445. Qur'ān, 5:55.
446. *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 106.
447. Qur'ān, 5:55.
448. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 580, ḥ. 1.
449. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 288, ḥ. 3.
450. Sunan al-Tirmidhī, vol. 5, p. 633, ḥ. 3713.
451. *Al-Suyūṭī* has regarded it among the widely transmitted (*mutawātir*) traditions, quot-

ing it in his book *al-Azhār al-Mutanāthira fī al-Akhbār al-Mutawātirah*, p. 76, ḥ. 102.
452. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, by Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 2, p. 593, ḥ. 1007.
453. Editor's note: Alluding to the verse 33:6 which reads: *The Prophet is closer to the faithful than their own souls.*
454. *Masnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 9, p. 7, ḥ. 23006.
455. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 1, p. 672, no. 1038.
456. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 290, ḥ. 5.
457. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 306, ḥ. 350.
458. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 139, ḥ. 4642.
459. Qur'ān, 13:7.
460. Qur'ān, 13:7.
461. *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 8, ch. 13, p. 108.
462. Qur'ān, 13:7.
463. *Tafsīr al-'Ayyāshī*, vol. 2, p. 203, ḥ. 5.
464. *Nahj al-Ḥaqq*, p. 225, ḥ. 24.
465. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 13, p. 187, no. 7165.
466. *Al-Mu'jam al-Awsaṭ*, vol. 5, p. 135, ḥ. 4880.
467. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 191, ḥ. 5.
468. *Al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, p. 135 and p. 97.
469. *Kifāyat al-Athar*, p. 18.
470. *Kitāb Man Lā-Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 179, ḥ. 5405.
471. *Al-Manāqib*, by Ibn Shahrāshūb, vol. 2, p. 30.
472. Qur'ān, 5:67.
473. Qur'ān, 5:67.
474. *Mukhtaṣar Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*, p. 64.
475. Qur'ān, 5:67.
476. *Ithbāt al-Waṣiyyah*, p. 133.
477. Qur'ān, 5:67.
478. Qur'ān, 5:67.
479. *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 254, ḥ. 248.
480. The fifth sūrah of the Qur'ān.
481. Qur'ān, 33:39.
482. Qur'ān, 96:1.
483. *Al-Umm*, vol. 4, p. 164. The original text is long, and we have only mentioned the part related to this discussion.
484. *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, by al-Wāḥidī, p. 204, ḥ. 402.
485. *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, vol. 3, p. 3.
486. *Al-Durra al-Manthūr*, vol. 3, p. 118.
487. Editor's note: One of the eight collumns (actually date palm trunks) of the Prophet's

mosque in Medina allocated to different tasks. *Ustuwānat al-Ḥaras* (Pillar of Guards) or *al-Miḥras* (Guarding Place) was where 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib sat to guard the Prophet (s.a.w). It was also the place of his praying and was known for it. See: *al-Ma'ālim al-Athīra fī al-Sunna wa al-Sīra*, by Muhammad Ḥasan Sharrāb.

488. *Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī*, vol. 12, p. 53.

489. Ibid.

490. In view of the importance of this communication, and the great decisive role it had, this pilgrimage was called the 'Pilgrimage of communication' (*Ḥajjat al-Balāgh*) and the 'Farewell Pilgrimage (*Ḥajjat al-Wadā'*), because it was the last Ḥajj pilgrimage performed by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). It is unfortunate that the historians turned to erase this indicative name that overtakes the memory. Ibn Isḥāq says: "It was called *Ḥajjat al-Balāgh* and *Ḥajjat al-Wadā'* because the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did not perform Ḥajj Pilgrimage after it." *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya*, by Ibn Hishām, vol. 4, p. 253.

491. Qur'ān, 5:99.

492. Qur'ān, 18:45.

493. Qur'ān, 5:3.

494. Qur'ān, 5:3.

495. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 237.

496. Qur'ān, 5:3.

497. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 32.

498. Qur'ān, 5:3.

499. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 1, p. 25, ḥ. 45.

500. Refer to Tafsīr books in reference to this holy verse.

501. Refer to: *al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 188, ḥ. 197.

502. The author of *al-Kāfī*.

503. Qur'ān, 5:67.

504. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 290, ḥ. 6.

505. *Tafsīr al-'Ayyāshī*, vol. 1, p. 293, ḥ. 21.

506. *Al-Mīzān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. 5, p. 196.

507. *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. 4, p. 23, ḥ. 4584.

508. The name of the Prophet's turban. Refer to *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 2, p. 345.

509. *Naẓm Durar al-Simṭain*, p. 112.

510. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 6, p. 401, ḥ. 18506.

511. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 228.

512. *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 8, 334, ḥ. 86.

513. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 613, ḥ. 6272.

514. Qur'ān, 5:3.

515. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 27, ḥ. 4.

516. *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 183, ḥ. 36.

517. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 173.
518. *Jāmiʿ al-Aḥādīth*, by al-Qummī, p. 273.
519. *Masnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 82, ḥ. 19321.
520. *Al-Sunnah*, by Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, p. 593, ḥ. 197.
521. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣādūq, p. 188, ḥ. 197.
522. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 752.
523. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 5, p. 2146, ḥ. 5345.
524. Ibn al-Athīr said: *Hajara, yahjuru, hajr* means to mix one's words and talk in delirium (i.e. utter delirius words). An example for this is the tradition of the illness of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), when they said: "What is wrong with him? Did he talk in delirium?" meaning that his words have become inconsistent because of his illness, being in the form of a question, saying: "Have his words changed and are they mixed because of his illness?" This is the best way to justify it. It is not to be said in the form of declaration, or else it would be attributing an insult to the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), because the speaker was ʿUmar, who would not have said it in such a way. *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 245-246.
525. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 1612, ḥ. 4168.
526. A wide bone that is used for writing due to the shortage of paper (or parchment). *al-Nihāyah*, vol. 4, p. 150.
527. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1259, ḥ. 21.
528. The incident of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) desiring to write a will and the second Caliph preventing him from doing so is considered a critical and controversial incident. The Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) who "*does not speak out of [his own] desire; it is just a revelation that is revealed [to him],*" [Qur'ān, 53:3-4] decided to explain issues to the Islamic ummah at the end of his life. Even if the Prophet was a normal person, this request of his should have been fulfilled, let alone he wished to write a letter for the ummah after which they would never go astray.

What is surprising here is that the second Caliph opposed that simple request which had a very important result. The reasons for this opposition are of course obvious, and the historical sources have mentioned them. However, even if no historical source has stated what he meant, any fair researcher can perceive the reality of the issue through putting this event beside the event of al-Saqīfa and ʿUmar's assuming the post of Caliphate.

It can be understood from the historical sources that there were a group that backed ʿUmar and supported him in the stand he took. This indicates the existence of a group that had a presence even in the private gatherings of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.), to the extent that disputation and clamour intensified and the writing of the will became useless.

What is more unusual than this is that some tried to confirm the validity of what the Caliph did, while degrading the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). He said:

"This is among the signs of the knowledge of ʿUmar and his virtues and accurate obser-

vation, because he feared that he (ṣ.a.w.) would write things the people would probably be incapable of following, thus deserving punishment for it, because they would be in writing and there is no place for ijtihād in it." [*Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, by al-Nawawī, vol. 11, p. 99, footnote of ḥ. 1637].

In other words, the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) is saying to them: "I want to write a letter for you with which you will never go astray." But these people are saying: "The writing of the Prophet will necessitate punishment, and 'Umar's opposing is a sign of his understanding, virtue and accurate observation!! In view of this clear contradiction between the opinion of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) and the opinion of the second Caliph, how can we interpret this in virtue of 'Umar?!

What is even more surprising is the justification mentioned by al-Qāḍī 'Ayyāḍ regarding the whole event, where he distorted it from its original picture and mentioned it in an opposite way, saying:

"Did the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) utter delirius words? Thus is mentioned in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and other books: Did he talk in delirium? It is in the form of a question not in the form of declaration: He has talked in delirium. This is because none of this is appropriate for him (ṣ.a.w.), because the meaning of *hajara* is *hadhā* – has talked nonsense. This was said by the person in the form of a question in denial of those who said: Do not write. 'Umar's words: "The Book of Allah is sufficient for us," were a reply to those who disputed with him, but not to the command of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.)." [*al-Shifā bi ta'rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, vol. 2, p. 194].

Is there any kind of distortion clearer than this?! It is evident that if this text had not been recorded by *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, it would then have reached us in this distorted form.

529. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 249.
530. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 115.
531. *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, vol. 1, p. 23.
532. *Mawsū't al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib* (a.s.), vol. 1, Part Three: The Efforts of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) to consolidate the Leadership of Imām 'Alī (a.s.).
533. "*He does not speak out of [his own] desire; it is just a revelation that is revealed [to him],*" [Qur'ān, 53:3-4]
534. Refer to: *al-Murāja'āt*, p. 354.
535. Refer to: Qur'ān, 9:128.
536. Look at what 'Umar has said in this regard: "So we hated this strongly." [*Majma' al-Zawā'id*, vol. 8, p. 609, ḥ. 14257].
537. Sa'īd Ayyūb in *Ma'ālim al-Fitan*, vol. 1, p. 263.
538. Qur'ān, 53:3-4.
539. Refer to: *al-Naṣṣ wa al-Ijtihād*, pp. 125-138.
540. The Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) bid farewell to life, returning to his Lord. Medina was shaken

with disturbance and commotion. The news of his death spread very quickly, filling people's hearts with grief, sorrow and sadness. Everyone was wailing, weeping, and crying for having lost their Prophet and master. The only person who very strongly refuted the news of the death, as mentioned above, was ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, as he threatened anyone who spreads the news. Al-ʿAbbās, the uncle of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) talked to him, but he was not persuaded.

When al-Mughīra looked into the face of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), he swore that he was dead, but ʿUmar branded him as a liar and accused him of inciting dissension.

Abū Bakr was in a place called al-Sunḥ outside Medina; he was informed of the death of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), so he came to Medina and saw ʿUmar talking to the people, threatening them not to believe it and not to spread the news.

When he saw Abū Bakr, he sat down [*Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 7, p. 246, ḥ. 18775]. Abū Bakr went to the body and uncovered the noble face of the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.), then made a short speech saying: "*Muḥammad is but a messenger; [other] messengers have passed on before him. So, if he dies or is slain, will you turn back on your heels?*" [Qur'ān, 3:144.] ʿUmar kept quiet, and started to believe in his death, saying after he heard the verse: "I am now convinced of his death; it is as if I had never heard this verse."

Could it be that ʿUmar did not really believe the Prophet's death? Some adopted this viewpoint and said: "He really did not know." In other words: he believed that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) would not die and that he was immortal. [*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 12, p. 195.] It is evident from this that those who hold this idea are not aware of the political games.

Others said that he knew well that the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) had died and that he would not be among the Muslims after that. However, his own interests made him take this stand to prepare the ground for the manoeuvres to get rid of his political rivals in the arena. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, the author of Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha, adopted this viewpoint, and went on to say that he did that to avert dissension that the Anṣār might instigate in respect to Imāmah (leadership). Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd wrote:

"We say: ʿUmar is of a higher esteem than to believe so. However, when he knew that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) had died, he was worried about a possible dissension regarding Imāmah, which some people might incite, either the Anṣār or others. His interests drove him to claim that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) did not die...When Abū Bakr, who was absent because of his staying in al-Sunḥ, a way station far away from Medina, came back, ʿUmar met Abū Bakr and was encouraged by him. He began to bring together people's obedience to Abū Bakr and their inclination towards him, and he also abandoned the assumption he claimed. [*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 2, p. 42.]

From the historical contexts, along with the view of these two men, and with the complete silence of ʿUmar after the arrival of Abū Bakr in respect to the commotion and clamour he raised, we can assert that ʿUmar's standpoint was a political movement to

prepare the ground for that matter, and this made him refrain from joining the army of Usāmah, which was violation of a clear statement of the Prophet and a direct command of the Messenger.

What is clearer than that is what 'Umar himself said, when he chose Abu Bakr for the Caliphate, where he admitted the incorrectness and weakness of his statements, saying: "Now, I said to you yesterday something I did not find in a book by Allah, nor in any knowledge given to me by the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.). But I wished that the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) would live long. Allah chose for his Messenger that which is with Him over what is with you. This is the Book by which Allah guided your Messenger, so abide by it to be guided to what the Messenger of Allah was guided." [*Al_Ṭabaqāt al_Kubrā*: vol. 2, p. 271.]

All that indicate that he was preparing the grounds for the authority and paving the way for the Caliphate of Abū Bakr, so that he may rule after him. How eloquent the words of the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.) are in this regard when he told him: "Make a milking, half of which will be yours."

541. Qur'ān, 39:30.
542. Qur'ān, 3:144.
543. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, p. 267.
544. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2505, ḥ. 6442
545. *Tārīkh al Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 124.
546. Qur'ān, 29:1-4.
547. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 189.
548. *Ansāb al Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 268.
549. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 202.
550. *Al-Ridda*, p. 46.
551. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 3.
552. *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*, vol. 2, p. 580, ḥ. 4.
553. *Tārīkh al Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 126.
554. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 271.
555. *Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 14.
556. Editor's note: It means that they ceased to respect him, rather they ignored him instead. This about-face caused their faces change to those of strangers and thus could not be known by Imam 'Alī.
557. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 4, p. 1549, ḥ. 3998.
558. *Al-Jamal*, p. 437.
559. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 295, ḥ. 454.
560. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 189, ḥ. 216.
561. *Al-Shāfī*, vol. 3, p. 241.
562. A metaphor for haughtiness and pride.

563. *Nathr al-Durr*, vol. 2, p. 68.
564. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Mufīd, p. 155, ḥ. 6.
565. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 158.
566. *Tārīkh al-Islam*, by al-Dhahabī, vol. 3, p. 265.
567. *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 38.
568. Editor's note: "*Qadhā fī ʿaynih*" literally means (there is) a foreign body (a mote, a speck, etc.) in the eye' denoting 'an odious unbearable thing'. The idiom 'grin and bear it' seems to be the closest equivalent to it.
Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, vol. 4, p. 1549, ḥ. 3998.
569. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 3.
570. *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥābah*, by Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 2, p. 647, ḥ. 1100.
571. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 424, ḥ. 6.
572. *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah*, vol. 12, p. 78.
573. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 145.
574. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 123.
575. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 151.
576. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, p. 1355, ḥ. 3497.
577. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 340.
578. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 229.
579. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 74.
580. Qur'ān, 28:83.
581. *That is, such speech cannot be delivered at any time or on any occasion.*
Editor's note: *Shiqshiqa* is something like a piece of lung that a bull camel sticks out (from its mouth) when it brays while getting excited (as if it is foams at the mouth), and restores it immediately.
Shiqshiqatun hadarat thummaqarrat is an Arabic idiom denoting that a cry was made then subsided. Here it implies that the Imam (a.s.) poured out his heart for the audience just for a short period of time.
582. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 3.
583. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 590.
584. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 227.
585. Ibid.
586. *Al-Muṣannaf*, by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, vol. 5, p. 446, ḥ. 9761.
587. *Al-Muṣannaf*, by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, vol. 5, p. 447, ḥ. 9762.
588. This is depicted in the conversation ʿUmar had with Ibn ʿAbbās in this regard. [Refer to: *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 223].
589. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 227.
590. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 189.
591. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 231.

592. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 233.
593. *Al-Muṣanniſ, by 'Abd al-Razzāq*, vol. 4, p. 233.
594. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 162.
595. Qur'ān, 12:18.
596. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 233.
597. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 233.
598. *Al-Bad' wa al-Tārīkh*, vol. 5, p. 192.
599. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 163.
600. *Tārīkh al-Madīnq*, vol. 3, p. 1029.
601. Refer to: *al-Naṣṣ wa al-Ijtihād*, by 'Allāmah Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn.
602. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 12, p. 265.
603. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 95.
604. *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 289.
605. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 341.
606. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 102.
607. Quḍā'ah: A district in Yemen. [*Tāj al-'Arūs*, vol. 11, p. 377].
608. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 137.
609. Fadak: A Jewish valley that is a two-day trip away from Medina. It belonged to the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) after he had conquered it with the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.). He gave it to his daughter Fāṭimah (a.s.). It was in her hands until the Messenger of Allah (ṣ.a.w.) passed away, and then it was taken from her by force. [*Majma' al-Baḥrayn*, vol. 3, p. 1370, sub. voc. 'Fadak'].
610. *Tārīkh Abī al-Fidā'*, vol. 1, p. 169.
611. *Al-Ma'ārif*, by Ibn Qutayba, p. 195. *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 291. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 198.
612. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 168.
613. *Al-Ma'ārif*, by Ibn Qutayba, p. 195.
614. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 199.
615. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 108.
616. AL-Nashāstaj: A village or a river in Kūfah which was a source of great income. [Mu'jam al-Buldān, vol. 5, p. 285.]
617. *Tārīkh al-Madīna*, vol. 3, p. 1020.
618. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 107.
619. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 164.
620. Qur'ān, 2:177.
621. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 348.
622. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 283.
623. *Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 251.
624. *Tahdhīb al- Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 467, no. 3184.

625. A place close to Medina. [*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 236].
626. Ṣirma: A herd of camels between twenty to thirty or between thirty to forty-five camels. [*Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 12, p. 337].
627. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 283.
628. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 161.
629. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 146.
630. *Tārīkh al-Islām*, by al-Dhahabī, vol. 3, p. 431.
631. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 163.
632. Editor's note: alluding to the Qur'an, 9:118.
633. Editor's note: *Ṭulaqāʾ* (singular: *ṭalīq*) literally meaning freedmen, is the name of those Meccans who remained heathen until the surrender of Mecca in 8th AH when they embraced Islam. Abū Sufyān and his son Muʿāwiyah were amongst them. For further information see: Part Nine, chapter Two, Defending the Truth..., the endnote given for the term 'Party of the Freedmen'.
634. Alluding to the Qurʿan 5:33.
635. *Al-Shāfī*, vol. 4, p. 291.
636. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 319.
637. Refer to: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, pp. 133-138. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 376, vol. 5, p. 43. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 9, p. 36, vol. 8, p. 22. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 339.
638. *Al-Aghānī*, vol. 6, p.370.
639. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 350.
640. Qur'ān, 46:15.
641. Qur'ān, 2:233.
642. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 173.
643. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 365. *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 286.
644. *Al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 10, p. 96, no. 10071. *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, vol. 1p. 416, no. 84. *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 6, p. 214. *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 11, p. 721, ḥ. 33525.
645. *Al-Mustadak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 438, ḥ. 5665, and ḥ. 5664 is similar.
646. *Al-Mustadak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 443, ḥ. 5680. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 43, p. 391, ḥ.9262, 9263.
647. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 43, p. 406, ḥ. 9291.
648. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 171.
649. Refer back to: 'Striking 'Ammār ibn Yāsir'.
650. *Al-Abdāl*: The saints and worshippers, and its singular is *bidl*, and they are called this because every time one of them dies another one takes the place and substitutes the other. [*al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 1, p. 107].
651. *Musnad Abī Yaʿlā*, vol. 1, p. 267, ḥ. 507.
652. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 8, p. 439, no. 4549.
653. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 1, p. 511, no. 686. Rijāl al-Ṭūsī, p. 59, ḥ. 501, mentioning him

among those who have narrated from the Commander of the faithful (a.s.).

654. *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 566, no. 1083.

655. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 176.

656. *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 621, no. 1248.

657. *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 257, no. 1931.

658. *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. 4, p. 281, no. 5179.

659. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 367.

660. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 379.

661. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 459; *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 313; *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 300; *al-Futūh*, vol. 2, p. 437; *al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 72, with 'He has debauched' instead of 'he has become a disbeliever'.

662. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 459.

663. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 357.

664. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 175.

665. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 17.

666. Excerpts from: Egner, Robert. E, Bertrand Russell's Best, 'The New American Library. 1958.

667. Ibid.

668. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 132, ḥ. 125.

Editor's note: Al-Mulk 'aqīm is an Arabic proverb (used as a motto) meaning that one's lineage (or blood relationship) is of no use with regard to 'dominion' because (many a time) a son has killed his father for the sake of dominion, even as a father has killed his son for its sake. see kitāb al-'Ayn, vol. 1, p. 185 sub. voc. 'aqama.

669. Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s.) said, describing the cunning of Mu'āwiyah: "That is craftiness! That is satanism! It appears to be like intelligence, but it is not intelligence." *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 11, ḥ. 3.

670. Refer to: *Mawsū'at al-Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib* (a.s.), vol. 2, Part five, Chapter two: The voice of justice and its echo.

671. *Da'āim al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 71.

672. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 198.

673. "Whoever loves you [the Imāms] loves Allah." *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 97 and p. 101, ḥ. 1. *Kitāb man lā-Yaḥduruh al-Faqīh*, vol. 2, p. 613, ḥ. 3213.

674. Refer to: *al-Maḥabbah fī al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah*, Part One, Chapter Seven: 'Those whose love is obligatory.'

675. *Wilāyat Faqīh*, pp. 192-193.

676. Refer to: *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.

677. Qur'ān, 23:70.

678. Qur'ān, 7:157.

679. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 27.

680. *Shurṭa* means troops. They are the assistants of the governors and rulers; they are the first to attend war and are prepared for death. It is used here in reference to the close companions and the elite of Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) who were at the forefront of the troops. *Khamīs* means the army, and it was called so because it was divided into five (*khamsa*) parts: the front, back, right, left and middle.
681. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 118.
682. *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, vol. 2, p. 942.
683. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Wise Saying 318.
684. Refer to: *Mawsūʿat al-Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib* (a.s.), vol. 4, p. 336: Miscellaneous Traditions.
685. *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 3, p. 217, no. 1875.
686. Some sources say that the allegiance to the Imām (a.s.) was one day after the killing of ʿUthmān. Refer to: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 7. Other sources say that it occurred three days after, like: *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 123, ḥ. 4594, and *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 140. Others say it was four or five days after. Refer to: *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 123, ḥ. 4594.
687. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 436.
688. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 428.
689. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 7, p. 36.
690. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 437. *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*, p. 56.
691. *Faḍāʾil alṢaḥābah*, by Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 1, p. 480, ḥ. 778.
692. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 1.
693. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 728, ḥ. 1530.
694. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 43.
695. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 319.
696. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, sermon 92.
697. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 3.
698. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 302.
699. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 229.
700. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 31.
701. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 437.
702. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 439.
703. *Al-Kāmil*, by al-Mubarrid, vol. 1, p. 328.
704. *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 311.
705. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 243.
706. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 124, ḥ. 127.
707. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 4, pp. 9-10.
708. Marwān wanted to give his pledge of allegiance to the Imām after the defeat in the Battle of the Camel, but the Imām rejected and said in his rejection: "Did he not pledge

allegiance to me after the slaying of 'Uthmān? I have no need for his allegiance. It is a Jewish hand." *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 73.

709. Qur'ān, 43:78.
710. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 7, p. 36.
711. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 179.
712. *Al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, p. 150
713. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 15.
714. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 15.
715. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 24, ḥ. 4.
716. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 200.
717. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
718. Qur'ān, 2:45.
719. Qur'ān, 5:8.
720. *Al-Ghārāt*, vol. 2, p. 533 and p. 539.
721. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 173.
722. *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, vol. 1, p. 85.
723. *Nahj al-Balāgha,* Letter 53.
724. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 137.
725. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3985.
726. Referring to the verse: "Nor do I take those who mislead as assistants." Qur'ān, 18:51.
727. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 52.
728. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 531, ḥ. 1890.
729. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
730. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
731. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
732. *Nathr al-Durr*, vol. 1, p. 292.
733. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 20.
734. Extracted from the following verses of the Qur'ān: 7:85, and 11:85-6.
735. *Al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 210.
736. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
737. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 6199.
738. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
739. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 4, p. 109.
740. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
741. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 164.
742. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
743. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 86, ḥ. 8.
744. *Al-Sarā'ir*, vol. 2, p. 228.
745. *SharḥNahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 15, p. 147.

746. Editor's note: *Ahl al-Dhimma* are the free non-Muslim subjects living in Muslim countries who, in return for paying *jizya* (tribute) enjoy protection and safety.
747. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 203.
748. Qurʾān, 11:61.
749. *Wasāʾil al-Shīʿah*, vol. 13, p. 195, ḥ. 10.
750. *Al-Mawāʿiẓ al-ʿAdadiyah*, p. 55.
751. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 113, ḥ. 1.
752. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 149, ḥ. 9.
753. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 319, ḥ. 59.
754. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 538, ḥ. 1913.
755. *Rabīʿ al-Abrār*, vol. 4, p. 154.
756. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, vol. 2, p. 36, ḥ. 80.
757. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 3, p. 540, ḥ. 8.
758. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 4, p. 31, ḥ. 3.
759. *Faḍāʾil al-Ṣaḥābah, by Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 531, ḥ. 883.
760. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 67.
761. *Rabīʿ al-Abrār*, vol. 2, p. 148.
762. The *Raḥbah* of a place, like a mosque or a house is its courtyard, and it seems that he is referring to the courtyard where the Muslim Treasury (Zakāt, taxes, *khums*, etc) is stored before it is distributed.
763. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 2, p. 375.
764. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 10, p. 250.
765. *Al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, p. 151.
766. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 310, ḥ. 85.
767. *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, vol. 1, p. 286, ḥ. 894.
768. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
769. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 4780.
770. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 8, p. 69, ḥ. 26.
771. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 31.
772. *Tuḥaf al-ʿUqūl*, p. 138.
773. *Tuḥaf al-ʿUqūl*, pp. 126-130.
774. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
775. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 76.
776. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 136.
777. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 37.
778. *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vol. 1, p. 414.
779. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 17, p. 87.
780. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 127.
781. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 25.

782. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
783. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
784. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 413, ḥ. 5.
785. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 177.
786. *'Awālī al-La'ālī*, vol. 2, p. 343, ḥ. 5.
787. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
788. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 407, ḥ. 3.
789. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 3011.
790. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 7943.
791. *'Awālī al-La'ālī*, vol. 2, p. 344, ḥ. 8.
792. *Irshād al-Qulūb*, p. 218.
793. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 260, ḥ. 1.
794. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 443.
795. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 5683.
796. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 40.
797. *Al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 337.
798. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 3, p. 78.
799. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8230.
800. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 7232.
801. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10138.
802. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10216.
803. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10258.
804. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 20, p. 283, ḥ. 244.
805. *Musnad Zaid*, p. 335.
806. *Al-Amwāl*, p. 245, ḥ. 567.
807. *Al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 18.
808. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 191.
809. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 372.
810. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 372.
811. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 16.
812. The elite forces of the ruler (shuraṭ al-sulṭān): A choice of his companions given preference to other soldiers. al-Nihāyah, vol. 2, p. 460.
813. *Al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, p. 2.
814. *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, vol. 1, p. 19, no. 8.
815. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
816. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 11.
817. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 370.
818. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 41, ḥ. 4.
819. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 162, ḥ. 298.

820. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 460, ḥ. 1.
821. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 153.
822. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 376.
823. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 9, ḥ. 16739.
824. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 46, ḥ. 1. Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām, vol. 3, p. 81, ḥ. 237. Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 33, p. 52, ḥ. 664.
* Alluding to the Qur'n 2:111 (Editor).
825. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 5, p. 28, ḥ. 5.
826. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 383.
827. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8722.
828. *Al-Mawāʿiẓ al-ʿAdadiyah*, p. 54.
829. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 4789.
830. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 216.
831. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 8438.
832. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 28, ḥ. 34.
833. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 4848.
834. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 9360.
835. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 5717.
836. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 7815.
837. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Wise Saying 476.
838. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 5571.
839. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10958.
840. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 20, p. 345, ḥ. 961.
841. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 10965.
842. *Kitāb Man lā-Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, vol. 4, p. 387, ḥ. 5834.
843. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 192.
844. *Ghurar al-Ḥikam*, ḥ. 5247.
845. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 41.
846. *Al-Maḥāsin*, vol. 2, p. 178, ḥ. 1504.
847. *Al-Ghārāt*, vol. 1, p. 7 and p. 16.
848. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 93.
849. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 473, ḥ. 9044.
850. *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 14, p. 321, no. 8643.
851. *Musnad Abī Yaʿlā*, vol. 1, p. 271, ḥ. 524.
852. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 496, ḥ. 5.
853. *Al-Manāqib*, by Ibn al-Maghāzilī, p. 50, ḥ. 73.
854. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 364, ḥ. 763.
855. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṣadūq, p. 656, ḥ. 891.
856. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 699, ḥ. 3870.

857. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥain*, vol. 3, p. 150, ḥ. 4675.
858. *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol. 1, p. 388.
859. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 246.
860. *Al-Manāqib*, by al-Khwārazmī, p. 234.
861. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Mufīd, p. 153, ḥ. 6.
862. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 731, ḥ. 1530.
863. *Al-Ghārāt*, vol. 2, p. 431.
864. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 4, p. 163, ḥ. 11773.
865. *Musnad Abī Ya'lā*, vol. 1, p. 271, ḥ. 524.
866. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 501, ḥ. 1098.
867. *Al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, vol. 2, p. 245.
868. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Mufīd, p. 213, ḥ. 4.
869. *Al-Mustarshid*, p. 429, ḥ. 142.
870. *Al-Ifṣāḥ*, p. 135.
871. *Al-Ṭarā'if*, p. 103, ḥ. 150.
872. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 254, ḥ. 964.
873. *Al-Kāfi'ah*, p. 36, ḥ. 37.
874. *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā*, p. 122.
875. Qur'ān, 33:57.
876. *Al-Jamal*, pp. 79-82.
877. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 2, p. 297.
878. *Al-Tārīkh al-Ṣaghīr*, vol. 1, p. 120.
879. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 411, ḥ. 5570.
880. Some sources asserted that the battle lasted for four hours (refer to: *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*), from noon to sunset (*Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 38), and some books said that it lasted for one whole day (*Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 523) there is no contraditiction between all of these views.
881. *Al-Jamal*, p. 396 and p. 399.
882. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, pp. 466, 470, 505.
883. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 370.
884. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 146.
885. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 505.
886. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 539.
887. *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 324.
888. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 360.
889. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 539.
890. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 539.
891. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 58.
892. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 35, p. 236, no. 7885.

893. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 144.
894. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 459.
895. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 212.
896. *Al-Jamal*, p. 231.
897. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, pp. 458, 459.
898. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol. 5, p. 705, ḥ. 3884.
899. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 516.
900. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 544.
901. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 40.
902. *Al-Jamal*, p. 159.
903. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 225.
904. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 35, p. 235, no. 7885.
905. *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. 3, p. 317, no. 4285.
906. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 13, p. 415, no. 2975.
907. *Al-Istīʿāb*, vol. 2, p. 317, no. 1289.
908. *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, vol. 13, p. 412, no. 2975.
909. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 405.
910. al-Sarāt is the wide mountains and lands that seperate Tuhāma and Yemen.[*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. p. 417, ḥ. 5587.]
911. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 221.
912. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 417, ḥ. 5587.
913. *Tārīkh al-Madīnah*, vol. 4, p. 1169.
914. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, 171.
915. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 246.
916. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 53.
917. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 407.
918. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 222.
919. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 417, ḥ. 5586.
920. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2, p. 307, no. 1732.
921. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2, p. 309, no. 1732.
922. Ibid.
923. *Al-Manāqib*, by Ibn Shahr'āshūb, vol. 3, p. 363.
924. *Al-Muḥabbir*, p. 54.
925. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Wise Saying 453.
926. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 107.
927. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 342.
928. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 211.
929. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53.
930. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1690, ḥ. 25.

931. *Al-Mustadrak 'alā al-Ṣaḥiḥain*, vol. 3, p. 631, ḥ. 6326.
932. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Wise Saying 453.
933. *Al-Jamal*, p. 229.
934. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 509.
935. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 376.
936. Ibid. p. 378.
937. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 323.
938. Ibid. p. 340.
939. Ibid. p. 498.
940. Ibid. p. 498, 501.
941. Ibid. p. 497, 501.
942. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 3, p. 244, no. 2949.
943. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 28, p. 204.
944. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 122.
945. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 5, p. 139, no. 4848.
946. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 135.
947. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 2, p. 49, no. 1217.
948. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, pp. 164, 166.
949. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, pp. 133, 136.
950. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, pp. 362, 363.
951. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 37.
952. *Usd al-Ghābah*, vol. 5, p. 140, no. 4848.
953. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 73.
954. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol.3, p. 223.
955. Ibid, vol. 5, p. 38.
956. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Beginning of Sermon 73.
957. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 58.
958. *Al-Iṣāba*, vol. 6, p. 204, no. 8337.
959. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 38.
960. *Tārīkh al-Madīnah*, vol. 1, p. 110.
961. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 611.
962. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 73.
963. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 5, p. 43.
964. *Al-Jamal*, p. 268.
965. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 70.
966. *Al-Jamal*, p. 164.
967. *Al-Jamal*, p. 437. *al-Kāfī'ah*, p. 15, ḥ. 14.
968. This does not mean that 'Ā'ishah was completely innocent and that it was Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr that instigated her to take this position. The position that 'Ā'ishah took

while returning to Mecca and hearing about the killing of ʿUthmān and Imām ʿAlī (a.s.) assuming the Caliphate shows that she was looking for a means to announce her opposition to the Imām (a.s.), and that she was ready to proclaim her support for any opposition movement.

969. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 23.
970. A well four miles from Baṣra [Refer to: *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 277.]
971. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 461.
972. *Al-Jamal*, p. 233.
973. Editor's note: *Istirjāʿ* means saying the words: *innā li-llāh wa innā ilailhi rājiʿūn* (meaning *indeed we belong to Allah, and to Him do we return*). This sentence is part of the Qur'anic verse 2:156, describing the patient as being those who when an affliction wisits them, say, "*Indeed we belong to...*"". It is pronounced when one receives a very bad news, like the death notice, or faces a very bad condition he did not expect.
974. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 6, p. 224.
975. A place on the path to Baṣra from the direction of Mecca. [*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 314.]
976. Qur'ān, 2:156.
977. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 181.
978. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 455.
979. *Al-Jamal*, p. 239.
980. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 246.
981. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 1.
982. Editor's note: That is 'you got the truth and falsehood muddled up', or 'you got into a muddle about the issue'.
983. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 210.
984. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 477.
985. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 499.
986. Qur'ān, 2:188.
987. Qur'ān, 4:93.
988. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 14, p. 14.
989. Ibid, p. 20.
990. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 500.
991. Ibid, pp. 477-486.
992. Ibid, p. 499.
993. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, pp. 324-329.
994. *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, pp. 235-237.
995. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, pp. 31, 32.
996. *Al-Jamal*, pp. 242-257.

997. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 14, pp. 8-10.
998. Ibid, p. 16.
999. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 86.
1000. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 499.
1001. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 31.
1002. *Al-Jamal*, p. 257.
1003. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 477.
1004. Ibid, p. 478.
1005. *Al-Jamal*, p. 257.
1006. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 31.
1007. Ibid, p. 32.
1008. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 486.
1009. Ibid, p. 482.
1010. *Al-Jamal*, p. 251.
1011. The Ḥafar of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: A hole dug by Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī on the road from Baṣra to Mecca. [*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 275.]
1012. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 24.
1013. A place close to Baṣra where the Battle of the Camel took place. [*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 125.]
1014. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 25.
1015. *Al-Jamal*, p. 281.
1016. Ibid.
1017. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 469.
1018. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 249.
1019. *Al-Jamal*, p. 285.
1020. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 368.
1021. *Al-Jamal*, pp. 313, 314.
1022. *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 96, h. 327.
1023. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 54.
1024. Ibid, Sermon 31.
1025. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, pp. 508, 509.
1026. *Al-Jamal*, pp. 336-338.
1027. Al-Biṭān: the belt of the pack saddle that is put under the stomach of a camel. This expression is used to denote intensity. [*Tāj al-'Arūs*, vol. 18, p. 62.]
1028. Editor's note: The expression "*lā-aban laka*" (lit. may you have no father) is said as an exclamation to express surprise.
1029. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 371.
1030. *Al-Jamal*, pp. 387, 390.
1031. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 95.

1032. Qur'ān, 7:89.
1033. *Al-Jamal*, p. 341.
1034. Qur'ān, 9:30.
1035. *Al-Jamal*, p. 334.
1036. Editor's note: That is 'you should not be the beginner of the fighting'.
1037. *Al-Jamal*, p. 355.
1038. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 96.
1039. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 478.
1040. Qur'ān, 2:156.
1041. Qur'ān, 8:25.
1042. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 478.
1043. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 514.
1044. *Al-Jamal*, p. 350.
1045. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 38.
1046. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, vol. 8, p. 314, ḥ. 16747.
1047. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 58.
1048. The nickname of 'Ā'ishah (Editor).
1049. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 183.
1050. *Al-Jamal*, p. 415.
1051. *Sharḥ al-Akhbār*, vol. 1, p. 389, ḥ. 331.
1052. That is regarded it with contempt (Editor).
1053. *Al-Jamal*, p. 285.
1054. *Al-Jamal*, p. 400.
1055. *Al-Jamal*, p. 420.
1056. The word *al-Ruḥbah* here is referring to the main city square and resting place for the public.
1057. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 3.
1058. Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 2, p. 384.
1059. See Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 4, p. 573.
1060. See Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 4, p. 575.
1061. See Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, vol. 5, p. 575, and vol. 5, p. 5.
1062. Murūj al-Dhahab, vol. 2, p. 400.
1063. A city in Syria between Aleppo and al-Raqqa on the western bank of the Euphrates below Ṣiffīn
1064. *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 414.
1065. *A chart of the distances for the Arab region of Syria*, p. 127.
1066. *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 414.
1067. *Al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 261.
1068. *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 332.

1069. *Al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 261.
1070. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 97.
1071. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 384.
1072. *Al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 275.
1073. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 97.
1074. *Al-Imāma wa al-Siyāsa*, vol. 1, p. 123.
1075. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol 3, p. 414.
1076. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, 97.
1077. *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 3, p. 414
1078. *Al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 7, p. 261.
1079. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 384.
1080. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, 98.
1081. Being the name of those Meccans who remained heathen and fought against the Prophet (ṣ.a.w.) until the conquest of Mecca when the Prophet pardoned them all and called them freedmen. See further: Part Nine, Chapter Two, Defending the Truth..., the endnote given for the term 'Party of the Freedmen'. (Editor).
1082. It is said: There were objections to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when he appointed some people, it is reported that when he appointed Mu'āwiyah, people said: Has he appointed Mu'āwiyah. He said to them: Do not mention Mu'āwiyah except with good, for I heard the Messenger of God (ṣ.a.w.) say: O God guide [people] through him. (*al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyah*, vol.8, p. 122.).
1083. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol 4, p. 41.
1084. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol 4, p. 57.
1085. Reciting the verse: In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
1086. *Ṣaḥīh Mulim*, vol. 4, p. 2010, ḥ 96.
1087. *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. 1, p. 637, ḥ 1708.
1088. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 3, p. 58, ḥ. 15.
1089. *Rabi' al-Abrār*, vol. 3, p. 548.
1090. *Al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 3, p. 104, & vol. 5, p. 307.
1091. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol 6, p. 291.
1092. *Al-Īḍāḥ*, p. 84.
1093. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 1, p. 431, ḥ 1740.
1094. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 6, p. 283.
1095. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 63, ḥ. 15.
1096. *Usud al-Ghāba*, vol. 4, p. 232, ḥ 3971.
1097. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 67, ḥ. 15.
1098. The name of an Arab country on the coast of the sea of Yemen and India. Refer: *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 4, p. 150. It is today one of the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, on the south-east coast. Muscat is its capital city.

1099. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3, p. 258 & 302.
1100. *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, vol. 1, p. 63 & 64.
1101. *Siyar Aʿalām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 58, ḥ. 15.
1102. *Siyar Aʿalām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 34, ḥ. 8.
1103. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 6, p. 192.
1104. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 560.
1105. *Siyar Aʿalām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 72, ḥ. 15.
1106. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 73.
1107. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 563 & vol. 5, p. 12.
1108. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 73.
1109. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 381.
1110. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol 3, p. 47.
1111. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 98.
1112. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 51 & 70.
1113. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 84.
1114. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 100 – 105.
1115. *Al-Mustadrak ʿAlā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol. 3, p. 513, ḥ 5907.
1116. *Siyar Aʿalām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 77, ḥ. 15.
1117. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, vol. 2, p. 222.
1118. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 10, p. 233.
1119. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 10, p. 247.
1120. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 10, p. 246.
1121. Editor's note: For the Arabic term *"mudāhana"* (as a verbal noun) three different equivalents can be found in bilingual Arabic dictionaries: flattery, hypocricy and deceit that seem to be more relevant to the context of the given text.
1122. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 364.
1123. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 230.
1124. The term "mawtūr" means one who has been wronged by the murder of a relative, but to whom blood revenge is still denied (Editor).
1125. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 443.
1126. An area in the middle of the road that connects Madinah to Damascus. It is to the north-west of Medina and the south of Damascus.
1127. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 442.
1128. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 561.
1129. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 52.
1130. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, sermon 43.
1131. Qur'ān, 48:29.
1132. Meaning: unified the community (Editor).
1133. Qur'ān, 49:17.

1134. Qur'ān, 2:264.
1135. An area in Bahrain known for its abundant dates.
Editor's note: This is an Arabic proverb almost equivalent to the English proverb: 'to carry or take coals to Newcastle' meaning to take goods to a place where there are already a lot of them; or to supply something where is not needed.
1136. *Qur'ān*, 8:75.
1137. *Qur'ān*, 3:68
1138. *Qur'ān*, 33:18.
1139. Alluding to the Qur'ān, 11:88 (Editor).
1140. Ḥamal ibn Badr; a courageous man in the Pre-Islamic Era (or Age of Ignorance).
1141. A proverb from the pre - Islamic era used as a threat for war.
1142. *Qur'ān*, 11:83.
1143. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 28.
1144. *Qur'ān*, 6:108.
1145. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 16, p. 136.
1146. See: *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 205.
1147. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 175.
1148. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 15, p. 184.
1149. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 270.
1150. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 34.
1151. *Siyar A'alām al-Nubalā*, vol. 3, p. 73, ḥ. 15.
1152. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 84.
1153. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 562.
1154. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 387.
1155. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 71.
1156. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 55.
1157. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 164.
1158. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, vol. 4, p. 563.
1159. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 142.
1160. A famous city in Iraq, between al-Raqqah and Hīt. (See: *M'ujam al-Buldān*: vol. 4, p. 72.)
1161. A village on the river of al-Khābūr near Ṣiffīn and al-Raqqah. (Refer to *M'ujam al-Buldān*: vol. 4, p. 328.)
1162. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 566.
1163. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 567.
1164. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 1, p. 24.
1165. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 574.
1166. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 5.
1167. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 55.

1168. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 231.
1169. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 171.
1170. *Qur'ān*, 47:35.
1171. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 42, p. 460.
1172. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 387.
1173. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 387.
1174. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 174.
1175. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 429.
1176. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 13.
1177. Ibid.
1178. Ibid.
1179. *Qur'an*, 53:31
1180. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 13.
1181. Ibid.
1182. *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 9, p. 434.
1183. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 397.
1184. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 6, p. 480, ḥ. 18906.
1185. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 147.
1186. Twenty seven companions have reported this tradition with different wordings, see: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 1, p. 172, ḥ. 436 & vol. 3, p. 1035, ḥ 2657. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 4, p. 2235, ḥ 70 & p. 2236, ḥ 72.
1187. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 335.
1188. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 335.
1189. *Al-Muʿjam al-Kabīr*, vol. 10, p. 96, ḥ 10071.
1190. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 41.
1191. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 4, p. 262.
1192. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 20, p. 334, ḥ 835.
1193. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 3, p. 259.
1194. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Aphorism 217.
1195. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 477.
1196. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 250.
1197. *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, by Ibn Qutaiba, vol. 1, p. 169.
1198. *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 181.
1199. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 470.
1200. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 471.
1201. *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, p. 232.
1202. Concerning the occasion of naming of *Laylat al-Harīr* (lit. night of howl, etc.) Allamah Majlisī said "It was indeed due to huge uproar ensuing from people who were fighting. It is, however, said that this naming was because of the doglike state of

Mu'āwiyah from the aspect of compulsion and fright when the war had been intensified and the Imam's army was at the verge of conquest. *Harīr* is originally the howl or whining of a dog suffering from severe cold weather. *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl*, vol. 15, p. 399.

1203. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 399.
1204. *Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, vol. 2, p. 4.
1205. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 476.
1206. *Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. 2, p. 188.
1207. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 400.
1208. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 492.
1209. *Al-Futūh*, vol. 3, p. 188.
1210. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 493.
1211. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 493.
1212. *Al-Irshād*, vol. 1, p. 268.
1213. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 500.
1214. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 59.
1215. Ibid, p. 54.
1216. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 405.
1217. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 121.
1218. A village on the outskirts of Kūfah.
1219. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 63 & 64.
1220. *Al-Ṭarā'if*, p. 511.
1221. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 406.
1222. *Al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn*, vol. 1, p. 172.
1223. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 498.
1224. *Qur'ān*, 5:32.
1225. *Qur'ān*, 13:28.
1226. *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, vol. 3, p. 340.
1227. *Qur'ān*, 7:176.
1228. *Qur'ān*, 62:5
1229. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 70.
1230. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 35.
1231. The Imam whispered in 'Adī's ear indeed (Editor).
1232. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 53
1233. God has said: "*Thus We have made you a middle community.*" Qur'ān. 2:143.
1234. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 3, p. 84, ḥ. 5612.
1235. *Al-Firdaws*, vol. 1, p. 234, ḥ 897.
1236. *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, p. 361. ḥ 485.
1237. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 3, p. 35, ḥ. 5348.
1238. Al-Khalīl (100/718 - 175/791) is the author of the first Arabic lexicon, that was a

major source for all lexicons compiled later (Editor).

1239. *Al-mutaʿammiq* is he who practices *al-taʿammuq* (Editor).

1240. *Kitāb al-ʿAin*, p. 579.

1241. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vol. 10, p. 271.

1242. Al-Majlisī states, in explaining what is recorded from al-Imām al-Kāẓim (a.s.): Do not penetrate deeply into your ablution: That is by using a lot of water, or going to great lengths making the water reach [the required parts]. *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 80, p. 258.

1243. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 85, ḥ 1.

1244. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 4, p. 318, ḥ. 12615.

1245. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Aphorism 31.

1246. Alluding to the Qur'an 12:18,83.

1247. *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 2, p. 681, ḥ. 7059.

1248. *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*, vol. 11, p. 306, ḥ. 31587.

1249. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2540, ḥ. 6532.

1250. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 3 p. 99.

1251. Refer *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 8, p. 123.

1252. *Al-Amālī*, by al-Ṭūsī, p. 174, ḥ. 293.

1253. Seemingly referring to al-Nahrawān where the Imam would fight the Renegades (*al-Māriqīn*). (Editor)

1254. *Al-Amāli, by al-Ṭūsī*, p. 200, ḥ. 341, Biḥār al-Anwār, vol. 33, p. 325, ḥ 570.

1255. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 7, p. 44.

1256. *Musnad al-Ṭayālisī*, p. 303.

1257. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 60.

1258. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Aphorism 70.

1259. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 405, ḥ 6.

1260. *Nahj al-Saʿāda*, vol. 2, p. 393.

1261. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 85.

1262. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 127.

1263. *Al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 12, ḥ 11.

1264. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Aphorism 97.

1265. *Tahdhīb al-Aḥkām*, vol. 6, p. 145, ḥ. 251.

1266. *Qur'ān*, 28:83.

1267. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 3.

1268. Translation of a Persian proverb denoting that the issue should be scrutinized.

1269. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 32

1270. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Aphorism 217.

1271. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 50.

1272. Referring to Qur'an 2:206.

1273. Referring to Qur'an 33:57.
1274. Referring to Qur'an 48:6.
1275. *Al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, p. 159, ḥ. 192.
1276. *Munyat al-Murīd*, p. 181.
1277. *Tanbīh al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 1, p. 82.
1278. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 69, ḥ. 103.
1279. *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, vol. 12, p. 289.
1280. *Al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, p. 221.
1281. *Ṣaḥifat al-Nūr*, - A compilation of the words of Imam Khomeini - vol. 22, p. 371.
1282. *Al-Khiṣāl*, p. 112, ḥ. 86.
1283. *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir*, p. 140, ḥ. 16.
1284. *Qur'ān*, 18:103-104
1285. *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 352.
1286. *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*, p. 73.
1287. Of them was 'Abdullah ibn Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt, his story is well-known.
1288. *Refer: al-Kāmil, by al-Mubarrad*, vol. 3, p. 1334.
1289. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 84.
1290. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, p. 748, ḥ 156.
1291. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 85.
1292. *Qur'ān*, 43:58.
1293. Refer: The Encyclopedia of Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (a.s.), vol. 6, p. 288.
1294. Refer: Part Sixteen: The Companions and Governors of Imam 'Alī (a.s.), al-Ash'ath ibn Qays.
1295. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 21.
1296. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 137 – 139.
1297. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 2, p. 279.
1298. *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, p. 21.
1299. Ibid, 408
1300. Ibid, 481.
1301. Ibid, 482.
1302. Ibid, 499.
1303. Ibid, 512.
1304. *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 2, p. 280.
1305. Refer: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 2, p. 229.
1306. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2540, ḥ. 6532.
1307. *Al-Kāmil*, by al-Mubarrad, vol. 3, p 1099, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāgha*, vol. 2, p. 274. Biḥār *al-Anwār*, vol. 33, p. 350.
1308. *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vol. 19 p. 568.
1309. *Qur'ān*, 2:207.

1310. *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, vol. 19 p. 568.
1311. Qur'ān, 18:103-104.
1312. *Majmaʿ al-Bahrain*, vol. 1, p. 502.
1313. *Qur'ān*, 49:9.
1314. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2540, 6533.
1315. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, p. 745, ḥ 149.
1316. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 6, p. 2541, ḥ. 6535.
1317. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 272.
1318. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 93.
1319. *ʿIlal al-Sharāʿi*ʿ, p. 603, ḥ 71.
1320. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 76.
1321. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 3, p. 1321, ḥ. 3414.
1322. *ʿUsd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 714, ḥ. 1127.
1323. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 4, p. 472.
1324. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 72.
1325. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 85.
1326. *Kashf al-Ghummah*, vol. 1, p. 266.
1327. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, p. 749, ḥ 157.
1328. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 63.
1329. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p136.
1330. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 134 & 137.
1331. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, p. 748, ḥ 156.
1332. *Al-Kāmil, by al-Mubarrid*, vol. 3, p. 1105.
1333. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5 p. 91.
1334. *ʿUsd al-Ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 714, ḥ. 1127
1335. *Tārīkh al-Yʿaqūbī*, vol. 2 p. 193.
1336. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 136.
1337. *Tārīkh al-Islām*, by al-Dhahabī, vol. 3 p. 588.
1338. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5 p. 86.
1339. *Mʿujam al-Buldān*, vol. 5, p. 325.
1340. *Majmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, vol. 3, p. 1689.
1341. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 80.
1342. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol. 2, p. 415.
1343. *Al-Kāmil, by al-Mubarrid*, vol. 3, p. 1105
1344. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 86.
1345. Referring to a sencence contained in certain verses al the Qur'an "Sovereighty / judgement belongs only to God" (Q 12:40,67). Imam 'Alī (a.s) criticises their misunderstanding from this sentence. See *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 40 (Editor).
1346. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 57.

1347. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Letter 77.
1348. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 253.
1349. For an elaborate criticism of the Imam about their slogan see *Nahj al-Balagha*, sermon 40 (Editor).
1350. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 73.
1351. Referring to the *Qur'an* 4:75 (Editor).
1352. Referring to the *Qur'an* 16:128 (Editor).
1353. *Qur'ān*, 21-22.
1354. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 74.
1355. *Musnad ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 7, p. 452, ḥ 21121.
1356. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 77.
1357. *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, vol. 3, p. 141.
1358. *Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, p. 206.
1359. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 80.
1360. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 82.
1361. *Qur'ān*, 43:58.
1362. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, 261.
1363. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 59.
1364. *Nahj al-Balāgha*, Sermon 122.
1365. *Tārīkh Baghdad*, vol. 7, p. 237, ḥ 3729
1366. *Al-Akhbār al-Muwaffaqiyyāt*, p. 325, ḥ 181.
1367. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 86.
1368. *Qurb al-Isnād*, p. 12, ḥ 37.
1369. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, vol.2, p. 416.
1370. *Al-Kāmil*, by al-Mubarrad, vol. 3, p. 1105.
1371. "*Qātalahu Allāh*" is an exclamation of anger literally means 'may God fight him!'; it approximately means 'damned bastard!' (Editor).
1372. *Al-Futūḥ*, vol. 4, p. 274.
1373. A verbatim translation of this sentence is: it took them less than a *fuwāq*, namely an interval between two milkings (of a camel, cow, etc.) ... (Editor).
1374. *Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, vol. 1, p. 169.
1375. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 2, p. 749, ḥ 157.
1376. *Nahjul Balāgha*, Aphorism 323.
1377. *Al-Muṣannaf*, by 'Abd al-Razzāq, vol. 10, p. 150, ḥ 18655.
1378. *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 5, p. 88.
1379. *Qur'ān*, 66:6
1380. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 16, p. 205, ḥ 44229.
1381. A city from among the cities of Pishkūh in the today's province of Lorestan (in Iran), also known as Sirawān. It is an old city within mountains and passes, with

springs flowing through the centre of the city. (*Taqwīm al-Buldān*, p. 415.)

1382. It is a place near the Tigris river between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ. (*Taqwīm al-Buldān*, p. 305.)

1383. It is the name of a river on the outskirts of Baghdad. (*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 2. p. 179.)

1384. A big village south of Baghdad, within three parasangs is the Tigris on the west side. (*Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 2, p. 450.)

1385. *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 2, p. 423.

1386. *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. 2, p. 165, ḥ 1437.